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AN
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND,

FROM THE
INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY UNDER HENRY II.
TO ITS
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN

ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY 1801.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, Esq.

VOL. II.

Pauci prudentiâ honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt: plures aliorum eventis docentur. TAC. 4. Ann. 33.

Few are qualified by their own reflection to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom. MURPHY'S *Trans.* Vol. i. p. 273.

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AN
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CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

UPON the demise of George the First, his son ascended the throne without disturbance or opposition. Now for the first time since the Revolution did the Roman Catholics of Ireland venture to approach the throne by a public act of their body. The penal laws had been somewhat multiplied, and rigorously executed during the late reign. It was still fresh in the minds of the Catholics, that the severe laws of Queen Ann were said to have been passed against them as a punishment for their having neglected to address her on her accession to the throne. The extreme virulence with which they had been recently calumniated from the press, the pulpit, and the senate, on account of the rebellion of 1715, deterred them from offering any address upon the accession of the Hanover family. At this juncture, however, they drew up an address of congratulation, which in a dignified manner expressed loyalty to their sovereign, and pledged them to a continuance of their peaceful and quiet demeanour. It was presented to the lords justices, by Lord Delvin and several respectable Catholic gentlemen; but it was received with silent contempt. The lords justices, who were humbly intreated to transmit it to his majesty, never condescended to make an answer to those who presented it; nor has it been known to this day, whether it reached the hands of the sovereign, or were strangled in its birth by the heads of the *English interest*, who dreaded nothing so much as the united loyalty of the people of Ireland. The severe ordeal, which Catholic loyalty had passed

during the reign of George the First, had it seems so far blunted the edge of calumny, that public vituperation was considered no longer prudent. The great engine, patron, and supporter of the *English* interest in Ireland, was Primate Boulter; who well knew that the opposite party, hitherto known by the distinction of *Tories*, which he affected to call the *disaffected*, and the *king's enemies*, were acquiring daily strength by the accession of all those who, as patriots, preferred an *Irish* to an *English* interest in their native country; and sensible that the means of supporting the *English* interest would not bear the light, his Grace effected, by a *coup de main*, a bold measure, which would probably have failed, had it been previously canvassed and openly debated in the then prevailing temper of the public mind.

However grievous were the penal laws imposed upon the Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth and Ann, it is but justice to allow, that none of them had deprived them of the *elective franchise*, that essential and firm armour of a free constitution. By the 24th section of the most vexatious and oppressive of all those acts, 2 Ann, c. 6. *An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery*, it was indeed enacted, "that from and after the 24th day of March, 1703, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of that kingdom being a Papist, or professing the Popish religion, should at any time thereafter be capable of giving his or their vote for electing of knights of any shires or counties within that kingdom, or citizens or burgesses to serve in any succeeding parliament, without first repairing to the general quarter session of the peace to be holden for the counties, cities or boroughs wherein such Papists did inhabit and dwell, and there voluntarily taking the oath of allegiance, and also the oath of abjuration, and obtaining a certificate thereof from the clerk of the peace." Now as it was well known from the tried loyalty and attachment of the Catholics to the family on the throne, that they were generally ready to take these oaths, the harsh plan was formed to shut them out of this only participation of the constitution. The attention, which the nation now began to pay to their civil rights, and the part which the Catholics took in the elections, being the only occasion on which they could exercise any *civil* right that had weight in the state, awakened the primate's jealousy and alarm, and drove him to the desperate resolution of upholding the *English interest** in Ireland by disfran-

* As much of Primate Boulter's letters as the editor has favoured us with, openly avows this prelate's principles upon the subject. Within three weeks after the death of the king, he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, (1 vol. page 177.) "every thing here is very quiet:" and on the same day he informs Lord Townsend (p. 176,) "we have no other bustle amongst us than what arises from the warm canvass going on in all parts about the election of members

chising above four fifths of its population.* The great opposition to the *English* interest, which it was the pride and boast of this

“for the ensuing parliament.” He had three days before apprized Lord Carteret, then lord lieutenant, (p. 173,) “that the whole kingdom was in the utmost ferment about the coming elections. I can safely appeal (said his grace) to your excellency for my having to the best of my power served his late majesty, and supported the *English* interest here: and I shall always serve his present majesty as faithfully: but to be able to do it with the good effect I desire, I hope I shall be as well supported as I have been. Your excellency knows I have nothing to ask: and I believe princes have seldom over many, that are disposed to serve them as faithfully on so easy terms. It would put a good spirit into the *king's* friends here, and particularly the *English*, if they knew, by your excellency's means, what they had to depend upon. There is another thing I cannot but suggest to your excellency, though I am under no fear of the experiment being made, that any thing which looks like bringing the Tories into power here, must cause the utmost uneasiness in this kingdom, by raising the spirits of the Papists of this country, and exasperating the Whigs, who your lordship knows are vastly superior amongst gentlemen of estates here.”

* “To an enquirer after the truth, history, since the year 1699, furnishes very imperfect and often partial views of the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland. The latter has no professed historian of its own since that æra, and it is so slightly mentioned in the histories of the former kingdom, that it seems to be introduced rather to shew the accuracy of the accountant, than as an article to be read and examined. (*The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered*, 1780, p. 37, written by the Right Hon. Hely Hutchinson, late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.) Pamphlets (continues he) are often written to serve occasional purposes, and with an intention to misrepresent, and party writers are not worth any regard. We must then endeavour to find some other guide, and look into the best materials for history, by considering the facts as recorded in the journals of parliament.” The dearth of historical documents for the last century has driven the author to make researches into all the speeches, that have been published upon the subject, to which those historical facts have reference. In general such speeches must rank with the party writers that are not worth any regard. It is painful to be under the necessity of guarding the reader against the misrepresentations (one hopes not wilful, still less malevolent,) of men of talent, information, and personal respectability. The Right Honourable John Foster, the speaker of the late Irish House of Commons, in his speech in the committee of the Roman Catholic bill, on the 27th of February, 1793, in his zeal for keeping the Catholics shut out of this constitutional right to the *elective franchise*, not only maintains the justice and equity of not admitting them to this participation of the constitution, but attempts to prove, that they had been excluded from it by law before the passing of the 1 George II. and ever since the Revolution. The right honourable gentleman says, “the preamble of the 2d of Ann shews clearly the intent of the legislature was to exclude them, and for preventing Papists having it in their power to breed dissensions, by voting at elections of members of parliament, &c. Even the act of George the Second, which they say was the first that excluded them, says in its preamble,—and for the better preventing Papists from voting, &c.—as if it were a known fact, that they were before excluded, &c.” (p. 11 and 12.) The first preamble, upon which he grounds his argument was to the particular section and not to the statute; and it is impossible to suppose that right honourable gentleman so ignorant of the general construction of statutes, as not to know that *odiosa sunt restringenda*; that the evil and remedy are to be commensurate: that the oath and abjuration were but a test of submission to the reigning families, and that none refused them but *Jacobites*, against whose attempts alone to breed dissensions among Protestants the intent of the act was to provide: that if as Papists they were

prelate to support, was dreaded from those who assuming the title of patriots, now solemnly protested against any *foreign* ascendancy over the native rights and interests of their country. It was not natural, that the body of the Irish people should be forward in supporting such *foreign* ascendancy, whether *English* or *Protestant*. The Catholics having long been the unceasing object of calumny and persecution to both parties, as it served their several views, were palled with apathy, and had hitherto found neither in Whig or Tory any principle of relief to their degraded and suffering condition. In point of fact they had suffered less from the family of Brunswick than that of Stuart. Hence arose a dawn of hope that their miseries were on the wane, and they came forward to address their new sovereign. This step was not carried without a considerable division of the Catholic body;* of which the primate so dexterously availed himself in the then pending elections, that on the 24th of August, 1727, he assured the lord lieutenant, *that the elections would generally go well.*†

before disabled to vote, it would have been nugatory to call upon them to give this test of their loyalty, which was not incompatible with their religion: that if it had been the intent of the legislature to exclude them from voting at elections, they would have required a subscription to the declaration or the oath of supremacy: he must well have known that the resolutions of one committee on a controverted election, was not even a precedent for another committee, much less the law of the land.

* On the 20th of July, 1727, the primate wrote to Lord Carteret: "I hear this day, that the address yesterday presented by some Roman Catholics, occasions great heats and divisions among those of that religion here." (1 vol. p. 183.)

† It long has been, and probably long will be a complaint, that the cause of the king and constitution are frequently identified with the corrupt measures of the king's servants. At this time the real interest of his majesty, was the welfare and prosperity of Ireland; not the maintenance of an *English ascendancy* there, which had in view to keep down the native influence of Ireland. "I shall leave it to your excellency, what change you will think proper to make in the list of privy counsellors here. Your excellency knows as well as any body, who of the present list are enemies to England, and oppose the king's business on all occasions. I shall submit it to your excellency, whether it may be proper for the strengthening of the *English interest* here, to have the present archbishop of Cashell inserted in the new list." The whole tenor of this prelate's correspondence proves the same; and his editor assures us, that these letters will ever remain the most authentic history of Ireland, for the space of time in which they were written; viz. between 1724 and 1742, during which his grace was thirteen times one of the lords justices. It is at length fitting to unmask our prejudices, and pay the just tribute to truth; we can no longer dissemble, that the system of maintaining a *foreign ascendancy* in Ireland, was a system in no shape conducive to the prosperity and welfare of that kingdom. We cannot doubt of the existence of such a system, when we find this prelate acknowledging his obligations to Lord Carteret *for the early care he took of the English in Ireland* (1 vol. p. 186.), and giving him a solemn pledge of his past and future fidelity in this honourable service. "I am sensible of your goodness in acquainting his present majesty, that the supporting of me here will be for his interest, and I desire the continuance of your good offices with

Multifarious and extensive were the grounds of national discontent at this time in Ireland. The nation laboured under grievances that restrained commerce, damped agriculture, and checked every incitement to industry. The public mind still rankled at the attempt of government to father Wood's base copper upon them: the odium of that measure long survived its failure: the wretchedness of the poor, (that infallible test of bad government) which the Duke of Grafton had in 1723 recommended to parliament to relieve, had been daily encreasing: in the same year 1723 a petition was presented from the woollen-drappers, weavers and clothiers of Dublin on behalf of themselves and the other drapers, weavers and clothiers of that kingdom, praying relief in relation to the great decay of trade in the woollen manufacture,* since which time no relief had been afforded: frequent speeches from the throne and resolutions of the House of Commons had noticed the encreasing poverty of the nation by the accumulation of the national debt: and Lord Carteret in his speech from the throne in 1727 virtually acknowledged the melancholy and disastrous situation of the nation by recommending to the consideration of the parliament such laws as might be necessary for the encouragement of manufactures, the employment of the poor, and the general good of the country.† Already that scarcity‡ began to be felt, which in the years 1728 and 1729 nearly amounted to a famine.§ Indicative of the national embarrassments of Ireland at this period were the indecisive resolutions of the commons, and the institution of a commission under the

"the king." (Ibid.) And "while the same measures are pursued as in the last reign, we shall be all easy here: and it must be left to his majesty to judge what persons are most proper to be employed in his service." And "I must request of your grace (i. e. Newcastle) as I have of his lordship (i. e. Carteret), that you would both use your interest to have none but Englishmen put into the great places here for the future." (1 vol. p. 23.)

* Their petition contains these words, "The woollen manufacture of this kingdom, which is confined to our consumption, has of late been so considerably lessened, that several thousand families have been forced to beg alms and charity of good Christians, and a collection lately made throughout the whole city to relieve them from starving." 3 *Journ. Commons*, p. 349.

† 3 *Journ. Commons*, p. 464.

‡ On the 7th of March 1727, Primate Boulter wrote to his grace of Newcastle (p. 226.) "Since I came here in the year 1725, there was almost a famine among the poor: last year the dearth of corn was such, that thousands of families quitted their habitations to seek bread elsewhere, and many hundreds perished. This year the poor had consumed their potatoes, which is their winter subsistence, near two months sooner than ordinary, and are already through the dearth of corn in that want, that in some places they begin to quit their habitations."

§ In the space of six months, ending on the 29th of September, 1729, it appears from the report of the House of Commons, that the import of corn amounted to 274,000*l.* an enormous sum when referred to the fiscal powers of the kingdom at that time.

great seal for receiving voluntary subscriptions in order to establish a national bank for throwing into circulation a quantity of paper, without money, trade or manufactures to support it: and in the same session of parliament, the further resolutions of the same commoners and their address to the throne, that such an establishment would be greatly prejudicial to his majesty's service and of most dangerous and pernicious consequence to the welfare and prosperity of the nation.* Under the like impression of remediless calamity did the commons resolve, though they never acted up to their resolution, that public granaries would greatly contribute to the encreasing of tillage and providing against such wants, as had frequently befallen the people of that kingdom, unless proper precautions should be taken against so great a calamity.

Lord Carteret's administration lasted from 1725 to 1731, and some have extolled his leniency to the indigent Catholics during this period, in discountenancing the rigorous execution of the penal laws against them. In that excess of national calamity, he may have had the policy not publicly to aggravate their evils by religious persecution. A real friend to Ireland could not have coalesced with Primate Boulter in that systematic support of the *English* interest; for that was a system of dividing Ireland within itself.† Fearful of an effectual opposition to a measure of such unjust severity, though of the highest political import, not a syllable in the speech from the throne could bear an allusion to it: no heads of any bill transmitted imported any new penal law against the Catholics: on the contrary, the lord lieutenant's speech recommended expressly the consideration of such laws as might be necessary to *be made* for the encouragement of manufactures and the employment of the poor; but *the enforcing the execution* of those for preventing Popish priests and regulars from coming into the kingdom; from which the nation must evidently have been convinced, that no new penal law was intended to be passed in that session against the great body of the Irish people: and the more especially, as now for the first time the lord lieutenant spoke of “*the gracious instances of his majesty's concern for the happiness of his people, and the good opinion he had*

* 3 Journ. Com. p. 289.

† This is verified by the primate's words in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle on the 19th of January, 1724: “I find by my own and others' enquiries, that the people of every religion, country, and party here are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a very unhappy influence on the state of this nation by bringing on intimacies between Papists and Jacobites, and the Whigs, who before had no correspondence with them: so that 'tis questioned whether (if there were occasion) justices of the peace could be found, who would be strict in disarming Papists.”

‡ 3 Journ. Com. p. 463.

“always had of the loyalty and affection of *his subjects of Ireland*,” without the invidious restriction of his majesty’s protection, grace and favour to his *Protestant subjects*.

The division, which the Roman Catholics’ address occasioned in that body, was by no means into the old party-distinction of Whig and Tory; it was formed upon entirely new principles arising out of the then peculiar circumstances of their country.* A great part of that body began then to consider themselves *Irish-men*, as well as *Irish Catholics*; though deprived of most of the civil rights, which their Protestant brethren enjoyed, they sympathized with them in their efforts to preserve the rights of Ireland, and in defiance of religious differences they now began to make *civil liberty* a common cause with their Protestant brethren. This novel coalition between *Protestants and Catholics*, in support and defence of the interest of Ireland, became formidably alarming to that party, whose sole mission was to keep up an English interest in that kingdom. Government foresaw the necessary progress of this native coalition against the English interest, and at one blow put an end to the political existence of at least four fifths of the nation by depriving them of the noblest birthright and invaluable privilege of the subject.† Thus without any annunciation of such intention, without any notice to any of the parties interested, without even a charge or accusation of guilt, by the unexpected introduction of a clause into a bill, the title of which denounced no further severity against the Roman Catholics, was a vital stab given to the constitutional rights of the bulk of the people of Ireland. *Sect. VII.* “And for the better preventing Papists from voting in elections, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no Papist, though not convicted, shall be entitled or admitted to vote at the election of any member to serve in parliament as knight, citizen, or burgess, or the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate; any law, statute or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.” This truly sweeping clause at once brushed off four fifths of the people of Ireland from any representation in parliament: it was inserted by way of amendment without notice, without debate, without council; thus did the commons sign

* Of these principles, Primate Boulter appears to have been fearfully apprehensive, when he said, “There wants no accident here to furnish a bottom of popularity, every one having it always in his power to grow popular by setting up for the Irish in opposition to the *English interest*.” (*Letter to the Duke of Newcastle*, 1 vol. p. 54.)

† Thus did Lord Chief Justice Holt usually call the *elective franchise*. I have adhered to this proportion of Protestants and Catholics, because Primate Boulter in this very year avowed to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1 vol. p. 210.) “*There are probably in this kingdom five Papists at least to one Protestant.*”

the death-warrant of four fifths of their constituents, whose voices had given them their legislative existence.*

The two grand objects, which engrossed the exclusive attentions of Primate Boulter, who might properly be termed the English minister in Ireland, were *doing good in the Church and supporting the English interest*, "which said his grace to the

* In the debate upon the question of readmitting the Catholics to the elective franchise in the Irish house of Commons on the 4th of February, 1793, Mr. Stanley, in reply to an envenomed Philippic of one of the two, who opposed the bill against the body and principles of the Catholics, in which he said that they had been prohibited to vote at a much earlier period by the act of Ann, which had annexed the oaths of allegiance and abjuration to the exercise of their *elective franchise*, observed, that this was an additional argument against the policy of the act of George II. for if those oaths "were universally taken by Catholic voters during the reign of Queen Ann and George I. to qualify them to exercise their franchise, as it is well known it was the fact, their acquiescence and taking these oaths was the strongest test they could give of their attachment to the state, and should have entitled them to the confidence of the nation: and therefore it is clear they were not excluded from voting, nor was it intended they should be by those oaths, for it was well known, that the Catholics *voted in the election of that very parliament of George II. which afterwards disfranchised them.*" The learned member, from the general dearth of historical documents, and probably from a designed suppression of facts in this instance, was obliged to resort to the traditionary reports of that act to elucidate the history of its passing. "It was said that the Catholics having by their interest voted Lord Dunkellin out of the county of Galway, returned his opponent. Lord Dunkellin had influence enough with the minister of that day, to introduce that clause depriving the Catholics of their franchise into the act of George II." He himself discredited the rumour, because he said that he had discovered, that there was no Lord Dunkellin of that day capable of being a candidate for the county of Galway. Unwritten reports of such transactions are not simply to be relied on; but when they are fairly canvassed in all their bearings upon facts, which are proved by undeniable documents, they often help mainly to the elucidation of the history of those times. The interest of the Clanrickarde family has been always considered to carry the county of Galway, and if by the exertion of the Catholics, another person had been returned, it was very natural that Lord Clanrickarde and his son Lord Dunkellin who had been called up to the House of Lords in 1710, should have resented it, and used their endeavours with the *minister of the day* (i. e. Primate Boulter) to punish and revenge themselves of the Catholics, by whose influence in the late election the interest of that noble family had been defeated. They were the first Protestants of their family, and then supporters of the *English interest*: strong reasons for the Catholics not supporting their interest in the county election; strong reasons for the primate's crushing their and all the Catholics power to oppose the *English interest* in future. However inaccurate the report might have been in confounding the person of Lord Dunkellin with the interest of Portumna, the circumstances which are notorious all combine to prove the remaining part of the report to be strictly true: namely, that the disfranchising clause was introduced by way of amendment, through ministerial influence for a particular purpose and unavowed ends. On one and the same day (9th of February, 1727,) Dr. Trotter reported from the committee of the whole house that they had gone through and agreed to the bill *with some amendments*, (viz. the disfranchising clause) which were also read and agreed to, and Dr. Trotter was directed to attend the lord lieutenant with the said heads of the bill to be transmitted into Great Britain in due form. 3 *Journ. Com.* p. 522.

Archbishop of Canterbury" labours under great disadvantages in this country.* This is little to be wondered at, when it is considered that the bulk of the nation was not of the established Church,† nor in the occasion of participating of any of the patronage of the *English interest*: they were therefore estranged from any prepossessions in the favour of these two objects: their miseries were alleviated by no substitution of favour or indulgence. The stagnation of trade and want of employment in the manufactures, in part occasioned and in part aggravated the scarcity of the years 1728 and 1729. The first session of the parliament under George II. which ended in May, 1728, went over without opposition: insomuch that the lord lieutenant, in closing the session took an opportunity of observing,‡ that all the public bills transmitted from thence had been returned under the great seal of Great Britain; which distinguishing instance of his majesty's regard for the parliament of Ireland, was one of the happy effects of that remarkable application and unanimity, which had appeared in all their proceedings.

It is evident, that at this period Ireland was entirely ruled by the principles of an *English interest*: Primate Boulter who directed and supported that interest, admits that the Catholics were then in the proportion of five to one Protestant: but they were generally poor and indigent, consequently the more sensible to the national wants and calamities. So far then was this great mass of the Irish people from being soothed under the general suffering, that they were surprised into the forfeiture of their *elective franchise*, and an act was made for preventing

* 1 Vol. p. 175. "But (said he) the services I can do will be much lessened, if I am not supported in my station."

† 1 Vol. p. 205. The primate was indefatigable in his efforts to mend the "state of the Church, by getting more glebes, churches, and chapels of ease, that we may in time have churches and resident ministers to answer our wants, for at present many of our people go off to the Papists or Presbyterians for want of churches to repair to." And p. 223, "For want of which, instead of getting ground of the Papists, we must lose to them, as in fact we do in many places, the descendants of Cromwell's officers and soldiers here being gone off to Popery."

‡ 3 Journ. Com. p. 570.

§ Whilst this bill was pending, some Catholics of Dublin and Cork had set on foot a subscription to defray the expences of raising an opposition to it: when one Hennesy, an interdicted priest, gave information, that this collection was made for the purpose of bringing in Popery and the Pretender. Upon which the papers of these gentlemen were seized and submitted to the inspection of the House of Commons: and it appears from their printed report, that the whole sum collected had not exceeded 5*l*.: the committee however resolved, that it appeared to them, that under colour of opposing heads of bills, great sums of money had been collected and raised and a fund established by the Popish inhabitants of the kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the *Protestant interest*; and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment: and therefore resolved further, that an humble address should be presented to the lord lieutenant to issue his proclamation to

Papists practising as solicitors; which was the only branch of the law, they were then permitted to practise. In order to draw the public mind from the consideration of this new penal rigour imposed upon the Catholics in this hour of national calamity, the lord lieutenant set forth in the most glowing terms of congratulatory solace, “* his majesty’s gracious condescension in departing from his own right by lessening his hereditary revenue for the ease of his subjects and encouragement of trade, which shewed his majesty’s concern for the welfare and happiness of the kingdom, as well as many other signal marks of his majesty’s goodness, that must evince them, that his majesty had nothing more at heart, than the interest and prosperity of his people.” He then enumerated or alluded to the most popular acts passed in the session, as the foundation laid for the increase of tillage so necessary in the country, the new advantages given for the improvement of the linen manufactory, the care taken for regulating the assize of bread, the establishing a fund for the work-house, and for employing the poor in the populous city of Dublin, the relief given to unfortunate debtors, the regulations made for future elections (*by abolishing the right of voting in four fifths of the nation*), the reducing the parliamentary privileges of the members for the ease and benefit of their fellow subjects, and those other excellent laws then passed for erecting churches where they were most wanted, for the maintenance of the clergy, and for preserving and strengthening the *Protestant interest* of that kingdom.

In the course of this session two instances occurred which strongly prove how far the *English* and *Protestant* interests were identified† in the words and actions of the Irish government.

all magistrates to put the laws against Popery into execution. *Cur. St. of the Catholic of Ireland*, p. 257. This circumstance goes to prove, that the clause for disfranchising the whole body of Catholics was not in the heads of the bill, or it is more than probable, that they would have instituted a collection to oppose a bill, that affected every individual of the body in so important a point, rather than a bill, which could not have affected threescore of that description.

* 3 Journ. Com. p. 570.

† Primate Boulter in giving an account of the session to the Duke of Newcastle, three days after it closed (1 vol. p. 242), says, “As my lord lieutenant did his part towards procuring a quiet session of parliament, so I must do that justice to the rest of the English in power here to say, that we were not in the least wanting in our several stations to promote the same good.” And before the session was over, in giving an account of the opposition to the privilege bill, the primate says: “the greatness of the opposition was owing to the management of the Bishop of Elphin (Theophilus Bolton promoted to the see of Cashell in 1729) who put himself at the head of those lords and others, who constantly oppose the government business here, and by misrepresentations drew in some other lords of no ill intention to engage their word and honour to each other to throw out the bill. His view no doubt was to make himself considerable enough by being at the head of this strength *to be bought*”

It happened that a Mr. Allan Brodrick, son to the late chancellor of Ireland (who held the seals from the 1st of October 1714, to the 1st of May, 1725), had been made one of the commissioners of the customs in England: and although the Brodericks had never been charged with any affection to Popery or to the Pretender (the chancellor had been appointed to succeed Sir Constantine Phipps, as being of opposite principles), though well wishers to Ireland, yet even this remote mark of royal favour gave so much offence to the primate, that he complained in several letters on the same day both to the lord lieutenant and the Duke of Newcastle, "that *any thing* which looked as if that "family (*the Brodericks*) was in favour in England might give "them spirit and engage others to join with them in perplexing "matters the approaching session of parliament." And, "we "are apprehensive it may give too much spirit to the Brodericks "here, and be made use of by them to engage others to obstruct "the king's business in parliament."

The family of Clanrickard had conformed to the established religion in the days of Queen Anne: and the head of that noble family, in dedicating his ancestors' memoirs and letters to King George the II^d. in 1757, did not scruple to boast of the cause, for which his family had suffered. He had been educated at Eton and Oxford, and was called to the upper house by the title of Lord Dunkellin during his father's life, on the 3d of August 1711, and upon his father's death sat in the House of Peers, as the tenth Earl of Clanrickard in the parliament of 1725. He had made an application to the king to be restored to all that had been forfeited by his ancestors, who had at all times been conspicuous for their loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, and the measure had been graciously assented to by his majesty. But the reversion of so much landed influence into the hands of an Irish family, though Protestant, was considered by the *English interest* in Ireland to contravene their system, which never could be long supported by the native interest of that country. A most violent opposition was therefore raised against the measure in the commons, which for the present completely defeated all the influence of that noble family with the king, and diverted his majesty from his benevolent disposition in their regard. They artfully avoided wounding the feelings of the noble lord, by pointing at his particular case, and formed a re-

"off. One part of the push he now made was to get all the lay lords here to "confederate against the bishops, *who must always be depended upon for doing "the king's business.* But as he has miscarried in his attempt, and has offend- "ed all sides, so as to be in no danger of appearing again at the head of so "many lords as he did now, I hope his behaviour will be remembered when "he or his friends push for the archbishopric of Dublin for him." (*Letter to Lord Townsend, p. 240.*)

solution upon a broader principle, "that he reversal of outlawries of persons attainted of treason for the rebellions of 1641 or 1688 is greatly prejudicial to the Protestant interest in this kingdom, and dangerous to his majesty's person and the succession established in his royal house." They accordingly voted an address to his majesty, setting forth the dangerous consequences of such misplaced indulgence, which had the effect of withholding for the present his majesty's benevolence and humanity.*

* We cannot entertain a very sublime idea of the purity of the loyalty of those persons, who tell their sovereign that nothing can so effectually make them ready to support and defend his right and title to the crown, as the enjoyment of the forfeited estates of the Papists. The address appears to import more of menace and intimidation, than the effusion of genuine loyalty and attachment to the establishment: and the answer of his majesty clearly bespeaks that his compliance with the prayer of the address was the effect rather of compulsion, than inclination. "We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, think it an indispensable duty, in this our first session held since your happy accession to the throne, most humbly to represent to your majesty, that the reversal of outlawries of persons attainted for the rebellions in 1641 and 1688, may be highly prejudicial, and of dangerous consequence to your majesty's sacred person and government, and the succession established in your royal house.

"We are truly sensible of the many blessings we enjoy under your most auspicious reign, and are highly pleased with the agreeable prospect that we have, that the benefits of the Protestant succession will be continued to us and our posterity by your majesty and your royal issue; and we assure your majesty that we shall be always ready to support and defend your undoubted right and title to the crown of these realms with our lives and fortunes, which nothing can enable us so effectually to do, as the enjoyment of those estates which have been forfeitures of the rebellious Irish Papists, and are now in the possession of your Protestant subjects of this kingdom.

"We therefore beg leave to lay ourselves at your majesty's feet, and to implore your royal favour and protection against any attempts the Irish Papists or their descendants may make to reverse the outlawries of persons attainted for those rebellions, having reason to apprehend, if they should succeed, that they will not only endeavour to disturb your faithful subjects in the possession of those forfeited estates they have purchased, and now enjoy under the sanction of several acts of parliament, but do all in their power to subvert our happy constitution in church and state.

"We are fully assured that your majesty hath nothing more at heart than the welfare and prosperity of your people, and we rely entirely on your royal wisdom and goodness, that you will be graciously pleased to discourage all applications or attempts, that shall be made in favour of such traitors and their descendants, so dangerous to your majesty and the Protestant interest of this kingdom."

Mr. Secretary Clutterbuck informed the house that he was commanded by his excellency the lord lieutenant to acquaint the house that his majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer to the address of this house touching the reversal of outlawries of persons attainted of treason for the rebellions of 1641 and 1688, which he read in his place, and after delivered at the table, and the same was read again by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth:

GEORGE R.

"His majesty has received with great pleasure and satisfaction the assurances, which the House of Commons gave him in their address, of their zeal and fidelity to his person and government; and they may always

Although Lord Carteret continued lord lieutenant till the year 1731, yet was Ireland properly governed during that whole time by Primate Boulter,* to whom the support and extension of the *English interest* in Ireland was solely committed. A trust he effectually accomplished, by paralyzing the small vital relics, that had been left more through shame than compassion to the great body of the Irish people. From that quarter indeed he was thwarted in none of his projects. In parliament, † the chief opposition to any of his bills, was to the *privilege bill* in the House of Lords, several of whom that were embarrassed in their circumstances might naturally be supposed to be against it : but his grace attributed the greatness of the opposition, as was before observed, to the management of the Bishop of Elphin. Out of parliament, the soreness at the national calamity became most alarming from the Protestants ; notwithstanding the Roman Catholics had been additionally aggrieved by new penal laws, which gave the death blow to their civil existence. Within six months from the delivery of that speech from the throne, in which Lord Carteret had attempted to ‡ delude the people into imaginary bliss under the most pitiable sufferings of universal calamity, distress, and oppression, Primate Boulter in the private, and therefore the more sincere communications with the Duke of Newcastle on the 23d of November 1728, has left us a just portrait of one part of that unfortunate kingdom ; from which the greater wretchedness of the whole must necessarily be deduced. “ I am very sorry I am obliged to give your
“ grace so melancholy an account of the state of this kingdom,
“ as I shall by this letter, but I thought it my duty to let his
“ majesty know our present condition in the North. § For we

“ depend upon his majesty’s favour and protection, and on his care and concern for the support of the Protestant interest of that his kingdom ; and that
“ accordingly his majesty will effectually discourage all applications and attempts that shall be made for the reversal of outlawries of persons attainted
“ for the rebellion in 1641 and 1688, in any case that may affect the interest
“ or property of any of his Protestant subjects there.”

* So then his grace expresses himself to Lord Townsend on the 9th of May . 1728, (p. 239) “ On Monday our session ended, which has gone through with
“ more quiet and unanimity than usual ; and in which more useful bills have
“ passed, than for many sessions together before. And I hope both gentry
“ and clergy will use those powers now given them gradually to plant religion
“ and civility in this country.” The Editor of his grace’s letters assures us he was the framer of most, if not all of these bills.

† Ibidem.

‡ In this speech (3 *Journ. Com.* p. 570.) he represents the people as *truly sensible of the happiness they enjoy under his majesty’s most gracious government*, and that nothing could be more acceptable to him, than to find by the addresses of both houses, that *his endeavours for the public service had been to their satisfaction*.

§ Why the archbishop here confines his duty to the North, one cannot fairly conjecture. When it was well known, that it was the most industrious, manufacturing, and opulent part of the kingdom, which circumstances alone placed

“ have had three bad harvests together there, which has made
 “ oatmeal, which is their great subsistence, much dearer than
 “ ordinary.” His grace then complains of American agents
 seducing the people, with prospects of happier establishments,
 across the Atlantic ; and adds, “ they have been better able to
 “ seduce people by reason of the necessities of the poor of late.
 “ The people that go from hence make great complaints of the
 “ oppressions they suffer here, not from the government, but
 “ from their fellow subjects of one kind or another, as well as
 “ of the dearness of provisions, and say these oppressions are
 “ one reason of their going.” The primate then assures the
 duke, that 3100 had in the preceding summer been shipped off
 from thence for the West-Indies, and he draws a lamentable
 picture of the new miseries they voluntarily undertake to en-
 counter rather than continue under the oppression they suffered
 at home. One would naturally suppose, that the chief of these
 unfortunate emigrants had been from that body of the people,
 who not only felt the common hand of oppression upon them,
 but who were groaning under an unprecedented code of severity,
 from which the Protestants were wholly exempted. Yet continues
 his grace, “ the whole north is in a ferment at present (i.e., the
 “ 23d of November 1728), and people every day engaging one
 “ another to go the next year to the West-Indies. The hu-
 “ mour has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people
 “ will hardly hear any body, that tries to cure them of their
 “ madness. *The worst is, that it affects only Protestants, and*
 “ *reigns chiefly in the North*, which is the seat of our linen
 “ manufacture. This unsettled state puts almost a stop to trade,
 “ and the more so, as several, who were in good credit before
 “ have taken up parcels of goods on trust and disposed of them,
 “ and are gone off with the money, so that there is no trade here
 “ but for ready money.”

It is lamentable to observe the Primate labouring to trace
 these discontents even in the Protestant Irish from any other
 than the real cause. “ We have had under our consideration
 “ how to put some stop to this growing evil : we think by some

it in their power to resist or avoid distress and oppression by means, which
 the other more wretched and impoverished parts of the kingdom were unable
 to command. For the sake of humanity I am loath to draw the conclusion,
 which an unbiassed spectator of this state of Ireland cannot shut out from his
 mind : that it was the ill-fated system of government at that time, to keep up
 the *English interest* in the country by the extreme wretchedness and debase-
 ment of the natives. Though I reluctantly view these inhuman principles
 heretofore acted upon in Ireland, I sympathize with that part of the British
 empire, in the joyful conviction, that its incorporate union with Great Britain
 has eternally closed that infelicity of Ireland, and ensured her against the rue-
 ful consequences of supporting any *factitious ascendancy* over the people of
 Ireland.

“ old laws we can hinder money being carried abroad, and stop
 “ all but merchants that have not a licence from going out of
 “ the kingdom. By this post we have sent my lord lieutenant
 “ the representation of the gentlemen of the North, and the opi-
 “ nion of our lawyers what can be done by law to hinder people
 “ going abroad : but these are matters we shall do nothing * in
 “ without directions from his majesty. But whatever can be done
 “ by law, I fear it may be dangerous forcibly to hinder a number
 “ of needy people from quitting us.” As the Primate’s accounts
 of the temper and disposition of the people did not support that
 general sense of their happiness, which was so fulsomely blazoned
 forth in the speech from the throne, it behoves us to remark,
 that in the spring of the year 1729 his grace informed the duke
 of Newcastle†, that *they were in a very bad way there* : that the
 distresses of the North continued : that subscriptions had been
 set on foot in Dublin to purchase corn from Munster, where it
 was more plentiful and cheaper, and sell it at reduced prices in
 the North : that there had been tumults at Limerick, Cork,
 Waterford, Clonmel and other places to prevent the corn from
 going to the North : that those at Limerick and Cork had been
 the worst, where they had broken open warehouses and cellars,
 and set what price they pleased on provisions : but that he had
 given the necessary orders to suppress these riots. He admits,
 that the buying up of the corn in Munster had greatly raised the
 markets there : but that they were still a third cheaper than in
 the North. His grace then makes an observation, which al-
 ways has and ever will be made in all cases of riot of this nature.
 “ There is one reflection these poor wretches have not made,
 “ that by their riots the country are deterred from bringing
 “ them in provisions, which will make things dearer in those
 “ places, than the exportation they are so angry at.” Govern-
 ment generally may secure the mob from soreness and irrita-
 tion ; it never can give them reflection under those impressions.
 Boulter had given orders to the several magistrates and the
 judges of assize to have the rioters prosecuted and severely
 punished in the South. In the North, the humour of going to
 America still continued, and the scarcity of provisions certainly
 made many quit them : there were then seven ships lying at
 Belfast, that were carrying off about 1000 passengers thither :

* It has unfortunately, for Ireland in particular, been the baneful practice of some servants of the crown to forward systems of unsound or corrupt policy to such a height, that they have been unable to check the evil consequences of their own conduct. The responsibility is then shifted from their own shoulders as in this case, upon his majesty, who has probably been adverse or not privy to the real cause of the existing evil. The king’s personal interference in any degree whatever can not by our constitution cover or counteract the responsibility of his ministers.

† 1 Vol. p. 287.

and if, said his grace, 'we knew how to stop them, as most of them could neither get victuals or work at home, it would be cruel to do it. The dissenting ministers at this time presented a memorial of the grievances their brethren had assigned, as the causes in their apprehensions of the great desertion in the North, which were chiefly the oppression of the ecclesiastical courts about tithes, the whole of which his grace denied or justified in a special letter to the Bishop of London.* Another matter of complaint was of the sacramental test; in relation to which his grace told them: the laws were the same in England. The other grievances they mentioned were the raising of the rents unreasonably, the oppression of the justices of the peace, senechals and other offices in the country. We learn also, that the Primate was sensible of more discontent from another cause, which has not hitherto been touched upon. "† I very much " fear, (said his grace on the 10th of June, 1729) that notwithstanding all precautions, we are in danger of having a troublesome session, *as the debts of the nation are very much increased " within a few years."*

Nothing can convey a more adequate idea of the financial state of the nation, than to consider the progress of the national debt, and trace the effects, which it gradually produced on the nation.‡ The poverty of Ireland appeared in the year 1716 by the unanimous address of the House of Commons to George I. This address was to congratulate his majesty on his success in extinguishing the rebellion; an occasion most joyful to them, and on which no disagreeable circumstances would have been stated, had not truth and the necessities of their country extorted it from them. A small debt of 16,106*l.* 11*s.* 0½*d.* due at Michaelmas 1715, was by their exertions to strengthen the hands of government in that year, increased at Midsummer 1717, to a sum of 91,537*l.* 17*s.* 1½*d.* which was considered as such an augmentation of the national debt, that the lord lieutenant, the Duke of Bolton, thought it necessary to take notice in his speech from the throne, that the debt was considerably augmented, and to declare at the same time, that his majesty had ordered reductions in the military, and had thought proper to lessen the civil list.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the want of resources in any country, than that a debt of so small an amount should alarm the persons entrusted with the government of it. That those apprehensions were well founded, will appear from the repeated

* Vide the letter in the Appendix, No. LVI.

† 1 Vol. p. 313.

‡ Com. Restr. p. 38.

§ Com. Restr. p. 38.

distresses of Ireland, from time to time, for many years afterwards. In 1721, the speech from the throne, and the addresses to the king and to the lord lieutenant, state in the strongest terms, the great decay of her trade, and the very low and impoverished state, to which she was reduced; that though the debt of the nation were no more than 66,318*l.* 8*s.* 3¼*d.* and were in fact less than in the last session, yet the commons thought it necessary to present an address to the king, to give such directions as he, in his great goodness should think proper, to prevent the increase of the debt of the nation.

The debt of the nation in the ensuing session of 1725 was nearly doubled. In the speeches from the throne in 1727, Lord Carteret takes notice of our success in the linen trade, and yet observes in 1729, that the revenue had fallen short, and that thereby a considerable arrear was due to the establishment. In the year 1731, there was a great deficiency in the public revenue, and the national debt had considerably increased. The exhausted kingdom lay under great difficulties by the decay of trade, the scarcity of money and the universal poverty of the country, which the speaker represented in very affecting terms, in offering the money bills for the royal assent. For above forty years, after making several restrictive laws upon the trade of Ireland, she was always poor and often in great want, distress and misery; though the linen manufactures had made great progress during that time. In the war which terminated in the treaty of Aix la Chappelle, she was not able to give any assistance. The Duke of Devonshire, in the year 1741, takes notice from the throne, that during a war for the protection of the trade of all his majesty's dominions, there had been no increase of the charge of the establishment; and in the year 1745 the country was so little able to bear expence, that Lord Chesterfield discouraged and prevented any augmentation of the army, though much desired by many gentlemen of the House of Commons, from a sense of the great danger that then impended. An influx of money after the peace, and the further success of the linen trade, increased the national wealth, and enabled Ireland to reduce by degrees, and afterwards to discharge the national debt. This was not effected until the 1st of March, 1754. This debt was occasioned principally by the expences incurred by the rebellion in Great Britain in the year 1715: an unlimited vote of credit was then given. From the lowness of the revenue, and the want of resources, not from any farther exertions on the part of the kingdom in point of expence, the debt of 16,106*l.* 11*s.* 0½*d.* due in 1715, was increased at Lady-day 1733, to 371,312*l.* 13*s.* 2½*d.* That government and the House of Commons should, for such a length of time, have considered the reduction and discharge

of this debt as an object of so great importance, and that near forty years should have passed, before the constant attention and strictest economy of both could have accomplished that purpose, is a very strong proof of the weakness and poverty of Ireland during that period.

Lord Carteret was succeeded in the lieutenancy by the Duke of Dorset: a man of amiable private character: his government however was too closely managed by the primate, not to have created enmity in Ireland on account of his zealous and systematic support of the *English interest* in contravention to the native interest of Ireland. Under this system of government the patriot party acquired so much strength, as to command a majority in the commons on a most important question. During the late administration the court party had moved in the commons, that the fund, which had been provided for the payment of the principal and interest, should be granted to his majesty, his heirs, and successors for ever; redeemable by parliament. The patriots insisted successfully, that it was unconstitutional and inconsistent with the public safety to grant it for a longer term, than from session to session. An attempt was afterwards made to vest it in the crown by continuing the supplies for twenty-one years. When the affair came to be agitated, the strength of the ministerialists or court party, and the patriots or country party, was so nearly equal, that the former lost the question by a single vote.*

* This patriotic question was carried by the voice of Colonel Tottenham, member for New Ross, who had ridden post to town to be present at the debate, and arrived immediately before the house divided. The great supporter of the patriots at this time in Ireland, was Mr. Henry Boyle. Mr. Conolly the speaker of the House of Commons died in 1730: he had very unexpectedly risen to this exalted station: and at first was under a sort of necessity to temporize with the men in power, to whose influence he owed his rise: and he frequently so far complimented his patrons, as to concur in things he did not approve of, in order to keep up his interest with the court: however when once the patriot interest, to which he naturally inclined, had been established in parliament on a firm and respectable footing, he added to it his support, and ever after acted up to it even in direct opposition to the court or English interest. On Mr. Conolly's death, the patriots generally looked up to Mr. Boyle as the person most worthy of filling this important office: he in the sincere fervour of his primitive patriotism, regarding preferment only as a more efficient mean of serving his country, reminding the house of Mr. Conolly's frequent declarations, that Sir Ralph Gore was a proper person to succeed him in the chair, proposed Sir Ralph Gore, whose personal merits eminently qualified him for that station: and he was elected speaker: but he did not fill the chair two years. Upon his death in 1732, Mr. Boyle was elected to the honourable situation, which he filled with dignity and uprightness for many years. Sir Robert Walpole was so convinced of the powerful interest Mr. Boyle commanded in the Irish House of Commons, that he had previously to his election to the chair, declared, that he was a man of as much penetration as interest, and that whatever scheme he was adverse to, it was no easy matter to carry in the House of Commons of Ireland: and although that minister ever looked upon Mr. Boyle with an envious eye, yet he generally spoke of him in his facetious humour as *the King of the Irish Commons*.

The Duke of Dorset, who was naturally humane, and very sensible of the extreme hardships, which the Catholics of Ireland then suffered from the existing laws, relaxed so far from the usual style of addressing the parliament on this subject, that he no longer recommended it from the throne to provide for further severities upon the Catholics; but, as if the crown satiated with rigour, benignly wished to put a stop to this unceasing system of galling its faithful subjects, though still leaving them to the merciless disposition of those, whose ascendancy depended upon their depression, told them* that he should leave it to their consideration, whether any further laws might be necessary to prevent the growth of Popery, and to secure them against all dangers from the great number of Papists in that kingdom. The commons in addressing his majesty did no more on this occasion, than to keep alive the general alarm which the number of Papists must at all times give to his loyal Protestant subjects, and ensuring to his majesty their best endeavours to prevent all dangers, which might arise from the Papists to the government or peace of the kingdom. At the opening of the parliament in 1733, his Grace of Dorset again relapsed into the ancient style, by calling upon the parliament of Ireland to secure a *firm union amongst all Protestants, who have one common interest and the same common enemy*. This however appears to have been preparatory to a measure, which had met with the consent of the British cabinet, though it had not been so strongly recommended to the Irish government, as to ensure the cordial co-operation of the supporters of the *English interest* in carrying it. It appears also, that the patriots were not then disposed to that measure of toleration, in favour of the Protestant Dissenters, which the Duke of Dorset had it in his instructions to propose: and which from the decisive opposition, that was prepared against the measure, the government thought proper to drop. It may however be strongly surmised, that Primate Boulter's disinclination to the repeal of the test in favour of the Dissenters may have magnified the opposition to it in his own eyes, and exaggerated it to the British minister, in order to ensure the dropping of the measure in the first instance or its failure in the last.† The

* 4 Journ. Com. p. 9.

† 4 Journ. Com. p. 70.

‡ In order that the candid reader may judge of the archbishop's earnestness to second these instructions from England, I lay before him his grace's account of the transaction to the Duke of Newcastle.

MY LORD,

Dublin, Dec. 18, 1733.

“ AS an affair of great consequence is just over with us, I mean the push for repealing the test in favour of the Dissenters, I thought it my duty to acquaint your grace how that affair stands.

“ When my lord lieutenant first came hither this time, he let the Dissenters and others know, that he had instructions, if it could be done, to get the test

honourable testimony which the Duke of Dorset rendered in the next year, when he was about to quit the government of

“ repealed, and he has since spoke to all any ways dependant on the govern-
 “ ment as well as to others, whom he could hope to influence, to dispose them
 “ to concur with the design, and so have others done that have the honour to
 “ be in his majesty’s service. But it was unanimously agreed, that it was not
 “ proper to bring that affair into either house of parliament till the supply was
 “ secured. However as the design could not be kept secret, and as the Dis-
 “ senters sent up agents from the north, to solicit the affair among the mem-
 “ bers of parliament, it soon occasioned a great ferment both in the two houses
 “ and out of them, and brought a greater number of members to town than is
 “ usual. There came likewise many of the clergy from the several parts of
 “ the kingdom to oppose the design, and a pamphlet war was carried on for
 “ and against repealing the test, in which those who wrote for it shewed the
 “ greatest temper. And thus the persons who came to town to oppose it, by
 “ degrees heated one another, and visibly gained ground, and the members of
 “ the House of Commons were by adjourned calls of the house kept in town.

“ There were daily reports spread, that the bill would be brought in such or
 “ such a day ; and some in the opposition gave out, they would move for it,
 “ that the point might be decided one way or another : till at length after
 “ much impatience shewn on the occasion, on this day se’nnight a very un-
 “ usual, and I think unparliamentary, motion was made, that after the next
 “ Friday, the house would neither receive bills nor heads of bills for repealing
 “ any parts of the acts to prevent the growth of Popery, in one of which the
 “ sacramental oath is enacted. There was some opposition made to the short-
 “ ness of the time, and the next Monday moved for, but the warmth of the
 “ house, which was a very full one, against any further delay, and indeed
 “ against any repeal of the test, appeared so great and so general, that it was
 “ thought most prudent not to divide about that resolution. And upon consi-
 “ dering what then appeared to be the sense of much the greater part of the
 “ house, and what was found to be the disposition of the members by talking
 “ with them, it was concluded at a meeting at the castle on Wednesday morn-
 “ ing, and another on Thursday morning, where some of the agents for the
 “ Dissenters were present, to be most for the credit of the government and
 “ peace of the kingdom, not to push for a thing which plainly appeared im-
 “ practicable : and it was thought a very dangerous step to unite a majority of
 “ the house in opposition to the intentions of the government, since it was not
 “ so certain when such an union might be dissolved. And at a meeting of se-
 “ veral members of the House of Commons, who were disposed to repeal the
 “ test, it was agreed, that in the present state of affairs, it would be wrong to
 “ push for a thing that would certainly miscarry. Whilst this affair has been
 “ depending, there have been great heats in the House of Commons, and a
 “ more than usual obstruction of public business, and the House of Lords has
 “ had their share in their coming to some resolutions though not on this sub-
 “ ject, which would scarce have been carried or moved at another time. And
 “ I am fully of opinion, that though the repeal had passed in the commons, it
 “ would have miscarried among the lords : but I hope now this uneasiness
 “ and handle of discontent is over, things will gradually cool and return to
 “ their former course. I find some of the Dissenters now say, the thing ought
 “ to have been tried sooner in the session, but as I mentioned before, it was
 “ the opinion of his majesty’s servants, that the supplies ought to be secured
 “ before any danger was run of raising heats in the house : and besides in the
 “ method of our parliament, no bill can be carried by surprise, because though
 “ the heads of a bill may be carried on a sudden, yet there is time for a party
 “ to be gathered against it, by that time a bill can pass the council here and
 “ be returned from England, when it is again to pass through both houses for
 “ their approbation before what has happened here will probably the less sur-
 “ prise your grace, because the archbishop of Dublin in London acquainted
 “ the ministry, that such a repeal could not pass here, which has been my

Ireland, to the peaceable and steady conduct of the Irish nation, ought to be recorded.* “ I think myself happy, said his grace, “ that on return to his majesty’s royal presence, I can justly represent his people of Ireland, as most dutiful, loyal and affectionate subjects.”

The Duke of Dorset was succeeded in the lieutenancy by the Duke of Devonshire, whose administration was the longest and most quiet of any, since the accession of the Hanover family. His Grace was wholly devoted to the councils and influence of the primate, who died in that administration.† No lord lieutenant, since the first Duke of Ormond, had displayed such pomp, state, and luxury as the Duke of Devonshire: no one had ever applied so much of his personal patrimony to the gratification or advantage of the Irish nation:‡ and upon the whole, his administration, without being brilliant or glorious, had the negative merit of not having been turbulent. As it is unquestionable, that the administration of the Duke of Devonshire was entirely carried on by the direction of the primate, it materially affects the history of those times, to ascertain the spirit and principles

“ opinion from the beginning of this session. This I am sure of, that all present in the service of the crown were of opinion, that the push ought not to be made, where there was no probability of success.”

* 4 Journ. Com. p. 152.

† So the primate expresses himself to this nobleman on the 28th of April, 1737 :—“ The great character your grace has from every body, satisfies me we shall be happy under your administration, if it be not our own fault. I have made it my endeavour to serve his majesty faithfully here, and shall always labour to promote his interest and honour, and the prosperity of his subjects; and am glad that I and the other lords justices have been rightly represented to your grace on that head: and I dare answer for them, as well as myself, that we shall do our utmost to make your administration here easy. Beside those public letters you are pleased to encourage us to write, there will be occasions when it may be for the service of his majesty, and the good of this kingdom, that I should give your grace an account of my particular sense of affairs, which I hope you will allow me the liberty to write to your grace. I can promise that I will never knowingly mislead you, and your grace will always be judge of what I propose.” Upon which the editor of the primate’s letters informs us, that “ his grace’s administration was the happiest, the longest, and perhaps the most useful that was ever known in Ireland since the House of Hanover came to the crown, which was greatly owing to the confidence he placed (advised so to do by his good friend Sir Robert Walpole) in my lord primate. My lord primate died in this administration, but had gone through three sessions of parliament without losing, as it is best remembered, a single government question. But at the same time this is observed, be it also recollected, that his Grace of Devonshire did greatly strengthen his own hands, and by that means those of the government, by a double alliance in marriage with the powerful family of Ponsonby; who then had great weight, and now are of still greater consequence in that kingdom. This alliance, no doubt, contributed to make things go easy again, as it did afterwards during the short administration of that amiable, most worthy, and truly noble personage the last Duke of Devonshire.”

‡ At his own private expences he built the Quay in Dublin, which bears the name of *Devonshire Quay*, in grateful remembrance of this benefactor to the Irish nation.

of that government, by which Ireland then was ruled. In writing to the Duke of Newcastle about the reduction of the gold coin, the primate observes, that he had in a particular manner been ill used on this occasion, and that monstrous stories had been spread about to enrage the people.* At this remote distance from the action of Primate Boulter's principles upon the people of Ireland, represented by their parliament, the impartial observer will necessarily conclude, that every Irishman who considered or felt the independence of his country, would resist the fundamental position laid down by that political prelate, that *the council in Ireland, whose special mission was to keep up the English interest there, by the constitution had a power to check the proceedings both of the lords and commons.* As persecution and harshness were agreeable, neither to King George the Second, nor to his then favourite minister Sir Robert Walpole, the Catholics of Ireland had enjoyed some few years of relative indulgence, which was ill relished by the primate, as in his ideas it had produced so much insolence in that body, and there was so general a disposition amongst Protestants and Papists to insult magistrates for doing their duty, that they thought it proper for preserving the peace of the country, to prosecute any person *indifferently* that demanded satisfaction of any magistrate for putting the laws in execution.* No argument can so conclu-

* 2 Vol. p. 242. "It is possible (said his grace, in 1737), some discontented people may endeavour to bring the affair into parliament, and make some reflecting votes on the council here, which by our constitution has a power to check the proceedings of both lords and commons, I think they will not be able to carry any vote on that point; but if they do, I am sure the only check here on their heat at any time will be taken away, except his majesty is pleased to support the council. In the whole affair I am satisfied the aim of several is to depress the English interest here, which the more some labour to depress, the more necessary will it be to support it here by his majesty's authority. As for myself I make no difficulty of retiring, if it may be of any use, and indeed have of late been so ill used in this affair, that nothing but his majesty's service should hinder me from retiring. The heats of this town begin to cool, and would have been over by this time, if they had not been artfully kept up for a handle to another place." (*Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, September 25th, 1737.*) The editor of Primate Boulter's letters assures us, that such a malignant spirit had been raised on this occasion by Dean Swift and the bankers, that it was thought proper to lodge at the primate's house an extraordinary guard of soldiers. On no occasion, however, were the Catholics to be supposed innocent of any misconduct that happened in Ireland. It was certainly a singular combination of the most heterogeneous interests, to which the primate attributed this opposition to the will of the English cabinet in Ireland. In this same letter the archbishop hints, that the heats were artfully kept up by Dean Swift and by the management of the bankers and remitters, and the whole Popish party there, and that the affair occasioned a great deal of heat.

* Letter to the Duke of Devonshire, 2 vol. p. 227. It certainly is a conclusive avowal, that prosecutions were not before that time carried on indifferently in Ireland, when the first minister of national justice makes a desperate and forced threat of administering it *indifferently for the peace of the country.* His grace had before this artfully prepared the public mind for this new and

sively refute the charges incessantly urged from this side of the water against the Irish for being by disposition turbulent and savage, by principle inimical to England, and by religion disloyal to a Protestant sovereign, than the simple fact, that Ireland raised not an arm against the government, when an extensive and unsuccessful war on the Continent, the countenance of a young Pretender to the British throne, and the absence of a compulsory armed force from Ireland, displayed the most seducing incitements to disorder, disaffection, and rebellion, if their roots existed in the land. It was then, with notorious truth, that the Duke of Devonshire so frequently in his speeches to parliament during this time congratulated them upon the grateful and happy necessity he was under, of reporting favourably to his majesty upon the affection, zeal, and loyalty of his Irish subjects.

Loud and vehement as were the cries and exertions against Popery and Papists in Ireland, yet it is impossible for any temperate man not to see, that they arose out of no other principle than that of self-interest. Lord Clancarty had, it appears, under the Duke of Devonshire's administration, obtained the consent of the British cabinet, that a bill should be brought into the Irish parliament for the reversal of his attainder, which passed for his adhering to the cause of King James in 1688. His estates, which had been consequently forfeited, were, according to Primate Boulter's account, then of the annual value of 60,000*l.* and the report of such a measure, together with the reflections made upon the consequences of such a precedent, threw the Protestant landholders into the greatest alarm and fermentation.* In proportion as they were attached to the possession

extraordinary administration of *indifferent justice*, by the lord lieutenant's speech at the close of the parliament of that year. (4 *Journ. Com.* p. 280.) "I have nothing particular to recommend to you upon your return to your several countries, being well satisfied that you will in your respective stations put the laws strictly and impartially in execution, encourage an hearty union amongst Protestants, and discountenance and punish prophaneness and immorality. I need not mention to you, that your maintaining the dignity of the crown, and a due submission to the magistrate, will be the surest means to preserve the public peace and tranquillity." The laws which were thus recommended to be put in execution, were well understood at that time to be the Popery laws, and thus by artfully substituting the general words *prophaneness* and *immorality* for the appropriate word *Popery*, which those laws were framed to punish and persecute, this intriguing prelate acquired a plausible reason for extending his favourite system of rigour to those Protestants, who discountenanced the Popery laws and opposed the *English interest*, as objects of more rancour and detestation to his grace than even the Papists themselves.

* 2 Boulter, p. 152.

TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Dublin, 9th of February, 1735.

MY LORD,

THE bearer is the Rev. Mr. Cox, one of a very good family here, and of a fair character. He goes over to England to oppose the reversing of

of the Catholics' lands, they were vehement in decrying the principles and tenets of the Catholic religion. It had the effect to sharpen the edge of the law, by more rigorous execution, and of encreasing the acrimony of the Irish government against the body of Catholics, notwithstanding their unshaken loyalty and exemplary conduct. The nature of this alarm appears from the resolutions of the commons at the end of the year 1739, *nearly four years after his majesty had in the year 1735

the Lord Clancarty's attainder, if any such thing should be attempted this session. He is in possession of 400*l.* per annum, part of the Clancarty estate, which his father bought under the faith of two English acts of parliament, the Irish Trustee Act, and a particular act obtained by the Hollow Sword Blade Company, who had bought great estates here of the trustees, to make good the titles of those, who purchased under them. He will be best able to give your lordship an account of these several acts. But as not only he, but great numbers of Protestant purchasers, who have improved the Clancarty estate to near 60,000*l.* per annum, think they may be affected by such a reversal, I need not tell your lordship what a ferment the discourse of it has occasioned in those parts where the estate lies. But I must further add, that as probably two-thirds of the estates of Protestants here were Popish forfeitures originally, the uneasiness is universal, since they think if the attainder of any family be reversed now, another family may at another time obtain the same favour; and another at another season; for that no possessor of such forfeited estate can tell how long he or his may continue in the quiet enjoyment of what they have bought under the faith of English acts of parliament, and on the improvement of which they have laid out their substance. The House of Commons here have represented their sense of this matter to his majesty, as the House of Lords did two or three sessions ago, to which they then received a most gracious answer, which was the reason they did not address now. As a step of this nature would give great uneasiness to his majesty's Protestant subjects here, I desire your lordship would, where you judge it proper, represent the importance of the case. I have wrote a letter on this subject to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and sent it by the same hand.

I am,

My Lord, &c. &c.

* 1 Journ. Com. p. 336. Lund. 18th of February, 1739. Mr. Pigot reported from the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition of those, whose names are thereunto subscribed, in behalf of themselves and a great number of other Protestant purchasers of the late forfeited estates in the county of Cork, or deriving under them, and interested in the said estates, that they had come to several resolutions in the matter to them referred, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the same were again read, and are as follows:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that seventy-eight suits have been already commenced against the petitioners, and other Protestants, for the recovery of lands forfeited by the horrid Rebellion of 1688, and purchased by them, or their ancestors, under the sanction of several acts of parliament, and that the said suits have been greatly expensive and vexatious to the persons so sued.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the committee, that any attempt to disturb the Protestant purchasers of the estates forfeited in the years 1641 and 1688, in peaceable and quiet possession of their just and legal properties under such purchases, will be of dangerous consequence to his majesty's person and government, the succession in his royal house, and highly prejudicial to the Protestant interest of this kingdom, and contrary to several acts of parliament made and provided for the security of such Protestant purchasers.

assured them, in answer to their former address, that his majesty would always discourage any application or attempt, that might be made for the reversal of outlawries of persons attainted for the rebellions in 1641 and 1688, in any case that might affect the interest or property of any of his Protestant subjects there. This still proves, that there was an interest in the Irish cabinet, not in unison with all the dictates of the British cabinet : the former however prevailed on this occasion, and the attainder of Lord Clancarty was not reversed.*

Several causes combined to protect the Irish Catholics at this time, from being exposed to fresh rigor or persecution : the personal feelings of the sovereign, the political views of the English ministry, the humane disposition of the Duke of Devonshire, all conspired in a system of leniency and moderation, as best calculated to ensure the affection of the Irish nation, when it was well known, that the agents of the abdicated family

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that any person or persons who shall promote, encourage, or assist any person or persons in carrying on the said suits, will thereby endeavour to lessen the Protestant interest of this kingdom, and discourage his majesty's loyal Protestant subjects from making settlements or improvements therein.

The first and second resolutions being read a second time, were agreed to by the house, *nemine contradicente*.

The third resolution being read a second time, was, with an amendment thereunto, agreed unto by the house, *nemine contradicente*, and is as followeth :

Resolved, That any attempt to disturb the Protestant purchasers of the estates forfeited in the years 1641 and 1688, in their peaceable possession of their just and legal properties under such purchases, will be of dangerous consequence to his majesty's person and government, the succession in his royal house, and highly prejudicial to the Protestant interest of this kingdom, and derogatory from the parliamentary security, under which such Protestants have purchased.

Then the last resolution of the committee being read a second time, was agreed to by the house.

* This nobleman sensibly resented the irresolution of the English ministry in not carrying into effect their promises and engagements for passing this measure ; on this account M'Alister in his letters, (p. 15) observes, that he considered himself ill used by the ministry of England, and therefore required but a very slender invitation to join in any enterprise, that in his opinion might distress them, and therefore with great alacrity and readiness he attended the summons he had received from the old Chevalier to prepare for the intended invasion of Great Britain in 1745. Lord Clancarty (says this author) several years before he received the letter of invitation from the old Pretender, had been in Ireland, where he brought ejectments for recovery of an estate forfeited by his father, amounting to about 60,000*l.* per annum, which he claimed under a settlement of marriage. The parliament of that kingdom passed a vote, whereby it was resolved, that any lawyer, counsel, attorney, or solicitor that should proceed in such suit, &c. should be deemed an enemy to his country, &c. This resolution, which quieted the minds and interests of the possessors of that large estate, enraged the mind of the earl, who thought himself entitled to the whole ; and disappointed in that expectation, he sought any occasion for procuring to himself the prospect of possessing that great fortune, and would have joined the Grand Turk or Cham of Tartary to obtain it.

of Stuart were busily employed in raising partizans within the British empire, and Great Britain was engaged in a most important and unsuccessful war on the continent : and notwithstanding the severity of the laws against Catholics bearing arms either by land or sea, the British government had in defiance of the law, been necessitated secretly to recruit both the army and navy of Great Britain from the fertile nursery of the Catholics of Ireland ; and it is obvious, that in a moment of such pressing urgency, it would have been the extremity of rashness to indispose the Irish people from enlisting in the army and navy of Great Britain. In the year 1745, under the administration of Mr. Pelham, who had succeeded Sir Robert Walpole, the British government being embarrassed not only by the loss of the noted battle of Fontenoy, but by the landing of the young chevalier in the north of Scotland, who was immediately joined by many of the northern clans, most wisely appointed the Earl of Chesterfield lord lieutenant of Ireland.* Notwithstanding there

* When political necessity forces government into wholesome measures, it is to be regretted, when they are not softened with the popular unction of *good grace*. Nothing can so effectually absolve a minister from personal gratitude and feeling for his appointment, as to be made sensible in the first instance, that necessity, not favour, brought him to his situation. It makes him feel himself rather the man of the people, than of the crown ; hence that dislike to popular ministers, which has too frequently shewn itself in our sovereigns. The gloom of the political horizon in Great Britain, under what was then in derision called the *drunken administration*, had forced the king to sacrifice his confidential and favourite minister Lord Carteret, to private jealousy and public clamour. (*Dr. Maty's Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield, Sec. IV.*) A treaty had been for some time negotiating between the old part of the ministry, and the members of the opposition ; but it was not concluded before the close of this year (1744), it was called the *coalition*, or *broad-bottom treaty*. Lord Chesterfield, who was at the head of that party, had long declared for an honourable peace, or, till that could be obtained, for an exclusive exertion of British forces on that element, where they are truly formidable. On this principle a league was formed between the two parties, to drive out the minister, who was looked upon as their common enemy. This was a matter of no small difficulty. Lord Carteret had got possession of the royal ear ; and the only way to effect it, was to persuade the king, that his favourite measures would be pursued, and carried on with greater efficacy, by ministers of a more popular cast. Lord Chesterfield was proposed, as being equal to the obnoxious minister in his political knowledge of the interests of princes, and as the most likely person to prevail with the states to join heartily in the common cause. Necessity alone could have induced George II. to employ a man whom, for a number of years, he had been taught to consider as his personal enemy : (he often complained, that the king's ear had been poisoned with lies against him) and whom, in return, he had not treated as a friend. He had, however, no great objection to avail himself of the earl's interest in Holland, and was even willing to send him from thence, as lord lieutenant to Ireland, if for no other reason, to keep him still at a distance. But he wanted to make the admission of the earl into the cabinet a reward for services, rather than a condition of his being employed ; and persisted in delaying, at least for a time, to receive him into the closet. Lord Chesterfield peremptorily insisted upon both these circumstances. The audience was accordingly granted ; but the monarch, ever superior to dissimulation, received him with

then existed a corps of British Jacobites, consisting of seven regiments of Irish, and two of Scots* in the pay of the French

great coldness. *You have received your instructions, my lord*, were the only words, which he spoke in answer to the earl's application to be honoured with his majesty's commands. This is not the only instance in this reign, of a subject's forcing his way to his master, and obtaining or recovering his favour. Thus was Lord Chesterfield, after an opposition of ten years to public measures, called upon once more to take a part in administration. Admitted on his own terms, and without being obliged to sacrifice either his friends or his principles, he had the satisfaction of being called by the voice of the nation: and while one part of Europe dreaded the influence of so able a negotiator, the other loudly expressed the highest satisfaction at so judicious a choice.

* The six Irish regiments of foot, were *Dillon, Clare, Berwick, Roscommon, Lally*, and *Bulkeley*; and *Fitzjames's* horse: the Scots were, the *Royal Scots* horse, and *Ogilvie's* foot. Three of these regiments were at the battle of Fontenoy, and deservedly claimed the merit of turning the fortune of that day in favour of the French: on which occasion George the Second is reported to have said with unusual emotion, *curst be the laws, which deprive me of such subjects*. The learned and ingenuous Dr. Campbell gives this honourable testimony of Irish bravery. (*Pb. Surv. p. 274.*) "The Irish troops I find lie under the imputation of generally behaving ill at home. And therefore Voltaire classes Ireland among those nations, which seemed formed for subjection, while he admits that her troops behave well abroad." This lively, but inaccurate writer, could not have forgot, that at the battle of Blenheim, Lord Clare's dragoons alone were victorious on the side of the French, having cut to pieces a German regiment commanded by Colonel Goore; that the like glory attended them at Ramillies; and that the Irish regiments of Dillon and Burk saved, not only Cremona, but the whole French army in Italy. This action was attended with such éclat, that it was said in the British House of Commons, that the Irish abroad had done more mischief to the Allies, than they could have done at home, by being repossessed of their estates. They tell you it was Ligonier's horse, to a man Irish, which preserved the king's person, and thereby gained the battle of Dettingen. Many other cases are adduced to the same purpose. It was probably, reflections of this nature which produced the following lines of Swift:

Her matchless sons, whose valour still remains,
On French records, for twenty long campaigns;
Yet from an Empress, now a captive grown,
She saved Britannia's rights, and lost her own.

After all! Is it any thing more than to say, that the frequent insurrections of a divided people whose war was undisciplined, as their peace was uncivilized, were always suppressed by the regular forces of a great and powerful nation? If the Irish had tamely acquiesced under that submissive faction struck between some of their chiefs and Henry II., there might have been some grounds for the censure of Voltaire.

Sir John Davis, among the many causes assigned why Ireland was not brought under obedience to the crown of England before the reign of James I. every where commends the prowess, and other natural endowments of the people. A struggle, though unsuccessful for liberty, almost uninterrupted for near 500 years, is certainly no symptom of a country formed for subjection. But this struggle lasted much longer; and had Sir John come later into life, he would have seen, that Ireland was at that time far from being subdued. The being subdued does not argue the being formed for subjection. The Britons were completely subdued by the Romans; and if Britain had been formed for subjection, we could not at this day, boast of being the most free people in Europe. In the history of this country, I do not find any period in which it discovered such despondence, as our ancestors did in that humiliating letter to Aetius,

monarch, who considered themselves as auxiliary troops of James Stuart, their rightful monarch of these realms, and that frequent intercourse must have subsisted between those who served the exiled prince at St. Germain's or in this brigade, and their relatives in Ireland, yet so pure was the loyalty of the great body of the Irish in this critical juncture, that not even a suspicion of their rising in the cause of the Pretender, was harboured or acted upon by that prudent governor. True it is, that before this wise nobleman had assumed the reigns of the Irish government, the usual means of alarming and irritating the public mind from the senate, bench, and pulpit, had been so effectually pursued, that upon a report of the Marshal Saxe's intention to make a descent upon England, a serious proposal had been made in council, that as the papists had begun the massacre on the Protestants in 1641, it was but just and reasonable in that critical juncture to retaliate in like manner upon the Papists. Although this barbarous proposal were indignantly rejected by that honourable assembly, to which it was proposed, yet such was the enthusiastic rancour of some of the lower orders of the Protestant inhabitants of Lurgan, that such a horrid conspiracy was actually entered into, and providentially prevented by the discovery of a respectable merchant of Dublin, who happened to be accidentally there upon his commercial concerns. Nothing could exceed the coolness, moderation, and wisdom of the Earl of Chesterfield's conduct on this trying occasion.* He had for-

But be this as it may, the behaviour of the Irish at home, even in the last war, was far from contemptible. They were routed, it is true, at the Boyne, in their first general engagement, by the best generals, and the best troops then in Europe; their king, in whose cause they bled, standing at a distance, and shewing himself thereby unworthy of wearing any longer that crown, for which he contended.

At the conclusion of the war, "during the treaty of Limerick, a saying "of Sarsfield deserves to be remembered, for it was much talked of all Europe "over. He asked some of the English officers if they had not come to a better "opinion of the Irish, by their behaviour during this war? And whereas they "said, that it was much the same that it had always been, Sarsfield answered, "though low as we are now, change but kings, and we will fight it over again "with you."

* Every act of this excellent governor differed from those of all his predecessors, and unfortunately too of most of his successors. (*Maty's Memoirs*) Before he left England, he was willing to shew that he intended to govern by himself. The office of principal secretary is not only a place of considerable power, when the lord lieutenant is willing to throw upon another the load of public affairs. If the secretary be capable and enterprising, he becomes the principal; the governor is eclipsed, and shares only the odium, but never the honour, of his substitute's management. Several persons of great abilities as well as experience, were accordingly proposed to the earl for that important office. But faithful to the rule he had prescribed to himself in his two embassies, he resolved to make superior abilities no part of the secretary's qualifications. He listened not to the intimations of favourites and ministers, and even resisted the insinuations of friendship, which might have determined his choice in favour of Mr. Mallet. The gentleman he preferred was the late

unately been entrusted with a plentitude of discretion: and the gratitude of the Irish, for the judicious and prudent use of his extraordinary powers, has not even to this day, been effaced from the lowest of their peasantry. Gratitude has ever a strong hold upon the Irish nation. It required indeed the eminent sagacity and address of that nobleman, to baffle the efforts and importunities of the violent party in Ireland, with which they daily assailed the castle, and demanded rigour and severity against the Catholics, as the just tribute to the Protestant interest, and the only means of supporting the establishment: by these salutary measures, during the whole continuance of the rebellion in Great Britain,* not a single Irish Catholic lay or clerical, was engaged, or even accused of being engaged in that cause.†

Richard Lyddel, Esq. member of parliament for Basing in Cornwall. That gentleman, he says, in a letter to his son, was a *very genteel pretty young fellow, but not a man of business*. This was the circumstance, which dictated his choice; and on the first visit his secretary paid him, he told him; Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister. In another instance he likewise chose to be singular and peremptory. He openly declared, that if, during his stay in Ireland, any person should make a successful application to the king, for any place in his majesty's gift, through any other channel but his own, he would immediately throw up the lord lieutenantcy. Conscious of his integrity, he certainly was right in making this declaration, which perhaps would neither have been decent nor easily attended to, if a man of less resolution and consequence had at that time ventured to make it. On his landing he found the high character he had acquired, of the greatest service to him. In an Island esteemed not less boisterous than the element that surrounds it, he was particularly happy in quieting and captivating the turbulent disposition of the inhabitants; and Cicero, whom he had constantly before his eyes as an orator, became also the object of his imitation in his government.

* The Pretender landed in the summer of 1745, on one of the Hebrides, and on the 19th of August, the Marquis of Tullibardine erected his standard at Glensignan; and on the 16th day of April, 1746, the battle of Culloden was won by the Duke of Cumberland, which properly put an end to that rebellion.

† This fact is fully proved by Dr. Curry, (*2 vol. p. 261, Dub. Ed. 1793.*) “ In the year 1762, upon a debate in the House of Lords about the expediency of raising five regiments of these Catholics, for the service of the King of Portugal, Doctor Stone (then primate), in an answer to some common place objections against the good faith and loyalty of these people, which were revived with virulence on that occasion, declared publicly in the House of Lords, that “ in the year 1747, after that rebellion was intirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels and their correspondents, which were seized in the custody of Murray, the Pretender's secretary; and that after having spent much time, and taken great pains in examining them (not without some share of the then common suspicion, that there might be some private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish Catholics) he could not discover the least trace, hint, or intimation of such intercourse or correspondence in them, or of any of the latters favouring, or abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with the designs or proceedings of these rebels; and what he said he wondered at most of all was, that in all his searches, he had not met with any passage in any of these papers, from which he could infer, that either their holy father the pope, or any of his cardinals,

When Lord Chesterfield met the parliament on the 8th of October, his speech to them bespoke the wisdom of his conduct: he addressed himself to a feeling people with the authority of a ruler and with the affection of a father. Conscious as he was, that a very large part of them was still rancorously disposed towards the Catholics, he would not all at once shock their inclinations and prejudices by a declaration of that indulgence, which his political experience pointed out to him adviseable at all times, but absolutely indispensable in that juncture: like a great statesman he first assured them, that he was honoured with the king's commands to meet them in parliament, and to co-operate with them in whatever might tend to establish or promote the true interest of that kingdom. Then referring pointedly to the circumstances of the Scotch rebellion, and the happiness they had enjoyed under the house of Brunswick, he thus touched upon the old subject of invective to all his predecessors on their meeting the parliament. "The measures, that have been hitherto taken to prevent the growth of Popery have I hope had some, and will still have a greater effect: however I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing further can be done either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of Papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon society did not both require and authorise restraint." And "for my own part (he concluded) I make you no professions: you will, you ought to judge of me only by my actions."

"bishops, or other dignitaries of that church, or any of the Irish clergy, had either directly or indirectly, encouraged, aided, or approved of, the commencing or carrying on of that rebellion." There cannot be a more honourable testimony confirming this report of Primate Stone, than the charge given to the grand juries of the city and county of Dublin, by the Lord Chief Justice Marlay, in which he thus addressed them: "When posterity read, that in this age a rebellion was carried on in Great Britain without the least colour, or pretence of oppression, nay, by many who had not even that false pretence of religion to palliate their treason against a prince, one of the best, the most merciful, just and most generous of our royal line, who has given the fortunes of all criminals, whether forfeited for crimes against the state, or for other offences, to their children or relations (a grace never practised before); who has exposed his person at the head of his armies, in defence of the liberties of his kingdoms, and of Europe; and that Ireland, where much the greatest part of the inhabitants profess a religion, which sometimes has authorised, or at least justified rebellion, not only preserved peace at home, but contributed to restore it among his subjects of Great Britain; will they not believe that the people of Ireland were actuated by something more than their duty and allegiance? Will they not be convinced, that they were animated by a generous sense of gratitude, and zeal for their great benefactor, and fully sensible of the happiness of being blessed by living under the protection of a monarch, who, like the glorious King William, the Henries, and Edwards, his royal predecessors, has himself led his armies to victory, and despised danger in the cause of his people; and one from whom we not only expect, but are assured of, a race of princes, equally eminent for their generosity, prudence, and courage."

* The lords on the same day resolved on an address to the king, which should amongst other things express their great thankfulness to his majesty for his goodness in placing over them, at that critical juncture, his excellency, the Earl of Chesterfield, whose distinguished abilities often and signally exerted in the service of his majesty, so eminently qualified him for the important trust then reposed in him by his majesty for the security and happiness of that kingdom. And on the next day the commons voted an address to the throne, in which they assured his majesty, that they could not have a stronger assurance of his majesty's tender concern for them, than in the choice of a governor for that kingdom, so eminent for great abilities and distinguished merit as the Earl of Chesterfield, whose discerning judgment had pointed out what was necessary for their consideration and care, both with respect to the honour of his majesty's government, and their own true interest.

The Earl of Chesterfield found but an inconsiderable military force in the kingdom: and had he given ear to the alarmists of that day, who magnified external and fabricated internal danger, he would have drained Great Britain of her troops to quell an ideal insurrection by measures that probably would have created a real one: had he trodden the beaten path of patronage, he would have raised new regiments: had he pursued the old system of the castle, he would have encreased the expenditure, and trebled the supplies, under the hackneyed cries of Popish risings for a Popish Pretender, and Protestant massacres: had he continued the system of rigour and persecution he found carrying on against the Catholics at his arrival in that kingdom; their places of worship would have remained shut, and the prisons and scaffolds would have been crowded with their priests, for disobeying the proclamation lately issued to oblige them to quit the kingdom, and for enforcing the strictest execution of the penal laws of Elizabeth and Anne. The conduct of this wise viceroy was directly the reverse. Confiding in the steady loyalty of the Irish people, instead of encreasing, as he was importunately advised, the army by 4000 men, he sent four battalions to the assistance of the Duke of Cumberland, and encouraged volunteer associations to form in different parts of the kingdom for the defence of their country. These battalions he replaced by additional companies to the regiments already on the establishment, without encreasing the expenditure of the nation, the influence of the crown, or his own patronage or emolument. The supply asked for by Lord Chesterfield was small: it was raised with ease and expended with œconomy: there was

a considerable saving out of what was raised, and it was applied to the improvement of the harbour of Cork. He rested the support of his measures upon their rectitude, and chastely abstained from gaining friends by the customary mode of reversionary grants. He opened to the Catholics their places of worship,* released their priests out of prison, and allowed them the undisturbed exercise of their religious duties. This great statesman well knew, that the Irish, above all other people, were to be gained and secured by confidence, kindness and liberality. Thus Protestants and Catholics, Whigs and Tories, English and Irish interests, all stricken with the glare of rectitude of his measures, united in contributing to render his government agreeable and efficient. Neither in nor out of parliament was a single measure of this excellent governor opposed, or disrelished.† The lords almost immediately (*viz.* on the 9th of

* In many parts of the country the Popery laws were executed with the most unrelenting rigour: it is however but an act of justice to several of the magistrates of that day to observe, that they were even ingenious to extend their leniency to those, who they were conscious, did not deserve rigour at their hands. Their humanity revolted against the power, which the law gave them: when the Reverend Mr. Egan was prosecuted for being a Popish priest, the witnesses swore they saw him celebrate the Mass, which in the eye of the law was sufficient to convict him; but the judge replied, that Garzia the Jew had done the same in Dublin, in 1718, and that nothing would do to prove Egan a Popish priest, but to substantiate his ordination after the manner of the Romish church; "besides (said he) to my knowledge, a priest must know some Latin, but here is a booby that cannot read a word of English." The arrival of Lord Chesterfield as viceroy served to mitigate the severity of those unsocial times, and he availed himself of an accident, which was universally spoken of, to soften the rage of persecution. A Mr. Fitzgerald happened to say Mass in the garret of a very old house, which gave way on account of the immense crowd that was assembled; the priest and nine persons were killed, and numbers wounded by the ruins. People in power were touched with a transitory pity, which Lord Chesterfield's humanity took care to cultivate. The chapels were allowed to be opened on St. Patrick's day, and were never after shut, not even during the rebellion, which blazed in Scotland in the year 1745.

† Doctor Maty thus retails this governor's conduct (*Mem. Sect. V.*) Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, the private Popish chapels in the metropolis had been searched for, and ordered to be shut up, proclamations were issued to compel the priests to leave the capital, and the refractory were imprisoned and threatened with severe punishments. The new lord lieutenant did not want for advisors, who pressed him to follow this example. His enlarged notions of humanity and true politics induced him to pursue a different and much wiser course. He allowed the Roman Catholics the free use of their religion, and far from attempting to shut up their places of worship, he rather wished them to continue open; and prevented any disturbance from being given to those, who resorted to them. His view was to discover whether the people of that denomination remained in the kingdom, or left it to go over to their supposed friends in Scotland. To be informed of that material fact, he took care to engage persons to attend at their chapels and fairs, and received with great satisfaction, assurances, that they were both as much frequented as ever. A certain proof of the confidence they placed in his promises, and of their desire not to molest government. The deluded adherents to the exiled family were treated with equal lenity and prudence. One of them, a Roman Catholic, who had an estate in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and was looked upon as an agent

October 1745) expressed their satisfaction at the appointment of this great statesman at so critical a juncture, in an address

to the Pretender, was privately sent for to the castle. "Sir (said Lord Chesterfield), I do not wish to inquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom, but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such; but if they act in a different manner, I shall be worse to them than Cromwell." Whether he would have really been so, may be doubted; but this conversation, together with his watchful eye, had such an effect, that not one of them stirred during the whole time of the rebellion, and all the informations against particular persons were found absolutely groundless. His efforts to remove prejudices, and maintain harmony and benevolence, were seconded by writers, whom he encouraged to support the same cause. Dean Swift was still alive, when Lord Chesterfield arrived, but reduced to a state of total dotage and insensibility, which one month after ended in his death. This short interval was laid hold of, to publish under his name a new letter of a Drapier to the good people of Ireland, and particularly to the poor Papists. It was so much in the dean's style, and was so greedily received, that it went through a variety of editions in a month's time. Indeed the many strokes of wit and humour, that it contained, would induce me to suspect, that his lordship had some share in it. Berkeley, the bishop of Cloyne, employed himself in the same cause, perhaps more usefully than in his recommendation of tar water, or his dialogues against matter. His letter to the Roman Catholics of his diocese was worthy of a Christian bishop. He endeavoured to dissuade his fellow citizens and neighbours from falling into the same errors which had been so fatal to their fathers; and appealing to their reason, convinced them, that their situation was as advantageous as they could wish it to be, and that it would be the height of imprudence to engage in a dangerous cause, to which neither interest did invite, nor conscience did oblige them." Reason never speaks in vain; the most hardened are insensibly softened by its voice. The Irish priests, sensible of the gentleness of the present administration, co-operated with their Protestant brethren to maintain order and tranquillity. These pastoral letters, public discourses from the pulpit, and private admonitions, were equally directed for the service of government. The ill-grounded apprehensions of the friends to the present system were not less to be guarded against, than the enterprises of its enemies. This was by much the most difficult task, but Lord Chesterfield was equally successful in encouraging the former and disarming the latter. By constantly appearing to be afraid of nothing, he spread an universal belief that nothing was to be feared; and by the ridicule he threw upon the violent measures which were proposed to him, he manifested his desire of abstaining from them till there was real danger. Thus (Notes to the Memoirs, p. 29 and 31) the same author says, that a zealous Protestant, thinking to pay his court to the lord lieutenant, came to inform him, that one of his coachmen was a Roman Catholic, and privately went to Mass. *Does he indeed?* (said his lordship) *well, I will take care he shall never carry me there.* An instance of his lordship's calmness and presence of mind on this occasion has been given by the Bishop of Waterford. "I cannot (says he) forbear to mention a pun of his lordship's, which shews his quickness at repartee, and that he had the best information of the dispositions of the Roman Catholics, and was not afraid of them. The vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardner, a man of a good character and a considerable fortune, waited upon him one morning, and in a great fright told him, that he was assured, upon good authority, that the people in the province of Connaught were actually rising. Upon which Lord Chesterfield took out his watch, and with great composure answered him, It is nine o'clock, and certainly time for them to rise; I therefore believe your news to be true."

to the lord lieutenant;* in which they expressed their sense of his majesty's favour and goodness towards Ireland in sparing from his councils in Great Britain, a person of his excellency's known and tried abilities for the good and advantage of that nation. †The commons were more tardy in expressing their sentiments to the viceroy, though their address, which was made on the 5th of April 1746, were more pointed, as being founded in the happy experience, and not in the anticipated confidence of his administration. The earl of Chesterfield had the satisfaction of seeing all his attempts to serve the kingdom he was sent, in that critical moment, to govern, requited by the most peaceful demeanour and enthusiastic gratitude of the Irish nation. He was universally admired on his arrival, beloved during his stay, and regretted upon his departure. To perpetuate his virtues and the gratitude of the nation, his bust was placed in the castle of Dublin at the public expence.‡

* 4 Lords' Journ. p. 594.

† 4 Commons Journ. p. 506.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to express our sincere and unanimous sense of the benefits which we have received from your excellency's mild and prudent administration. His majesty's gracious acceptance of the duty and loyalty of his subjects in this kingdom, has been particularly manifested by his committing them to your excellency's care, in so critical a conjuncture, when your zeal for the present happy establishment was of more immediate importance to our security, and your eminent abilities could be more effectually exerted for our service. These uncommon talents, by which your excellency has been most justly distinguished, and which did in all times excite our admiration, must now more sensibly affect us, when we have seen them through your whole administration, so invariably directed, and employed with so unwearied an application to support the dignity of his majesty's crown, and to promote the true interest of his people. As upon the first appearance of the rebellion in Scotland, our zeal for his majesty animated us with a just resentment and indignation, and as our concern for the preservation of our rights and liberties, so dear to the Protestants of this kingdom, could not but raise in our minds some unquiet apprehensions; we were ready, as we shall ever be, cheerfully to concur in all proper measures, and to exert our utmost strength for the defence of the king's government, and the support of your excellency's authority under him. And we do now, with equal cheerfulness, and with the utmost gratitude acknowledge, that the profound tranquillity, which, without any extraordinary increase of public expence, we of this nation have hitherto enjoyed, has been the result of a wise and vigilant administration over us; an administration formed upon the principles and carried on by the uniform exercise of lenity without remissness, and of firmness without severity. We receive it as a particular mark of your excellency's regard, that when your assistance at his majesty's councils in this time of the most arduous and extensive deliberations there, must have been so necessary, you have seemed to consider the business of this kingdom as the principal object of your attention. Upon this account we think it almost superfluous to add our request, that your excellency would, on your return, represent us in the most favourable manner to his majesty, since our experience of your past conduct must sufficiently assure us of the continuance of the same good dispositions towards us, and as we are most firmly persuaded that your presence has not been more conducive to our safety now, than your influence will hereafter be to our prosperity.

‡ Doctor Maty has elegantly and concisely painted the halcyon hours of Lord Chesterfield's government. (*Sect. V.*) "As it was owing to the lord

The short administration of the Earl of Chesterfield furnishes reflections highly important to the welfare of the Irish nation. It was a practical demonstration of the utility of a system of lenity and liberality, not only to Ireland, but to the whole British empire. It was a conclusive evidence, that Great Britain well knew how at any time to ensure the happiness of her sister kingdom, though unwilling at most times to promote it. The danger of Great Britain drove her to do justice to Ireland for the few months during which that danger lasted; and her security brought with it repentance, at the momentary, though necessary interruption of the ancient system. It is lamentably remarkable how thriftilly Great Britain dealt out this transient justice to Ireland, as if she counted reluctantly the hours of its enjoyment. On the 19th, of August, 1745, the standard of rebellion was formally erected in the Highlands of Scotland: a courier was dispatched to hasten the return of the king, who was then in Hanover: he arrived in London before the end of August: and on the 31st day of August, the Earl of Chesterfield was appointed lord lieutenant and chief governor of the kingdom of Ireland. On the 16th of April, 1746, the defeat of the Pretender at Culloden by the Duke of Cumberland put an end to the rebellion; and on the ninth day after that event, Ireland was deprived of her favourite viceroy; for on the 25th of April, 1746, Primate Hoadley, Lord Chancellor Newport, and Mr. Boyle, the speaker of the House of Commons, were appointed lords justices, and vainly did Ireland sigh for the return of her short-lived felicity: Great Britain was out of danger: and Ireland could securely be put again under its former regime.* In

“ lieutenant’s vigilance and resolution that the French and Spaniards did not attempt to land any troops in Ireland during the time of the rebellion, it was likewise an effect of his prudence and moderation, that the horrors of a civil war did not reach that country. Distinctions of parties seemed to be abolished, and animosities to be forgotten as well as prejudices and suspicions. Religion became what it ought to be, a bond of union instead of an instrument of discord; superstition was enlightened, and fanaticks disarmed. Hence a phenomenon took place, not often beheld in times of tranquillity. Protestants and Roman Catholics, natives and strangers, well-wishers and enemies to the Pretender, all alike influenced by the example of their benevolent governor, indulged, respected, and would have loved one another, if he had continued a longer time among them.

“ It is the province of history to perpetuate the transactions of an administration, which it will ever be the interest of future lord lieutenants to study and to imitate.”

* It appears to have been a fatality peculiar to Ireland, that her greatest civil blessings have been unexceptionably obtained under circumstances, that to say the least of them, deprived Great Britain of the merit of voluntary, cordial and gracious accession. Thus shall we have to note in proper time and order, the situation of Great Britain, when the independence of Ireland was recognised in 1782, which Mr. Burke observed, was the true revolution to the Irish, and when she became united with Great Britain. For the honour of the people of Great Britain, it were to be wished, that necessity had not forced, but reason and liberality had proffered the boon: yet that very necessity proves its excellency; and its excellency will ensure its continuance and success.

order effectually to cut off all hopes of the return of Lord Chesterfield to Ireland, on the 13th of September the Earl of Harrington was appointed the new lord lieutenant.

We are now arrived at that period of the Irish history at which Mr. Burke observed,* the English in Ireland began to be domiciliated, and to recollect that they had a country. The English interest at first by faint and almost insensible degrees, but at length openly and avowedly, became an *independent Irish interest*, full as independent as it could ever have been, if it had continued in the persons of the native Irish. The new lord lieutenant, when he met the parliament in October, 1747, particularly complimented them on his majesty's continuance of his paternal regard and affection to a *dutiful and loyal people* : and recommended a continuance of the same good conduct and vigilance, which, under God, had prevented the communication of so dangerous an infection (i. e. the Scotch Rebellion) to that kingdom.

A political question was about this time started in Ireland, and carried on with extraordinary virulence by the contending parties. Mr. Lucas, a medical gentleman from Cork, upon a vacancy having happened in the representation of the city of Dublin by the death of Sir James Sommerville, attracted the notice and secured the warmest support of the patriots of that day, by publicly attacking the abuses, that had lately prevailed in the elections of members for the city of Dublin, by which the commons were deprived of the power of chusing the city magistrates, and that power was placed in the Board of Aldermen, subject to the approbation of the lord lieutenant. The press teemed with letters, answers, replies, addresses, appeals, counter-appeals, and every engine, that could be employed to add rancour, sting, and fuel to the heats of the contending parties. It was no longer an electioneering squabble between two rival candidates : it became a trial of strength upon popular principles of civil liberty between the patriots and government. It kept the Protestants† of Ireland in a flame of civil discord for

* Letter to Lang. p. 45.

† It was natural, that the Irish Catholics, who were formally excluded from any active or passive representation in parliament, should be indifferent to those contests for civil rights, which could not end in admitting them to the enjoyment. The first periodical publication of Mr. Lucas was the *Censor*, against which Sir Richard Cox (under the title of Anthony Litten) wrote his appeal to the public, abusing Lucas (he was a Presbyterian) as an incendiary and a *Papist* ; and treating the Catholic body of the Irish nation with the most contemptuous and rancorous hostility.

Against this appeal of Sir Richard Cox, M. O'Connor wrote his *Counter-Appeal*, to shew, that so far from being addicted to slavish opinions, the Irish nation had, on the contrary, laboured long under a complication of evils resulting from licentiousness, and that it was their greatest political misfortune and the source of all their calamities, that the excess of liberty, which prevailed

several years. Mr. James Digges La Touche, who had formerly been an intimate friend of Mr. Lucas, and strongly united with him in political principles, on this occasion abandoned his former principles, and proposed himself as a candidate for the city of Dublin, in direct and violent opposition to Mr. Lucas, then the popular idol of such of the nation, as took the liveliest concern in the politics of that day.

Mr. Charles Lucas had some years before attracted the notice of his fellow citizens by the strong powers of his mind, and the independent firmness of his public spirit: he had been some time before admitted to the public council. Here he resolved to exert himself in behalf of their privileges. The new rules framed in the reign of Charles the Second, by authority from a clause in the act of explanation, had, as in other corpo-

among them was not tempered by Aristocracy in such a manner as to afford a solid support to monarchy on the one side, and freedom on the other. This pamphlet was dated from the town of Londonderry, September 30th, 1749. It was written in a hasty manner, merely for the contest and passion of the day, and Mr. O'Connor never would acknowledge it to be his, until his correspondence with Reily, the editor, obliged him to acknowledge it.

"Your inflammatory counter-appeal (says Reily) has been roared about the streets here all this day, and so inflaming it is, that" Walter Harris, the historian, told the printer (Kelburne) he would be summoned to the Bar of the House, and sent to Newgate; for that it is of a more dangerous tendency, than all Lucas's papers together. The best of it is, that Kelburne himself cannot guess at the author: some say it is Brooke, others Lucas himself; but let them guess on while you are safe. You must guard against all Sir Richard's friends, he is not only warm, but malicious against Lucas.

"Yours, &c. &c.

Dublin, October 10th, 1749.

"CIVICUS.

MR. O'CONNOR TO CIVICUS.

"Your hints are friendly, and demand my thanks, but I am by no means interested, nor is any of our unfortunate people in this affair of Lucas, into which we are dragged by violent and wanton malevolence; I have even some disgust to Lucas, on account of his Barber's letters; a true patriot would not have betrayed such malice to such unfortunate slaves as we. But those boasters, the Whigs, are in search of liberty, just as Herod was of Christ, to crush it in its infancy, and have to all themselves.

Yours, &c. &c.

October 28th, 1749.

"C. O'CONNOR.

It is observable, notwithstanding Harris's menaces, that the most objectionable passage in the counter-appeal is this: "Can it at this time of day be a matter of doubt whether we Irish have a right to the laws and constitution of our fathers, or are we to live subject to the dictates of an incompatible legislation?"

The bugbear of Jacobitism, which was so successfully played in these bigoted times, rendered all publications favourable to Roman Catholics very dangerous to their authors; any thing that could tend to soften the rigour of the penal code was highly alarming, and every possible step was taken to prevent the governing party's granting the smallest degree of toleration to their Catholic countrymen.

rate towns, changed the powers of the city corporation. To encrease the influence of the crown, among other innovations, they deprived the commons of the power of choosing the city magistrates, and placed it in the Board of Aldermen, subject in its exercise on each election to the approbation of the chief governor, and privy council. Of this injury Lucas loudly complained: but the law being absolute, could not be combated. Suspecting, however, that in other respects encroachments had been made on the rights of the citizens not justified by law, he examined the city charters, and searched diligently into the ancient records, by which he became convinced that his apprehensions were well founded. He published his discoveries, explained the evidence resulting from them, and encouraged the people to take the proper steps for obtaining redress. In consequence, a warm contest commenced betwixt the commons and aldermen in 1741, which continued the two succeeding years. Though the former struggled in vain to recover their lost privileges, the exertions of Lucas in every stage of the dispute, were strenuous and persevering. These services raised him so high in the esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens, that on the death of Sir James Sommerville, they encouraged him to declare himself a candidate to represent them in parliament. Ambitious of an office so flattering, which would give him an opportunity of exerting his abilities to the greatest advantage in the service not only of the city of Dublin, but of his country, he complied with their desire. His speeches to the several corporations on this occasion, which were bold, nervous, and animated, in favour of liberty, encreased their attachment to him. But a number of addresses to his fellow citizens, which he wrote and published, tended more effectually to encrease his popularity. In these, among other subjects, he considered distinctly the several branches of the constitution; pointed out to the electors of Dublin, and to the nation the privileges of Irishmen, and the various injuries they had sustained by the interference of the British legislature. The firmness and perspicuity of his manner, the popularity of his subject, and (perhaps) the justice of his arguments, alarmed the Irish government, which had been little used to such opposition. They determined to crush him by the hand of power.* For this purpose, certain passages the most obnoxious to the state, were collected from his publications, and made the foundation of a charge which was brought against him before parliament. The rights of the commons,

* Without troubling the reader with any of Mr. Lucas's writings or arguments, it may not be unfair to refer him to his general profession of political faith, by which he committed himself in his Address to the Earl of Harrington, on the 3d of October, 1749, which is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LVII.

which with particular attention he had laboured to vindicate and ascertain, had been one of the subjects of his free discussion. Instead of protecting him in reward of this service, and of his exertions in behalf of Ireland, the majority of that house listened to the charge, voted him an enemy to his country, and addressed the lord lieutenant to order him to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney general. The hand of power was too prevailing: the favour of the public was not sufficient to defend him from the danger, by which he was threatened; therefore to avoid the impending storm, Mr. Lucas fled from Ireland. After he had spent some time in banishment, the turn of fortune placed him once more in an honourable situation. The exertions of his friends rose superior to the influence, by which he had been oppressed. Upon a new vacancy, he returned to Dublin, and was elected one of the representatives of that city in parliament. The same patriotic principles, and the same exertions in behalf of the constitution, for which he had been hitherto so remarkable, invariably distinguished his conduct in and out of parliament to the day of his death.

The spirit of civil freedom and constitutional independence had now become so prevalent in Ireland, that the English interest could no longer be kept up and carried on with that systematic and uncontrolled ease, with which it had been managed by Primate Boulter. Upon the death of Primate Hoadley who had succeeded Boulter in 1747, the person to whom this interest was committed was George Stone, then bishop of Derry, who on several occasions had signalized himself by a most determined opposition to the *Irish interest*: immediately upon his translation to the See of Armagh, he was put at the head of the commission, with the chancellor and speaker, as lords justices. This prelate was a man of talent, of a lofty and arrogant disposition; resolute and determined; and a thorough-paced courtier: he was wholly devoted to politics; and little attentive to his pastoral duties.* At the head of those, who opposed him, was

* The confusion of the spiritual and temporal powers must ever be attended with disadvantages to both. The prelate when in the cabinet, is as much out of his element, as the statesman in the pulpit. Primate Stone was lavish of favours to his creatures, and had therefore many supporters: but he was too haughty and dictatorial not to have many enemies. He was a man rather of mean birth: his grandfather had been gaoler at Winchester; and his perquisites in that situation had enabled his son, the primate's father, to become a banker: he was a non-juror, and his chief customers were the Jacobites. He was in the flower of youth when promoted to the primacy; a station to which none before him had been raised till in the decline of life. His person was uncommonly handsome; which procured him the appellation of *the beauty of Holiness*. It is not to be wondered at, that the rapid progress of this young ecclesiastic, through the dignities of his order, and who was now at the head of the church as well as of the state, should raise hatred and favour to an extraordinary degree. He was inordinate in his ambition, intemperate in his passions, and

his colleague in the commission Mr. Boyle the speaker of the House of Commons. The late Lord Clare has left us too faithful a portrait of this prelate, and has brought the consequences of his and the British cabinet's conduct in Ireland, to too close a bearing upon the Union, not to submit it to the reader in his own words.

* "After the treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle, the trade of this country had so encreased, that the hereditary revenue was amply sufficient for every public service, and a considerable

inexorable in his resentments. Like his predecessor Boulter, he was invested with the arduous charge of marshalling the *English interest*, or as the more specious phrase then was of *doing the king's* (but in fact the minister's) *business*. His entertainments and connections were suited to his youth; and however conducive he might render them to his ruling passion of ambition, they had all the attractions of the most voluptuous refinement. His courtesy, affability, and hospitality gained him many abettors in a country where those qualities are supereminently appreciated: and it is admitted on all hands, that his efforts to gain proselytes in parliament were indefatigable. Yet with all these advantages of nature and power, the number of his enemies is a strong presumption, that the charges of his enemies were not altogether groundless. For the honour of the English nation, of humanity and religion, I forbear to retail his enemies' account of his conduct. I take the less invidious side of the question, and submit his defence to the reader from an avowed encomiast, published in London, 1757, seven years before his death, which happened in 1765, when he was succeeded in the primacy by Dr. Robinson, afterward created Lord Rokeby. (*Letter to the Duke of Bedford*, p. 12.) Speaking of a strong opponent of the primate's, the letter writer says: "Knowing, perhaps not entirely from all his own experience, of what consequence the character of integrity and virtue is even to a statesman, he with great industry and secrecy spread about misrepresentations of the primate, as a man devoid of all principles of religion and honour; as a monster swayed by unnatural appetites. To the first of these charges, it must be confessed, the primate gave some countenance, by a conduct a little too free for a person at the head of the ecclesiastical body. Having had a liberal education himself, and having always lived with those who had, he could not confine himself within the narrow sphere of his profession. There was more foundation for the second than for any other part of the charge. He was not always as cautious in his promises as prudence required. Even when he did not promise, his answers, from a fear of offending, and a desire of uniting every body to him, were expressed in such a manner, as drew in the persons, to whom they were given, to guess at more than he meant. A practice often used by statesmen, but which seems as little agreeable to good policy, as it is to morality. Hence every body left him contented and assured of his friendship, receiving all his expressions of kindness as so many absolute promises of what they solicited. It is not then very extraordinary that he should be charged with many breaches of faith, and that the truth of those aspersions on this head, with which he was so frequently bespattered, should be attested by many. To the last abominable charge his virtue gave rise. Whether from a coldness in his constitution, or what is more probable, out of respect to his ecclesiastical function, he totally abstained from women. It was impossible, in a country which piques itself upon indispensable attachments to the fair sex, that this should not be taken notice of, and become a general topic of conversation. His enemies laid hold of this opportunity to blacken his character, with the imputation of a vice, the more easily credited, by how much the more abominable; and to which some of his connections, for which people could not easily account, did not a little contribute."

* Speech, on the 10th of February, 1800, p. 27.

“surplus remained in the exchequer, after defraying every
 “charge upon it; so that in effect the crown was little, if at all
 “dependant on parliament for support: and it is difficult to say
 “how long this oligarchy might have kept its ground, if the in-
 “trigues of the ambitious ecclesiastic, then at the head of the Irish
 “church, had not laid the foundation of party heat and animos-
 “ities, which have long disturbed and degraded our parliamen-
 “tary proceedings. The great trial of strength between the
 “primate and the then speaker of the House of Commons was
 “made in 1753, when a bill was proposed for applying the sur-
 “plus then in the exchequer to pay a public debt, which had
 “been some time before contracted. The courtiers of that day
 “ranged under the ecclesiastical banner, contended that this
 “surplus belonged to the crown; and, therefore, that the king’s
 “previous assent to its application ought to be signified before
 “the commons could appropriate it. The patriots,* ranged
 “under the speaker’s banner, insisted that no such assent was
 “necessary, and beat their political adversaries by a small ma-
 “jority. Heads of a bill for the appropriation passed the com-
 “mons without taking notice of the king’s previous assent to it.
 “They were rejected by the crown, and the surplus was applied
 “by the royal authority, without the intervention of parliament.
 “But the commons took effectual care, that the question should
 “not occur a second time, by appropriating every future sur-

* True it is, that a very numerous party at this time ranged themselves under the appellation of patriots, but it follows not, that the views of many of them were truly patriotic: but as a standard of patriotism was then erected, and the victory was to be gained by numbers, it will readily be admitted, that too scrupulous a test of sincerity was not required of those, who offered to enlist under the banners of either party. Thus too frequently, alas, are private and mischievous projects effected under the disguise of patriotism: whence the very term has latterly lost its real, and acquired equivocal import. There is no question but that a certain party, whether they be termed an *opposition*, *antiministerial*, *country party* or *patriots*, had acquired such an ascendancy in the House of Commons, that government could no longer ensure a question against them. The primate had kept on terms with many of them; but the management of the king’s business under such checks was incompatible with the uncontrollable spirit of that prelate: he withdrew the mask, and openly avowed his intentions of carrying every measure of the British cabinet, which he speciously termed the *king’s business*, with a high hand, in spite of all opposition. Open war was proclaimed between the contending parties, and a standard was erected by this aspiring prelate, to which all who expected preferment in church or state, or who were dissatisfied with their own party, were invited to resort. From subsequent events, the reports of certain disappointments amongst the patriots in their negotiations with the primate appear not to have been altogether groundless. Thus the blunt refusal of a reversionary grant of the Mastership of the Rolls to Mr. Carter’s son, drove the father into a most determined and vindictive opposition. The primate, from the age and infirmity of Mr. Carter, considered the reversion of that lucrative employment much nearer than it fell in; for the master of the rolls lived to see the success of his opposition to the primate and in that prelate’s disgrace and confusion, though he did not succeed in his own private views.

“ plus to their private use, under the specious pretence of local
 “ public improvements. Wind-mills and water-mills, and canals,
 “ and bridges, and spinning gennies, were provided at the pub-
 “ lic expence; and the parliamentary patrons of these great
 “ national objects were entrusted with full discretionary powers
 “ over the money granted to complete them. From this sys-
 “ tem of local improvement, a double advantage arose to the
 “ Irish aristocracy: it kept their followers steady in the ranks,
 “ and by reducing the crown to the necessity of calling for the
 “ supplies, made the political services of the leaders necessary
 “ for the support of the king’s government. But the precedent
 “ was fatal, and a system has gradually been built upon it, which
 “ would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth.”

As one of the prominent objects of the Union was to remove
 the possibility of that mal-administration of the Irish govern-
 ment, which the noble earl said *would beat down the most power-
 ful nation of the earth*, it will be necessary to enter more fully
 into the grounds of that opposition, which the patriots then
 made against the *English interest*. It had been the invariable
 usage, as it was the inherent duty of the commons, since the
 Revolution, to superintend the expenditure of the annual sup-
 plies which they raised; in order if there should be a deficiency,
 that they might supply it; if a surplus, that they might apply
 it to the credit of the nation: and the received notion, was, that
 they had a right to dispose of such surplus of the revenue, with-
 out the consent of the sovereign: accordingly in the year 1749
 they prepared a bill with the following preamble: “ Whereas
 “ on the 25th of March last a considerable balance remained in
 “ the hands of the vice-treasurers or receivers general of the
 “ kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will
 “ be for your majesty’s service, and for the ease of your faithful
 “ subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be con-
 “ veniently spared should be paid, agreeably to your majesty’s
 “ most gracious intentions, in discharge of part of the national
 “ debt.” This assumption of right in the Irish commons to
 apply the unappropriated surplus of the revenue without the
 previous and express consent of the crown, gave great offence
 to the British cabinet, which in tenderness to the royal preroga-
 tive instructed the Duke of Dorset, who had returned lord
 lieutenant to Ireland in 1751, to assure the parliament,* that he
 was commanded by the king to acquaint them, that his majesty,
 ever attentive to the ease and happiness of his subjects, would
 graciously consent and recommend it to them, that such a part
 of the money then remaining in his treasury, as should be
 thought consistent with the public service, should be applied to-

* Journ. Com. p. 91.]

wards the further reduction of the national debt. This declaration, although it fell in with their intention of appropriating the surplus, yet alarmed the commons as a reflex attempt upon their privileges: accordingly in their address of thanks, which is usually a mere echo of the king's speech, they omitted to notice in any manner this consent of the crown; and they acknowledged, generally, his majesty's attention to their ease and happiness, in recommending the application of the surplus. In consequence of this, they resolved to apply 120,000*l.* of that surplus towards discharging the national debt: and in the preamble of the bill framed for this purpose they made no mention of his majesty's consent; which studied omission was extremely resented by the English ministry, as an intended and overt attack upon the prerogative. The bill was sent back amended in the preamble by an insertion of his majesty's consent, as well as his recommendation. The House of Commons had then been for some time deeply engaged in a most important investigation of the embezzlement and misapplication of public money, by Mr. Nevil, one of their own house, surveyor and engineer general, who was found guilty of the grossest peculation, embezzlement and fraud in his management of, and contracts for the barracks.* Such abuses of public trusts had been long complained of, and much longer felt by the Irish nation: but till the patriots of that day had acquired sufficient strength to raise an effectual opposition to the abuses of the Anglo-Irish government, all addresses, remonstrances, and efforts for redress had (as usually is the case) but aggravated the evil, whilst the state delinquents were shielded by that factious majority in parliament, which it was the boasted policy of those times to support, under the appellation of an *English interest*. An insult and injury to Ireland which the Union can alone effectually repair. As this public attack upon a servant of the crown for gross abuse of public trust was the first effort of this nature, which seemed to promise success from the daily accumulating strength of the patriots and the glaring notoriety of the charges, the commons were unwilling to embroil themselves further with government, until they had ensured this first victory. They therefore passed the bill with the alteration, without even debating the question. Having succeeded in convicting the surveyor and engineer general of misapplying the public money and abusing the public trust, and ordering by a resolution of their house, that at his own expence,† and without any further charge to the public he should render the barracks fit for the reception of the troops,

* For the different reports and resolutions against him vide 5 Com. Journ. passim.

† Mr. Nevil was afterwards expelled the house, and his name ordered to be expelled out of the list. 5 Journ. Com. p. 165.

they now reserved themselves to make head against this encroachment of the crown upon their own privileges and uncontrollable right of raising and applying the surplus of the nation.

The duke of Dorset was sent a second time to assume the government of Ireland, in the full expectation, that the popularity he had gained in his first administration, would have been successfully employed in stemming the progress of patriotism, which not perhaps so much from its intrinsic merits, as from the popularity of Lucas, and the disgrace and punishment of Nevil, had become highly alarming to the English cabinet. The fate of that lord lieutenant, is an important lesson to the statesman, of the evil and disgrace of prostituting principle to place and favour. That nobleman was remarkable for his suavity of manners, and when formerly governor, had manifested such moderation, prudence, and caution, that nearly bordered upon timidity. He had no personal enemy, and was really friendly to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. Upon his first arrival, he was received by all degrees and ranks of men, with all the marks of joy and gratitude, that could be manifested by those, who had experienced the goodness and mildness of his former administration, and who had long regretted his absence. The change of the public disposition towards his grace was as sudden, as his devotion to the *English interest* was determined. Primate Stone, to whose nod the whole Irish government moved, was execrated in the country for the detestable vices he was charged with : and Lord George Sackville the lieutenant's son, the secretary, gave general offence to the nation by the loathsomeness of his carriage : he was disdainful and impetuous : and though eloquent was often petulant and generally sarcastic in his language. The patriots complained loudly, that under these two, namely, an English archbishop, (no very staunch model of morality or virtue) and a young supercilious boy, giddy and intoxicated with power, the Irish nation was governed without controul.* The duke was

* How general the national hatred of the secretary and the primate was, appears from some of the standing toasts at that time used at the convivial meetings of the patriots : *May all Secretary Baskaws and lordly High Priests, be kept to their tackle, the sword and the Bible. And may the importation of Ganymedes be discontinued in Ireland.* These fixed public expressions of the sense of a party, prove not the truth but the prevalence of certain opinions, under which they acted. In a country where the vice of drinking has at all times been prevalent, and is the occupation of a principal part of the day, these convivial hours were naturally rendered subservient to the political purposes, which generally brought the parties together. Mr. Carter, the master of the rolls, was eminent for his perseverance at the bottle, and keeping the table in a roar of laughter by his archness, vivacity, and wit. To him indeed was ascribed the facetious device of systematically conveying point and satire in toasts, which afterwards gained circulation through the newspapers, and found their way to the heart by being frequently repeated in the effervescence of hilarity and heat of intemperance. Thus did the most pointed apophthegms of politics, unite the company and sharpen the wit and malice of individuals against their common enemy.

considered as the mere passive tool of government; though he had no enemies to his person, he now found a host against his government.

When in 1753, the Duke of Dorset opened the session, he again informed the commons, that he was commanded by his majesty to inform them, that he would graciously consent and recommend it to them, that so much of the money remaining in his treasury, as should be necessary, should be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or to such part thereof as they should think expedient.* They again omitted the word *consent* out of their address, and resolved, in their bill of application, not only to sink this odious term, but likewise to abate in their complaisance to the crown, by leaving out the expression of grateful acknowledgment, which had met with such a cold reception above. By this time the contest had kindled up two violent factions, and diffused a general spirit of resentment through the whole Irish nation. The committee, who prepared the bill, instead of inserting the usual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and sent it over in a plain dress, quite destitute of all embroidery.† The mi-

* 5 Journ. Com. p. 167.

† The primate upon this occasion, summoned a few of his most intimate friends, to consult what step should be taken. The only doubt was, whether an amendment on these heads of a bill, should be proposed to the house upon the report, or whether they should be permitted to pass in the shape they were brought in, and the alteration of them left to be made in England: the latter of these methods was resolved on, and followed up on this reasoning: if the bill when altered in England, should upon its return be passed by the commons, the patriots must inevitably lose their interest with the people: if they should oppose it, that would be a good pretence to deprive them of their employments, which they held at the will of the crown, and of which the primate hoped to have the disposal. To make the game more secure, and to engage the crown more deeply in the contest, a letter was procured to accompany the bill to the privy council, signed by most of the officers of state in Great Britain, declaring, that it was a point of prerogative, from whence his majesty would never depart. As councils too subtil often produce contrary and unthought of ends, so this, though it had the immediate effects, which had been foreseen, yet in the end it produced very different consequences from what he who gave it expected. The bill was rejected in the commons by a majority of five, in consequence of which, several of the principal members of the patriots were immediately removed from their employments: at these violent proceedings the whole nation took fire. The degraded members of the patriots exalted by their disgrace, became the idols of the people, and were worshipped as Martyrs for the liberties of their country. In this temper it was hazardous to let the commons, who had been adjourned for a few days, meet. The parliament was suddenly prorogued, and several bills equally necessary to the crown as to the subject, fell to the ground. The primate who was considered as the author of all these measures, despairing to gain the affections of the people, determined to awe them into submission by others still more violent: he urged the Duke of Dorset to remove from their employments not only all, who opposed him, but those whom he suspected to have any connection with the opposite party. But the Duke had not the courage or vigour of mind, equal to such an undertaking. He dreaded the tumults of the people; every shout of the mob threw him into panics; and this being known, they never let

nistry, intent upon vindicating the prerogative from such an unmannerly attack, filled up the omissions of the committee, and sent it back with this alteration: "and your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that *you would consent*, to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty's treasury, as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the national debt, or such part thereof, as should be thought expedient by parliament." This, then being the crisis, which was to determine a constitutional point of such importance, namely, whether the people in parliament assembled, had a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue, without the previous consent of the crown; those who were the most zealously attached to the liberties of their country resolved to exert themselves in opposing what they conceived to be a violation of their liberties; and the bill, with alterations, was rejected by a majority of five voices. The success of their endeavours was celebrated with the most extravagant rejoicings, as a triumph of patriotism over the arts of ministerial corruption, and on the other hand, all the servants of the crown, who had joined the popular cry, on this occasion, were in a little time dismissed from their employments. The rejection of the bill was a great disappointment to the creditors of the public, and the circulation of cash was almost stagnated.

In this contest for constitutional rights, the Earl of Kildare was prominently conspicuous: he as well as the most considerable men of fortune in Ireland, that were not under some special tie or obligation to government, sided with the patriots. It was, notwithstanding, most industriously circulated from the castle, both in print and otherwise, that the majority of the House of Commons of Ireland was a *Popish and Jacobite* party, that was endeavouring to destroy the royal prerogatives, in order to pave the way to his majesty's expulsion from the throne: and such undoubtedly were they represented to the

him next moment. However for the present to rid himself of importunities, he promised the primate, that upon his return to England, which he wished for with the utmost impatience, he would do every thing he could desire. The Duke of Dorset soon after this, under the protection of the guards and of a mob hired and made drunk for the purpose, by a man who was amply rewarded for that service by a pension on the public establishment, made his escape out of that kingdom. The primate, who was continued in the government, employed every expedient of menaces and promises to break the party. Threats could not terrify those, who had so bold an example set before them by their leaders, and who were secure of the protection of the people. Rewards would not seduce those, who foresaw the downfall of the primate, and were made to expect much greater, and more permanent rewards from the exaltation of the patriots, which they now looked upon as certain. But what principally kept men steady, was the disgrace of becoming apostates from those principles, which they had before considered with a kind of religious reverence.

king and the ministry in England. Under these circumstances, the Earl of Kildare presented with his own hand a most spirited memorial* to the king, in which, after referring to the hereditary loyalty of his family from the days of Henry II. he assured his majesty, that he was the rather induced to lay that memorial at his feet, as it was on good presumption surmised, that all access to his royal ear was shut up, and his liege subjects debarred the liberty of complaining: that as no notice had been taken of several remonstrances lately made by his majesty's liege subjects, it was humbly presumed, that such remonstrances had been stopped and debarred in their progress to the royal ear: that he ventured on that bold step at the request of thousands: that in general the face of his loyal kingdom of Ireland wore discontent: a discontent not coloured from caprice or faction, but purely founded on ministerial misapplication. This strong, though necessary measure of the Earl of Kildare gave great offence and some alarm to the British cabinet, though they affected to treat it as an act of folly and temerity, which nothing but the extreme mildness of government would permit to pass unpunished.†

* Vide the memorial in the Appendix, No. LVIII.

† This appears from a letter written by the Earl of Holderness to the Chancellor of Ireland.

MY GOOD LORD CHANCELLOR,

I AM not a little concerned that the noble Earl of Kildare should take so bold a step as he may repent hereafter, and do assure you that I think he has not shewn himself a person of discretion, be the act never so popular.

He was but ill received, and very coolly dismissed, as indeed the presumption well merited; for why should his majesty receive any remonstrances concerning his kingdom or government, but from the proper ministers, or through the usual channel, viz. both houses in parliament. I desire my compliments may attend his grace the Lord Primate, and wish him success in all laudable endeavours for poor Ireland.

I am

Your excellency's most obedient servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

Another letter upon the same subject came to light about the same time, written by the Duke of Dorset to Primate Stone, viz.

Touching the Earl of Kildare's memorial presented to the king my master, it has neither served him, nor injured us. It is looked upon, as it justly deserves to be, an act of presumption, and a step of faction. In a less mild administration and under a reign less merciful, it would have proved an act full of danger.

If the subjects of Ireland were discontented with the measures of government, was not the privy council open to receive the complaints? were not your excellencies accessible to complaints of grievances? but for one man, because the first peer of the realm, to take the kingdom's distresses on his shoulders, and like another Hercules, to put his shoulders to the government, in which he had neither place nor concern, was sure unworthy of his prudence, if he had any. I am not for hot water, my design is pacific, and tending to the public good.

I am

Your lordship's friend,

DORSET.

The distressed and embarrassed situation of his country roused the patriot attention of that illustrious nobleman, who truly reflected honour on nobility: his intrepidity suggested the resolution of awakening the guardian care of *the father of his country*, by becoming a personal advocate for his people, pointing out their grievances, and the source of them, and opening again the channel of communication, after its natural current had been obstructed, on which the very life and being of public happiness essentially depend. If it were without a precedent, so was the occasion, that made it necessary. The good of his country was at once its motive and its justification; and the rage and violence it excited evinced how great and unexpected a shock it was to the *English interest*. It did not however lose its effect upon the king. The popular clamour became so loud, that government was terrified into measures, to which every man will apply a quality according to his own political conceptions. The speaker of the House of Commons was promoted to the dignity of an earl*: and several other patriots accepted of

* Viz. Of Shannon: he had also a pension of £2000*l.* per ann. for 31 years. There was much intrigue in bringing about these changes in Ireland. The Primate was over-reached by his own insincerity and ambition. He had promised the same appointments to several with the intent of disappointing each. He entered into a close connection with the Earl of Besborough, who had long wished, but had been baffled by the patriots, in setting up an independent interest in the commons: his particular view was to place his son Mr. Ponsonby, in the chair. In this union of the Primate with the Earl of Besborough, the principles of each were, that the earl thinking the primate to be more attentive to power than to riches, fed himself with the hopes of drawing the profits to himself; the primate, inordinately ambitious, made no doubt of governing the youthful speaker, and so bringing the whole power of the state into his own hands. Despairing of the speaker's removal, the Primate endeavoured to force him to a resignation by rendering his situation uneasy: this also failed, and made him rally his friends in his own support, which raised him above the efforts of his enemies to displace him. The speaker in fact was a deeper politician than the primate. The simplicity and unaffected ease of his address and a natural politeness of manner rendered him amiable even to his opponents. In appearance he was most open, in reality most reserved: he had the art of extracting the secrets of others, and of preserving his own without any shew of art or constraint. He had been raised to the chair and supported in it by the people, at least without the assistance, if not in opposition to the government. He had shewn much firmness in resisting attacks upon him in carrying matters through the house, and had the uncommon address of preserving his popularity even in supporting unpopular acts. The English cabinet alarmed at the disturbances in Ireland resolved to sacrifice the Duke of Dorset to their fears; and his successor, Lord Harrington, was appointed through the means Mr. Fox (afterwards Lord Holland) then secretary of state, who was known to be in the closest union with the Earl of Kildare. The sagacity and experience of the Earl of Besborough led him to foresee the approaching downfall of the primate, and to avail himself of the advantages of his situation whilst he could keep it: so that to the very close of this prelate's career of power, all the new appointments were made with their joint assent. Nothing could be more favourable to the political views of this earl, than the appointment of the new lord lieutenant; through him he hoped to reconcile himself to the patriots, whom he had greatly offended by his coalition with the primate; and through them he

lucrative employments. Primate Stone, who had been the chief fomentor of the late disturbances, was by his majesty's command stricken off the list of privy counsellors, and most of those, who, by his intrigues had been displaced for voting for the money bill, were reinstated with honour. The Marquis of

expected to place his son in the chair of the House of Commons. Before the new lord lieutenant had arrived in Ireland, a secret treaty was entered into between him and the two leading patriots (Mr. Malone and the speaker) through the Earl of Kildare: and to this treaty the Earl of Besborough was not only admitted but consenting. The new lord lieutenant immediately upon his arrival expressed the most gracious favour to all those, who had most violently opposed his predecessor: and the conduct of the whole administration appeared for some time mysterious. The patriots talked loudly of impeachments and expulsions; and the primate, whose chief supporters were placemen and pensioners, found himself necessitated to adopt all the measures of the lord lieutenant, which he did with more zeal, than some thought either necessary or prudent. Each party for obvious reasons appeared fearful of opposition. The primate was intimidated out of the violent measures, which his imperious and vindictive nature prompted him to: and the patriots naturally held back, till their new arrangements were announced. Besides the promotion of Mr. Boyle to the Earldom of Shannon, Mr. Ponsonby was elected speaker without opposition; Mr. Malone was to succeed Mr. Boyle in the chancellorship of the exchequer; Mr. Carter having been induced to accept of the secretaryship; but the outcry of the people against him, and particularly of his own connections, forced him to decline it. This however turned to his advantage, for Mr. Boyle (then Earl of Shannon) continued in the office, and Mr. Malone received the profits. This did not restore Mr. Malone to the favour of the people, though it suspended their resentment against him. Mr. Stannard, a man in high favour with the people, had been induced to undergo the odium of succeeding Mr. Malone as prime serjeant, by being told that his majesty had himself nominated him to that office, and had begged that he would accept of it *to oblige him*. It was now too late in the session to form a party to make head against the united force of so many chiefs; yet many symptoms appeared of growing discontents: some sharp things were thrown out against the lord lieutenant; alarmed at the symptoms of a rising storm, he resolved to leave no time for mischief, and abruptly put an end to the session at the moment it was expected, that the commons were about to pass a resolution to vindicate the honour of the nation.

The patriots had the support of the whole body of the Presbyterians, from their natural antipathy to prelacy, not only in order to oppose the influence of the primate, but also to crush the unnatural ascendancy of an English interest in Ireland. And such of the Catholics as took an active concern in the politics of the day sided also with them through the influence of Mr. Malone, who was the most respected and most entrusted by their body of any person in that kingdom. He moderated their councils, and had publicly supported their interest, whenever occasion required it. This species of coalition between the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics gave unusual alarm to the primate: in it he fully read the future triumph of the *Irish* over the *English* interest, by the union of the Irish people amongst themselves: and the Duke of Devonshire, whose enlarged principles had overlooked the stinted monopoly of English power in Ireland, kept up so systematically by his predecessor, in his farewell speech to the parliament, no longer confined his recommendations to an union, between Irish Protestants against the common enemy; but he (*5 Com. Journ. p. 499.*) encouraged harmony and union amongst all his majesty's faithful subjects. The laudable views of the new changes and coalition were to engage the natural influence of Ireland in the cause of fair civil liberty upon true constitutional grounds.

Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, went over as lord lieutenant : upon his return to England in 1756, Lord Chancellor Jocelyn and the Earls of Kildare and Besborough were appointed lords justices. Much of the popular ferment now subsided, and the kingdom once more resumed the appearance of tranquillity.

Loud as was the cry of patriotism, firm as was the stand made by the patriots of 1753 against the encroachments of an English interest, and strengthened as were supposed to be the constitutional principles of civil liberty by the late appointments, yet lamentable is it to reflect, that when the boasted purity of these very patriots was called into action by some of the few *sincere* supporters of the party, the majority of them became as recreant from the cause of civil freedom and legislative independence as the most venal prostitute to systematic corruption. On the 17th of March, 1756, the House of Commons according to order resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the heads of a most wholesome bill to secure the freedom of parliament, by vacating the seats of such members of the House of Commons, as should accept of any pension or civil office of profit from the crown : and after some time spent therein, upon the report of progress, and motion for leave to sit again on the next day, the house divided, 59 for the bill, and 85 against it. This was a fatal warning to the Irish nation, against the lubricity of their representatives, whenever their private interest could interfere with the national welfare and prosperity.* The loss of this truly patriotic question too closely bears upon the general system of governing that kingdom, not to enter more fully into the detail of that transaction in order to illustrate to the Irish nation the advantages, which the Union must necessarily bring with it, by abolishing that power, which had on so many occasions sacrificed the rights, welfare, and happiness of the Irish nation to private lucre or British influence.

The patriots however rallied once more successfully upon a most important question, namely, whether the great representative body of the nation should be deprived of access to the throne by any ministerial influence, through which channel the

* 3 Journ. Com. p. 38. On the day of this debate a list of the pensions granted upon the civil establishment of Ireland was according to order given in to the house : it amounted to 44,393*l.* 15*s.* and is to be seen in the Appendix to that volume of the Journals CCXCVI. In this list of pensioners are to be read many of the first names of Ireland, many foreigners, few or no meritorious servants of the public ; the Countess of Yarmouth stood upon it for 4000*l.* Mr. Bellingham Boyle had been added to it within twelve months for 800*l.* during pleasure, and the Earl of Shannon closed it for 2000*l.* The constitution, by lodging the source of remuneration in the crown, evidently did it for the wise purpose of encouraging zeal and industry for the public service : and the consideration of the royal favour and grace should always form a distinct column in the official schedules of such grants.

petitions and grievances of the nation are most properly laid before the throne? The steadiness and resolution of the majority who attended the business of their country on this occasion, and particularly the firm zeal of Mr. John Ponsonby, the speaker, cannot be over-rated. Like true and sincere patriots, they immoveably supported the just prerogatives of the crown, the dignity and privileges of parliament, and the liberties and known rights of the people.

* Mr. John Bourke reported from the committee (appointed to inspect the public accounts of the nation) the resolutions, which the committee had directed him to report to the house, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as follows :

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the several pensions and salaries placed upon the civil establishment of this kingdom since the 23d of March, 1755, amount to the annual sum of twenty-eight thousand one hundred and three pounds.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that several of the said pensions are granted to persons who do not reside in this kingdom.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that several of the said pensions are granted for long and unusual terms.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the list of pensions returned as a charge upon this establishment (exclusive of the military pensions) for two years, from the 25th of March 1755, to the 25th of March 1757, exceed the whole charges of the rest of the civil list twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty-eight pounds, four shillings and seven pence three farthings.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an improvident disposition of the revenue is an injury to the crown and public.

To which resolutions, the questions being severally put, the house did agree *nemine contradicente*.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the granting of pensions upon the civil establishment of this kingdom to persons who do not reside in it, is a prejudice to it.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the increase of civil pensions for many years past, is a grievance to the nation, and demands redress.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the granting of pensions for a long term of years, is an alienation for so much of the public revenue, and an injury to the crown and this kingdom.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the granting of so much of the public revenue in pensions, is an improvident disposition of the revenue, an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the public.

Resolved, That the house, with its speaker, do attend his grace the lord lieutenant, with the said resolutions, and desire his grace will be pleased to lay the same before his majesty as the sense of this house.

On the 9th, application was made to know when his grace the lord lieutenant would be attended in order to give an answer, when he would transmit the resolutions to be laid before his majesty, pursuant to the desire of the house.

On the 11th, Mr. Secretary acquainted the house, that his grace would be attended the day following, at two of the clock.

The 12th, the house with Mr. Speaker attended the lord lieutenant, who was pleased to give them the following answer, viz.

“The matter contained in those resolutions is of so high a nature, that I cannot suddenly determine whether it be proper for me to transmit them to his majesty.” On the speaker’s return, the answer being reported, Mr. Secretary moved, that the same should be entered in the journal of the house as explicit and satisfactory; and being debated, and the question put, Mr. Secretary apprehending the majority against the motion, desired leave to withdraw it, which prevented a division at that time.

On the 14th, the house being met, a motion was made, that all orders, not proceeded on, should be adjourned to the next day, the house not having received an answer from the lord lieutenant relative to transmitting the resolutions of the Commons on the 1st of November, in respect to pensioners.

Here the grand debate arose, as those who declared for the adjournment were for supporting the resolutions, to have them laid before his majesty, and those who were for suppressing the resolutions, and preventing national grievances being laid before the throne, were against the adjournment, the fate of which was, in fact, a determination of the main question, which was of no less importance in its consequences, than whether the people of Ireland were to be deprived of the parliamentary means of laying their grievances before the crown? and the question being put, upon a division, those for the adjournment carried it by a majority of twenty-one voices.

In consequence of the foregoing question, on the 15th Mr. Secretary Rigby informed the house, that he was commanded by his grace the lord lieutenant to acquaint the house, that their resolutions of the 1st of November should be forthwith transmitted to his majesty.

Had not this message been delivered to the house, serious indeed might have been the consequences; but the instant it was received the house proceeded to business; and the money bill, granting supplies to his majesty, passed unanimously on the same day. * Happy would it have been for Ireland, had these resolutions of the commons been acted up to, with the effect they certainly merited.

The Duke of Bedford was appointed to be lord lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1757: and it is fitting to remark, that he was the first chief governor of Ireland, since the revolution, who ventured to profess a favourable disposition to the body of Catholics:† under his government did the first dawn of toleration break in upon that suffering people: to his administration must be allowed the credit of having restored suspended animation to the members of that paralyzed body, which has since acquired such health, vigour, and strength of constitution under the benign reign of his present majesty. Several Roman Catholic gentlemen had about that time devoted their thoughts to the most effectual means of removing from their shoulders some part at least of the oppression, under which they laboured. Heads of a registry bill, prepared under the late administration of Ireland, which, had it passed, would have operated as a new and very severe penal law upon the Catholics, were handed about and created much alarm in that body.‡ Their fears drove them to consultation, and consultation animated them to action: a common sense of the existing and fear of additional severities taught them, that the surest means of preventing fresh laws from being enacted would be to make some vigorous exertion for the repeal of those, by which they were most galled. They held frequent meetings, in which there was much diversity of opinion. It was natural, that long habits of suffering and the exclusion from all public concerns, should disqualify such a body from acting in concert. They formed into two parties: one was headed by Lord Trimbleston, the other by Doctor Fitzsimon. Although neither party could for a considerable time bring themselves to

* As matter of historical curiosity a list of the gentlemen who divided upon these resolutions is given in the Appendix, No. LIX.

† He was appointed lord lieutenant on the 25th of September, and had so early intimated this humane disposition of government towards the Catholics, that within ten days, viz. on the 2d of October 1757, a form of exhortation was read from the altar by the Catholic clergy of Dublin, which noticed that some very honourable personages had encouraged them to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws. The whole is short, but appropriate to the situation of their congregations, and is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LX.

‡ Mr. Charles O'Connor of Ballenegare, the celebrated Irish scholar and antiquarian, was one of the most active of the Catholics. His letter to Dr. Curry on this occasion, which is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXI, will let the reader into the spirit of the sense and feeling of the gentlemen of that persuasion at that period of time.

agree to the expediency of addresses or appeals, they were both unanimous in adhering to their ancient principles. Doctor O'Keefe, the titular bishop of Kildare, proposed to Lord Trimbleston's meeting a declaration of the principles of their church, as far as they could bear upon their civil duties, to be signed by the chief of their body, and published as an answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies they had laboured under since the reformation of the national religion: the declaration was unanimously adopted; it was signed by many clergymen and gentlemen of rank and property, and sent to Rome as the act and deed of the Catholics of his diocese.* This was the first public act of the Catholics for obtaining some relaxation from the penal laws. In this same year, however, Mr. O'Connor, Dr. Curry, and Mr. Wyse of Waterford first thought of establishing a Roman Catholic committee in Dublin, in order to be able to conduct the political concerns of the body with more order and effect near the seat of government; and their first meeting, at which only seven gentlemen attended, was holden at the Globe Tavern in Essex Street; and there Mr. Wyse delivered in a written plan for their future proceedings.† These movements of the Catholics awakened the vigilance of government, and occasioned a more rigorous execution of the penal laws, which

* This declaration is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXI. And it will be hereafter remembered that it was the same as that of the Catholic committee of 1793, which Mr. George Ponsonby so highly commended in his speech upon the Catholic question.

† At this meeting were present Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Wyse, Dr. Jennings, Mr. Anthony Macdermott, Mr. James Reynolds of Ashe street, and one more. This proposal which is still in existence in the hand writing of Mr. Wyse is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXII. The original is in the possession of Mr. O'Connor's grandson, together with a large collection of letters and papers relating to the affairs of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The representatives thus appointed adopted the measure proposed to them by Dr. Curry and Mr. O'Connor, of employing the most leading literary men of the day to write in favour of Catholic claims, and among others, the celebrated Dr. Johnson, who, as appears from G. Faulkner's letters, often spoke of the Roman Catholics as an oppressed and degraded people, for whom humanity loudly demanded that something should be done to elevate them to the dignity of human nature..... There is a letter in the same collection from Faulkner to Dr. Jennings engaging him to write pressingly to Mr. O'Connor to collect fifty guineas among his friends to send as a douceur to Dr. Johnson, with an abstract of the penal laws, and Mr. O'Connor's own writings on the subject. "I send the doctor my last javelin, (says Mr. O'Connor, speaking of his maxims in reply to Jennings) but I fear I have thrown it in vain; men in power will not be convinced, there is an obstinacy yoked with pride in this case, and a phantom of hatred stalks behind to cement the league between them. I am glad however that I threw it, as Dr. Johnson will see, that a negative on the plan relative to our waste lands, will render our task-masters inexcusable; it will shew that they persecute merely for the sake of persecution, and that the injury they do us in not granting us leases of the red bogs of Ireland falls ultimately on themselves." Why Doctor Johnson did not undertake the task proposed in favour of the claims of the Irish Catholics, after having spoken so favourably of them, does not appear.

terrified the Catholics more, by how much more mildly they had lately been executed. A private occurrence in the next year gave rise to much public menace, and some additional severity in executing the laws. A young lady of the name of Toole, who was strongly importuned by her friends to conform to the established religion, had taken refuge in the house of a Mr. Saul, a merchant in Dublin, in order to get rid of their importunities. The affair was taken up with a high hand; Mr. Saul was prosecuted; and he was publicly assured from the bench, *that the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of government.** The publication of Dr. Curry's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish rebellion of 1641†* though anonymously, in the year 1759, still further awakened the attention of all, and the rigour of many towards the Catholics. So little at that time was the public accustomed to publications favourable to the Catholics, that the book created a considerable ferment in the nation, and gave great offence to most of the Protestants: it appeared at first to counteract its own object by irritating rather than reconciling the minds of men.

On the 29th day of October, 1759, the Duke of Bedford delivered a message to the parliament to the following effect:.... That by a letter from Mr. Secretary Pitt, written by his majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from resigning her plan of invasion, on account of the disaster that befel her Toulon squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself to attempt at all hazards the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad, in prosecuting a war, which hitherto opened in all parts of the world so unfavourable a prospect to the views of French ambition: that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duke d'Aiguillon, assembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of trans-

* Mr. Saul's letter to Mr. O'Connor upon this subject, dated November the 15th, 1759, gives an interesting account of this transaction, and of its consequences to Mr. Saul, whom it drove out of the kingdom. His family has been ever since settled in France. Vide Appendix, No. LXIII. The original is in Mr. O'Connor's collection.

† The Memoirs were published with the utmost secrecy and caution. The motives and reasons for their publication will best appear from the correspondence between Dr. Curry and Mr. O'Connor upon the subject, in the Appendix, No. LXIV. The original letters being in the before mentioned collection. Although these memoirs were no more than a mere compilation of original and authentic documents, all from Protestant authors, yet the compiler of them, when he came to be known, was exposed to a torrent of the most virulent abuse and invective. The probability or even certainty that truth will be ill received, is no just excuse for suppressing it; especially when its publication becomes an act of justice to an individual and much more so to a nation.

ports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would in all probability be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it therefore incumbent upon him, in a matter of such high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He told them his majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful Protestant subjects in that kingdom had been already sufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts of the enemies dangerous desigus, and actual preparations made, at a vast expence, in order to invade the several parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand he had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well known zeal and spirit in support of his majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to resist and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of that kingdom. He, therefore, in the strongest manner recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy establishment, and that affection for his majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of that kingdom had been so often distinguished. Immediately after this message was communicated, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the lord lieutenant; thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shewn for the safety of Ireland, in having imparted intelligence of so great importance; desiring him to make use of such means, as should appear to him the most effectual for the security and defence of that kingdom; and assuring him, that the house would make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. That however they might despise the attempt, yet should they not omit to pursue the most speedy and effectual means to frustrate and defeat it: and to convince the world, that his majesty's faithful people of Ireland were subjects not unworthy of their glorious monarch. This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced such apprehensions and distractions among the people of that kingdom, as had nearly proved fatal to the public credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was such an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that several considerable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houses of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin engaged in an association to support public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment; a resolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

Amongst other delusive motives, which at this time actuated the unwise councils of Versailles, in hazarding this rash invasion of Ireland, were the false hopes holden out to them by some of the expatriated Irish in the service of France, that an invading army would have been immediately joined by the physical force of the country. That the bulk of the nation was discontented with the government, sore at being excluded from their native rights of citizens, and eager for an opportunity of retaliating upon their oppressors nearly two centuries of persecution and slavery for the sake of their religion. The conduct of the Catholics on this, as on every former occasion of alarm or danger to the establishment, was that of the most exemplary firmness to principle and duty. On the earliest alarm of the intended invasion of Conflans, Mr. O'Connor and Dr. Curry called a meeting of the Catholic committee for the purpose of making a tender of their allegiance in times of danger, as well as in times of peace. Mr. O'Connor drew up the form of an address, which was unanimously approved of. It was dated 1st of December, 1759; and on the ensuing day at a meeting of the most respectable merchants in Dublin it was signed by about 300 persons. Mr. Anthony M'Dermott and Mr. John Crump presented it to Mr. John Ponsonby, the speaker of the House of Commons, to be presented by him to the lord lieutenant. Mr. Ponsonby received it without making any observation; no direct answer was given from the castle; some days elapsed in awful and mysterious silence: without any public notice taken of it, it was laid on the table of the House of Commons for the inspection of the members. On the 10th of December his grace gave a most gracious answer to the address, which appeared in the Dublin Gazette on the 15th of December, 1759.* The speaker sent for Mr. Anthony M'Dermott and Mr. Crump, and from the chair ordered the former to read the address to the house. Mr. M'Dermott, after having read the address, thanked the speaker as delegate from the Catholics of Dublin for his condescension. The speaker replied, that he counted it a favour done him to be put in the way of serving so respectable a body, as that of the gentlemen, who had signed that loyal address. The gracious acceptance of this address was the first re-admission of the Catholic body over the threshold of the constitutional freedom of their country.†

* The address, and the Duke of Bedford's answer are to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXV.

† To the unwearied zeal and perseverance, to the temperate and manly exertions of these respectable gentlemen of the first Catholic committee, does the Irish nation owe peculiar gratitude, for having been the immediate instruments of opening the door to all the relief their long and sorely suffering countrymen have since received from the benign sympathy of our present most gracious sovereign. Notwithstanding this first successful effort of the

Immediately upon the welcome tidings being circulated of the gracious acceptance of this address, the Roman Catholics

merchants' address, it is to be remarked, that a most determined, and not altogether temperate dissension of the Catholic body had unfortunately taken place, upon the propriety of addressing the lord lieutenant. The clergy, nobility, and landed interest were anti-addressers ; their fears or hopes, or dependencies upon the castle convinced them, that as Catholics were not subjects in the eye of the law, they had no right to address : that an address therefore would be deemed presumptuous : and that the only plan for them to pursue, was to *express their obedience by letter, and not by address*. Fortunately for Ireland, this pusillanimous and weak delicacy of the *anti-addressers* was overruled by the opposite party, who were guided by the sound sense and manly policy of Mr. O'Connor, and Dr. Curry : the latter of whom in a letter to the former of the 29th of December, 1759, informs him, that a great man was heard to say at the castle : " By G...., I find that I was mistaken in thinking " that Papists were led by the nose by their clergy. I have been assured, that " the Dublin address was drawn up and signed against their advice and command." This early triumph of the commercial interest over that of the clergy and landed property, was a happy omen to the Catholics at large.... Reason connected Mr. O'Connor and Dr. Curry, both men of ancient family and landed estates, with the former ; and reason shews, that the intermediate concerns of the merchant and tradesman between the highest and the lowest ranks of society amalgamates them more completely with the mass of the community, and fits them better both in theory and practice for judging of their rights, advantages, and happiness, than those who are exalted by rank or station above the great mass of the people, are removed from immediate intercourse with them, and consequently must be presumed ignorant of their wants. It must also in historical candour be allowed, that there exists to this hour more distance between the rich and the poor in Ireland, than in any part of the British empire : it partly proceeds from a national intemperate lust of power, partly from the vicious system of mesne tenantry, which destroys all privity between the owner and occupier of the soil, and partly as Lord Taaffe complained in his *Observations on the Affairs of Ireland* in 1767 (p. 13), from the expulsion of that useful body of people, called Yeomanry in England, denominated *Sculloags*, in Ireland ; who were communities of industrious housekeepers who in his own time herded together in large villages, cultivated the lands every where, and lived comfortably, till some rich grazier negotiating privately with a sum of ready money took the lands over their heads. " The *Sculloag* race (continues that nobleman), that great nursery of labourers " and manufacturers, has been broke and dispersed, in every quarter, and we " have nothing in lieu, but the most miserable wretches on earth, the cottagers ; naked slaves, who labour without any nourishing food, and live while " they can without houses or covering, under the lash of merciless and relentless task masters." It must be further allowed, without derogating from the innate reverence, which the Irish have ever shewn to the ministers of their religion, that in the pursuit and defence of civil rights, the clergy, from their habit of life and dependencies upon the great, are of all men the least likely to be prudent, firm, and vigorous.

If the portrait which Mr. Arthur Young has given of the Irish landlord amidst his tenants bears any resemblance to the original, we shall find in it a host of reasons for disqualifying the nobility and gentry from judging and acting as fairly for the multitude, as the commercial interest. The landlord of an Irish estate inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm. The language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery. There is too much of this contradiction in Ireland. A long series of oppression, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords

poured in addresses to the castle, from every quarter of the kingdom, expressive of the most loyal, zealous, and active ardour in defence of their king and country.

It is impossible for the historian always to fathom the secret motives and views of the measures which it is his duty to retail. It appears however not improbable, that one motive at least for shewing this new indulgent disposition to the Catholics was to reconcile that body to the then crudely digested plan of an Union. But the country was not then ripe for such a measure. It was the interest of too many persons in power then to oppose it, and they artfully predisposed the mob against it, without appearing to take an active part in opposing the measure, which they then effectually strangled in embryo.... They also took advantage of those qualities of the Duke of Bedford, which tended to estrange from him the personal affections of the Irish nation, namely his pride, coldness and æconomy.* The outrages of this mob were attempted by some

into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission : speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. Landlords, that have resided much abroad are usually humane in their ideas ; but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind, so that even in this polished age there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with, without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that is common : formerly it happened every day ; but law gains ground. The execution of the law lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chuses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be called out. Where manners are in conspiracy against law, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse ? They know their situation too well to think of it : they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal, as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

The colours of this picture are not charged. To assert that all these cases are common would be an exaggeration ; but to say that an unfeeling landlord will do all this with impunity, is to keep strictly to truth ; and what is liberty but a farce and jest, if its blessings are received as the favour of kindness and humanity, instead of being the inheritance of RIGHT. *Young's Tour, Dublin edit. vol. ii. p. 40 and 41.*

* 4 Smol. p. 469. Although no traces of disaffection to his majesty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged, that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present lord lieutenant was not remarkably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of considerable importance upon a gentleman, whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs, certain it is, great pains were

persons in parliament to be thrown on the Catholics; for the attack on parliament happened on the very day after the address to the lord lieutenant had been signed and presented. On the 4th of December, 1759, the commons resolved upon an address to his grace the lord lieutenant, to return him thanks for his seasonable interposition in using the most effectual means on the preceding day to disperse a most dangerous and insolent multitude of people assembled before the parliament house, in order, most illegally and audaciously, to obstruct and insult the members of both houses of parliament attending the public service of the nation, in manifest violation of the rights and privileges of parliament.*

taken to propagate a belief among the lower sort of people, that an union would soon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes, that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to such a degree, that they assembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the House of Lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both houses, whom they met in the streets, to take an oath that they would never consent to such an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous insurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to overawe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the lord lieutenant were agreed to by both houses of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be discovered and brought to condign punishment.

* The Duke of Bedford made the most honourable amends to the Catholics he could on this occasion, by directing Mr. John Ponsoby, the speaker, to read from the chair his answer to their address; which was an approbation of their past conduct, and an assurance of his future favour and protection as long as they continued in it. Thus clearing them from the foul aspersion in the very place, in which it had been cast upon them. It is remarkable that no trace of this whole transaction is to be found in the journals of the commons. And yet so unusual a proceeding affecting the rights of the bulk of the Irish nation should naturally have found its place in the parliamentary minutes of that day. On the occasion of that malicious attack upon the Catholics, the Prime Sergeant Stannard, who had come in upon the late change, spoke warmly in reply to some of the high-flying patriots, who most violently opposed the Duke of Bedford's administration. Contrasting the riotous conduct of the Lucasians (as they were then called after their chief,) with the quiet and dutiful behaviour of the Roman Catholics, in that and other dangerous conjunctures, he gave the following honourable testimony in favour of the latter. "We have lived amicably and in harmony among ourselves, and without any material party distinctions for several years past, till within these few months, and during the late wicked rebellion in Scotland, we had the comfort and satisfaction to see that all was quiet here. And to the honour of the Roman Catholics be it remembered, that not a man of them moved tongue, pen, or sword, upon the then, or the present occasion; and I am glad to find, that they have a grateful and proper sense of the mildness and moderation of our government. For my part, while they behave with duty and allegiance to the present establishment, I shall hold them as men in equal esteem with others,

The grand embarkation designed for Ireland was to be made from Vannes in Lower Brittany. To cover it, a fleet was fitted out at Brest, commanded by M. de Conflans. The execution of this scheme was delayed by Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up that harbour with twenty-three ships of the line. But boisterous winds having driven the British fleet off their station, in the month of November, Conflans embraced the opportunity, and sailed with twenty-one large ships and four frigates. On the twentieth, Sir Edward Hawke pursued and came up with the French fleet. He had been reinforced by a few ships under the command of Captain Duff, who had for some time been cruising from Port l'Orient in Bretagne to the Point of St. Gilles in Poitou. In the neighbourhood of Belleisle the van of the English engaged the rear of the enemy about two o'clock in the forenoon. Happy for Britain and to the unspeakable advantage of this country, Providence favoured the English fleet with a complete victory. In October, the squadron designed for the North of Ireland had sailed from Dunkirk: it consisted originally of five ships: one of forty-eight, two of thirty-six, and two of twenty-four guns each, and carried a thousand two hundred and seventy land forces. The reputation acquired by M. Thurot, as captain of a privateer, raised him to the command of the naval department employed in this expedition. Adverse and tempestuous winds drove the squadron to Gottenburgh. Having continued here a few days, they set sail and proceeded to the place of destination. Upon arriving on the coast of Ireland they were overtaken by a storm, to escape which they attempted to shelter themselves in Lough Foyle, but the wind changed and continuing to blow tempestuously, obliged them to keep the sea, two of the ships were separated from the rest by the violence of the storm and returned to France. The remaining three directed their course to the island of Ilay, where they anchored, repaired some damages they had sustained, took in a small quantity of fresh provisions, and to procure a supply more adequate to their necessities, sailed for Carrickfergus. They arrived here on the twenty-first of February, and about two miles from the town, landed their forces now reduced to six hundred men. Meanwhile an officer belonging to the small number of troops of which the garrison consisted, advanced with a reconnoitring party, and took post on a rising ground to observe the motions of the enemy. Having made the best disposition of his men which the time and circumstances would permit, and ordered them to make every effort to retard the approaches of the French, he returned to communicate the ne-

"in every point but one; and while their private opinion interferes not with public tranquillity, I think their industry and allegiance ought to be encouraged."

cessary information to the commanding officer. The troops were on parade, from whom detachments were sent to defend the gates and all the avenues leading to the town. A number of French prisoners, then in Carrickfergus, were sent off to Belfast with all possible expedition. By this time the fire had begun betwixt the reconnoitring party and the enemy, which killed several of them, and wounded Brigadier General Clobert, their commanding officer. This accident threw them into confusion, and for some time retarded their approach. The reconnoitring party having expended their powder and ball were forced to retreat to their garrison, who, after having attempted in vain to prevent the enemy from entering the town, shut themselves up within the castle. Though they were not in any respect prepared for such an attack, a number of them being quite undisciplined, and there being a breach in the wall fifty feet long, they defended themselves with spirit until their ammunition was expended. They were now obliged to capitulate: it is supposed, that, previous to the surrender of the castle, a hundred of the French were killed, among whom were four officers, one of them a person of distinction, much regretted for his courage and amiable qualities. Of the garrison not more than three lost their lives. When intelligence of the landing of the enemy reached different parts of the country, volunteer companies flocked to Belfast from all quarters. By the willingness which they discovered to risk their lives in the service of their country they acquired much honour, but they were strangers to discipline, and numbers of them unprovided with arms. Had they proceeded to attack the enemy, as was proposed by some, many would have been sacrificed, and the probability of success was much against them. However the French were alarmed and would have left Carrickfergus without delay, had they not been detained by unfavourable winds: having plundered the town, they re-embarked on Tuesday the twenty-sixth of February. To avoid the imminent danger to which they were exposed from the English ships of war, they wished to return by the North of Ireland, but the wind was adverse, and compelled them to attempt a passage through the Channel. Very soon their hopes of escaping vanished. The day on which they re-embarked, Captain Elliot, of his majesty's ship *Æolus* of thirty-two guns, received information from government of the arrival of the French at Carrickfergus. Taking with him the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, each of them with the same force, with respect to guns, he set sail in quest of the enemy. The twenty-eighth he discovered them, gave chase, and came up with them near the Isle of Man. Having engaged with them about an hour and a half, they struck, being much injured in their masts and rigging, and three hundred of their men killed.

Thurot lost his life in the action. Thurot had in the course of the preceding year signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer, called the *Belleisle*, which had scoured the North seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to desist after having received considerable damage.*

In consequence of these events, it was resolved by the House of Commons, "that the thanks of that house should be given to Lieutenant Colonel Jennings, for his prudent and resolute conduct at Carrickfergus, and for the gallant stand he made there against a much superior force, by which he gained time for the militia to assemble, and preserved Belfast from being plundered." It was also resolved, "that the zeal, courage, and activity, exerted on the landing of the French in this kingdom, by the counties of Antrim, Armagh, and Down, and by the citizens of the city of Londonderry, were highly honourable and beneficial to themselves, and their country.".... The inhabitants of Belfast presented Lieutenant Colonel Higginson of the 62d regiment of foot, with a large and elegant silver cup, having an inscription expressive of their gratitude

* 4 Smol. p. 460. The ideal approximation of circumstances trivial and remote, frequently leads to consequences of great importance and peculiar relevancy. On account of the penal laws then existing, the author and several other children of Catholic parents being sent abroad for a foreign education in July 1759 were taken in the packet by Thurot, between Dunkirk and Ostend: and were actually prisoners on board the *Belleisle* when she was attacked by what Mr. Smollet calls English frigates: the *Belleisle* mounted 40 guns, and had another privateer in company with her of 36 guns. On the very day of the capture of the packet three small English vessels mounting 20, 12 and 8 guns gave chase to and came up with the French privateers about midnight, and engaged them briskly till about four o'clock in the morning, when they were obliged to sheer off. Thurot's ship suffered so much, that it put in to Flushing to repair; where his prisoners lay for several weeks before they were exchanged. Here a mutiny happened on board the *Belleisle*, which Thurot quelled by killing two of the ringleaders with his own hands, and cutting off the cheek of a third. The three English vessels were commanded by Captain (afterwards Commodore) Boys, upon which a marine muse produced the following lines.

Conflans, De la Clue, and such brave men as those,
We send Hawke, Boscawen, always to oppose.
But when that Thurot our island annoys,
We think it sufficient to send only Boys.

With unspeakable gratitude does the author contrast those times, when under a borrowed name he was necessitated to fly to a foreign country for education, with the present, in which through the liberality of government he has the happiness of giving that same education to his own children in their native soil.

As this descent of Thurot was the only attempt of an enemy to land in Ireland for upwards of two centuries every particular concerning it may be interesting to the Irish reader: we have therefore inserted in the Appendix, No. LXVI. the official letter of General Strode, who then commanded at Belfast, dated February the 23d, 1760, to the lord lieutenant.

for the exertion of his great military knowledge, vigilance and activity, for the security of the town of Belfast, on the landing of the French troops at Carrickfergus, the like compliment was paid to Colonel Jennings.*

On the 25th of October, 1760, his late majesty George II. died at Kensington at the advanced age of 77 years; none of his predecessors on the throne lived to so great an age; none enjoyed a more happy or glorious reign; it was a peculiar blessing to this monarch, that the love and affection of his subjects increased constantly to the close of his reign. He was a prince of personal intrepidity: upright and honourable in his conduct, though not distinguished for any extraordinary brilliancy of talent: he was particularly fortunate in the choice of his last ministry, under Mr. Pitt. His British subjects ill-relished his marked predilection for his German dominions, and complained, that he visited them more frequently, than was consistent with the welfare of the state.

* A List of the Militia that marched against the French on this occasion.

Antrim County	- - - -	108	Belfast 3 comp.	- - - -	300
Temple Patrick	- - - -	100	Ballymoney	- - - -	70
Randlestown	- - - -	120	Lisburn	- - - -	40
Ballymena	- - - -	140	Argum	- - - -	100
Boroughshane	- - - -	46	Donaghadee	- - - -	70
Clough	- - - -	100	Bangor	- - - -	60
Killylea	- - - -	60	Hollywood	- - - -	80
Cumber	- - - -	60	Hillsborough	- - - -	60
Purdesburn	- - - -	100	Market-hill	- - - -	6
Grayabby	- - - -	70	Dromore	- - - -	40
Newton	- - - -	70	Richhill light horse	- - - -	70
Loughbrickland	- - - -	50			
Armagh	- - - -	40			
Lurgan	- - - -	60			
Glenarm	- - - -	100			
Ballinere and Ballisten	- - - -	100			
				Total	2220

All clothed and armed at their own expence.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

From his accession to the Throne to the Declaration of Irish Independence in 1782.

NO prince ever ascended the throne more to the joy and satisfaction of his people than our gracious sovereign. Pleased, said Junius, with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, they were loyal to him not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate, but a partial animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. In his first speech to the British parliament, he said,....
“ Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of
“ Briton : and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and
“ warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne : and I doubt not but their
“ steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my
“ invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent
“ constitution in church and state ; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving
“ subjects, are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of the crown : and as the surest foundation of the
“ whole and the best means to draw down the divine favour on
“ my reign, it is my fixed purpose, to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.” In these flattering assurances of the new monarch to the people of Great Britain, Lord Halifax, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, had it in command to declare to the sister kingdom, that his subjects of Ireland, were fully, and in every respect, comprehended.* Congratulatory addresses to the throne flowed in from all descriptions of persons : amongst which, none were more remarkable than the addresses from the people called Quakers and the Roman Catholics : the former, contained more moral sentiment and less common place flattery, than are usually contained in such addresses : the latter was strongly expressive of their loy-

* Com. Journ. vol. 7. p. 13.

alty: their acknowledgment of past indulgence, and their earnest confidence of future favour.*

With respect to the general state of Ireland at this period, the prospect is truly gloomy. It appears from the public accounts, that at Lady Day, 1759, the nation was in credit 65,774*l.* 4*s.* 1½*d.*; however the arrears upon the establishments had increased so considerably towards the conclusion of that year, that it became necessary to order 150,000*l.* to be raised at 4 per cent. upon debentures to be made transferable.... This is to be considered, as the funded debt of Ireland: for the payment of the interest of this sum, certain duties were granted. In the beginning of 1760, his late majesty having ordered a considerable augmentation of his forces, it became necessary to recur to another loan to raise the intended levies; and accordingly a vote of credit was passed by the commons for raising 300,000*l.* at 5 per cent. and as it was found difficult to obtain the former loan at 4 per cent. an additional interest of 1 per cent. was ordered to be given for the 150,000*l.* before mentioned.†

* These two addresses are to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXVII.

† The late respectable and patriotic Hely Hutchinson, gives the following just account of the national distress on account of the decline of public credit. (Com. Rest. p. 59.) "The revenue, for the reasons already given, decreased "in 1755, fell lower in 1756, and still lower in 1757. In the last year, the "vaunted prosperity of Ireland was changed into misery and distress; the "lower classes of our people wanted food, the money arising from the extra- "vagance of the rich was freely applied to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. "One of the first steps of the late Duke of Bedford's administration, and "which reflects honour on his memory, was obtaining a king's letter, dated "31st of March, 1757, for 20,000*l.* to be laid out as his grace should think "the most likely to afford the most speedy and effectual relief to his majesty's "poor subjects of this kingdom. His grace, in his speech from the throne, "humanely expresses his wish, that some method might be found out to pre- "vent the calamities, that are the consequences of a want of corn, which had "been in part felt the last year, and to which this country had been too often "exposed. The Commons acknowledge, that those calamities had been fre- "quently and were too sensibly and fatally experienced in the course of the "last year; thank his grace for his early and charitable attention to the neces- "sities of the poor of this country in their late distresses, and make use of "those remarkable expressions, "*that they will most cheerfully embrace every "practicable method to promote tillage.*" They knew that the encouragement "of manufactures were the effectual means, and that these means were not "in their power. The ability of the nation was estimated by the money in "the treasury, and the pensions on the civil establishment, exclusive of French, "which at Lady Day 1755, were 38,003*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* amounted at Lady Day "1757, to 49,293*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

"The same ideas were entertained of the resources of this country in the "session of 1759. Great Britain had made extraordinary efforts, and engaged "in enormous expences for the protection of the whole empire. This country "was in immediate danger of an invasion. Every Irishman was agreed, that "she should assist Great Britain to the utmost of her ability, but this ability "was too highly estimated. The nation abounded rather in loyalty than in "wealth. Our brethren in Great Britain had however formed a different opi- "nion, and surveying their own strength, were incomplete judges of our

It is an unexceptionable axiom, that a distressed peasantry argues a corrupt or unwise government: the excesses therefore of desperate wretchedness are to be immediately sought in the soreness and irritation of the sufferers: though the efficient cause of the suffering must be traced to an higher and less responsible source. From the accession of the Hanover family, the execution of the Popery laws in Ireland had, as far as the personal disposition of the sovereign could influence the conduct of the Irish administration, been softened and mitigated. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 had been raised and suppressed, without the slightest tarnish to the loyalty of Ireland;* prone as her enemies ever have been to invent and provoke cause of persecution and punishment in that devoted kingdom. In the general rejoicing of the British empire at the descent of the crown upon a native monarch crowned with early laurels of vic-

“ weakness. A lord lieutenant of too much virtue and magnanimity to speak
 “ what he did not think, takes notice from the throne, of the prosperous state
 “ of this country, improving daily in its manufactures and commerce. His
 “ grace had done much to bring it to that state, by obtaining for us some of
 “ the best laws in our books of statutes. But this part of the speech was
 “ not taken notice of, either in the address to his majesty, or to his grace,
 “ from a House of Commons well disposed to give every mark of duty and
 “ respect, and to pay every compliment consistent with truth. The event
 “ proved the wisdom of their reserve. The public expences were greatly
 “ increased, the pensions on the civil establishments, exclusive of French, at
 “ Lady Day, 1759, amounted to 55,497*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*: there was at the same time
 “ a great augmentation of military expence. Six new regiments and a troop
 “ were raised in a very short space of time. An unanimous and unlimited ad-
 “ dress of confidence to his grace, a specific vote of credit for 150,000*l.*
 “ which was afterwards provided for in the loan bill of that session, a second
 “ vote of credit in the same session for 300,000*l.*, the raising the rate of inter-
 “ rest paid by government one per cent. and the payment out of the treasury
 “ in little more than one year, of 703,957*l.* 3*s.* 11-2*d.* were the consequences
 “ of those encreased expences. The effects of these exertions were imme-
 “ diately and severely felt by the kingdom. These loans could not be sup-
 “ plied by a poor country, without draining the bankers of their cash; three of
 “ the principal houses (Clement’s, Dawson’s, and Mitchell’s,) among them
 “ stopped payment, the three remaining banks in Dublin discounted no paper,
 “ and in fact did no business. Public and private credit, that had been droop-
 “ ing since the year 1754 had now fallen prostrate. At a general meeting of
 “ the merchants of Dublin, in April 1760, with several members of the House
 “ of Commons, the inability of the former to carry on business was universally
 “ acknowledged, not from the want of capital, but from the stoppage of all pa-
 “ per circulation, and the refusal of the remaining bankers to discount the bills
 “ even of the first houses.”

* It is notorious that when Murray, the Pretender’s secretary, gave up all the letters and papers relative to the last rebellion in Scotland, a scheme which had been planning and contriving for seven years before, it plainly appeared, that the Jacobite party had no dependance upon or connection or correspondence with any Roman Catholic in Ireland. The very name of that kingdom not having been once mentioned throughout the whole correspondence. When in March, 1762, a general fast was ordained by the government for the success of his majesty’s arms, the form of prayer and exhortation to the Roman Catholic congregations in Ireland were as staunchly loyal as any of the establishment, as may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXVIII.

tory in the wide extent of the war, in which he found his people engaged, Ireland alone was doomed to weep. In the southern province of that kingdom great misery, great soreness, and great disturbances existed in the lowest class of the wretched peasantry. They being chiefly Catholics, religion of course was stupidly and maliciously saddled with the cause of these riots. The insurgents at first committed their outrages at night; and appearing generally in frocks or shirts were denominated *white-boys*: they seized arms and horses, houghed the cattle, levelled the enclosures of commons, turned up new made roads, and perpetrated various other acts of outrage and violence. These unfortunate wretches, as is the case in all insurgencies, raised a popular cry against the rapacity and tyranny of their landlords: against the cruel exactions of tithemongers, and against the illegal enclosures of commons.

The only useful allusion to past riots, the only seasonable reflections, that arise out of them, the only fair historical purpose, to which the details of them can be applied, are such as tend to their future prevention. The most pointed exhortations to the discontented inass, but tend to aggravate whilst their soreness lasts; little avails it in the moment of fermentation whether their grievances be ideal or real; whether the cause of their irritation be just or groundless. Few, if any of the deluded multitude will read the history of their own misconduct in the pages, which fall under the perusal of those, who alone command the efficient means of prevention. Various causes about this period concurred in reducing this forlorn peasantry to the most abject wretchedness. An epidemic disorder of the horned cattle had spread from Holstein through Holland into England, where it raged for some years, and consequently raised the prices of beef, cheese, and butter to exorbitancy; hence pasturage became more profitable than tillage; and the whole agriculture of the south of Ireland, which had for some time past flourished under the mild administration of the Popery laws, instantly ceased; the numerous families, which were fed by the labour of agriculture, were turned adrift without means of subsistence. Cottiers being tenants at will were every where dispossessed of their scanty holdings, and large tracts of grazing land were set to wealthy monopolizers,* who, by feeding cattle, required few hands, and paid higher rents. Pressed by need, most of these unfortunate peasants sought shelter in the neighbouring towns, for the sake of begging that bread which they could no longer earn: and the only piteous resource of the affluent was to ship off as many as would emigrate to seek maintenance or death in foreign climes. The price then paid for the little labour, that was

* In the cant of these wretched rioters they were called *land-pirates*.

done, kept not pace with the rise of necessaries: it exceeded not the wages given in the days of Elizabeth. The landlords demanded extravagant rents from their cottiers, and to reconcile them to their lettings, they allowed them generally a right of common, of which they soon again deprived them by enclosures; the absolute inability of these oppressed tenants to pay their tithes beside their landlord's rent, made them feel the exaction and levying of them by the proctors, as a grievance insupportable.* These insurrections became daily more alarming to go-

* Consequences have flowed (says Mr. Young) from these oppressions, which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of *White Boys*, *Steel Boys*, *Oak Boys*, *Peep of day Boys*, &c. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they are very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the people is into Protestant and Catholic. All but the *White Boys* were among the manufacturing Protestants in the North. The *White Boys* Catholic labourers in the South. From the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation, but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the *White Boys*, who, being labouring Catholics, met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance; the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation; acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height, that by one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repeated the following sessions, marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest, that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure from overlooking the real cause of the disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows; let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves; put an end to that system of religious persecution, which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself: in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals. (*Young's Tour*, vol. ii. p. 41, 42.) The late Lord Taaffe, whose high sense of honour, frankness, and independence had endeared him personally to his sovereign, as well as to all who knew him, has spoken of these Munster insurrections in a manner that cannot fail to carry full conviction to the unbiassed reader. (*Observations on the affairs of Ireland*, 2 edit. 1767, p. 19) "The
"insurrection of some of the cottagers, in a few counties of Munster, is no
"exception to the duty they owe and pay to their sovereign; nor is it fair
"to reproach them with the madness of a route of peasants, wearied with life,
"and desperate from invincible poverty. The whole body of Roman Catholics,
"however, have been reproached, and are in some degree reproached still on
"this account. It has turned out a very serious and tragical affair, and had it
"not proved so, it would be cause of mirth to consider, how keen the appetite
"for Popish plots must have been, which fed upon the idea, that France on the
"conclusion of a treaty of peace with Britain, and evidently interested in the
"temporary observance of it, should immediately employ here the prevailing
"plenipotentiaries of money, arms, and officers to conclude another private
"treaty with the Munster rabble, and all this with the view of exciting a
"Popish massacre and rebellion through every quarter of this kingdom. Such

vernment:* they instituted a commission of some gentlemen, of distinguish loyalty and eminence in the law, to enquire

"is the idea that has been propagated, and so sillily have some played their game, that they admitted every body to look into their hands. It is happy that they did so. Others were less to be blamed for being seduced to think, like Scrub in the play, that there must be a plot because they knew nothing about it. But men of good sense, the friends of their country and of virtue, went upon surer grounds, shewed no unwillingness to be well informed, and are now very successfully pushing this affair into day-light. In and out of the parliament they are doing good; and may their country receive the full benefit of their moderation and patriotism. The Irish Catholics easily foresaw that the disorders of the Munster levellers would affect them; and on the first rising of that mob addressed the Earl of Halifax, then in the government, with the strongest assurances of their allegiance to his majesty. The superiors of the Catholic clergy in that province, were at the same time edifyingly active in pressing the duty of obedience and loyalty on their people. This is well known. He of Waterford exerted himself, by giving the government the best and earliest intelligence he could get of the intentions and motions of those miscreants. He of Ossory distinguished himself also, by excellent instructions (published in the public papers) for the civil conduct of the people under his care. They issued excommunications, and denounced in vain the most tremendous censures of the Church against the incorrigible and obstinate."

* In the month of January, 1762, the White Boys first appeared, and in one night dug up twelve acres of rich fattening ground, belonging to Mr. Maxwell, of Kilmnam, in the county of Limerick. A special commission was immediately issued to try them, when two of them were found guilty, Bangyard and Carthy, and executed at Gallows Green, the 19th of June. (*Hist. of Lim.* p. 129.)

Doctor Campbell makes the following observations upon the state of the White Boys. *Pb. Sur.* p. 293. After considering all this, yet seeing at the same time that the greater, and certainly the best part of what I have seen, instead of being in a progressive state of improvement, is verging to depopulation; that the inhabitants are either moping under the sullen gloom of inactive indigence, or blindly asserting the rights of nature in nocturnal insurrections, attended with circumstances of ruinous devastation and savage cruelty, must we not conclude, that there are political errors somewhere? Cruelty is not in the nature of these people more than of other men; for they have many customs among them, which discover uncommon gentleness, kindness, and affection. Nor are they singular in their hatred of labour; Tacitus's character given of the Germans, applies to them, and all mankind in a rude state, *mirā diversitate nature, cum iidem homines, sic ament inertiam, sic oderint quietem.* At present their hands are tied up, and they have neither the actions of a savage, nor the industry of civilized people. There is no necessity for recurring to natural disposition, when the political constitution obtrudes upon us so many obvious and sufficient causes of the sad effects we complain of. The first is, the suffering avarice to convert the arable lands into pasture. The evils arising from this custom in England, were so grievous, that Lord Bacon tells us, in the reign of Henry VII. a statute was enacted to remedy them. But the mischief still increasing, Henry VIII. revived all the ancient statutes, and caused them to be put in execution. Yet notwithstanding this care, so great was the discontent of the people, from poverty occasioned by decay of tillage and increase of pasturage, that they rose in actual rebellion in the reign of Edward VI. and sharpened by indigence and oppression, demolished in many counties the greatest part of the inclosures. Here you see an exact prototype of the present disturbances in Munster, carried on by the rabble, originally called *levellers*, from their levelling the inclosures of commons, but now *White Boys*, from their wearing their shirts over their coats, for the sake of distinction in the night. There it was a rebellion, here it is only a star-light insur-

upon the spot into the real causes and circumstances of these riots, who reported, "that the authors of those riots consisted "indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that "no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government "appeared in any of these people:"* which report was confirmed by the judges of the Munster circuit, and by the dying protestations of the first five of the unhappy men, who were executed at Waterford, in 1762, for having been present at the burning of a cabin, upon the information of an approver, who was the very person, that had set fire to it with his own hand. Fortunately for the country, Sir Richard Aston,† lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, was sent down upon a special commission to try great numbers of these rioters; and so well satisfied with the impartiality of his conduct were the inhabitants of those parts, that upon his return from Clonmel, where they were tried, he had the satisfaction of seeing the road lined on both sides with men, women, and children, thanking him for the unbiassed discharge of his duty, and supplicating Heaven to bless him as their protector, guardian, and deliverer.

rection; disavowed by every body; and the impotence of those engaged to do any thing effectual drives them into wanton and malignant acts of cruelty on individuals. Hopeless of redress, they are provoked to acts of desperation. The rebellion in England did not remove the evil; it was not however altogether fruitless; a commission was appointed to enquire into the cause of it, and from a proclamation thereupon issued, it appears, that government became possessed of the true state of the case. It is so remarkably apposite to the present state of the South of Ireland, that I cannot forbear citing an extract or two from it. It sets forth "that the king, and the rest of the privy "council were put in remembrance by divers pitiful complaints of the poor "subjects, as well as by other wise and discreet men, that of late, by enclosing "arable ground, many had been driven to extreme poverty, and compelled to "leave the places where they were born, and seek their livings in other countries; insomuch, as in times past, where ten, twenty, yea in some places two "hundred people have been inhabiting, there is nothing now but sheep and "bullocks. All that land which was heretofore tilled and occupied by so "many men, is now gotten, by the insatiable greediness of men, into one or "two men's hands; and scarcely dwelt upon by one poor shepherd, so that "the realm is thereby brought into marvellous desolation, &c." The case of Ireland is now like that of England then. Some would insinuate that Popery is at the bottom of what they call this dark affair; and to give their opinion an air of probability, they tell you, that the first rising of these deluded people was in the very year that Thurot made a landing in the north of Ireland, and that Conflans was to have attempted the like in the south, But I can find no evidence that the French king employed any agents, at this time, to practise on the discontents of the rabble of Munster.

* Vide Dublin Gazette, and also *The Enquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the Levellers per totum.*

† A more uncorrupt, firm, and humane judge never graced the Bench. The extraordinary exultation of the Irish on this occasion, is a strong though melancholy proof, that the chaste impartiality and independence, from which that learned and revered judge never departed, had hitherto been a novelty to the Irish people. He has received the most honourable test of his uprightness in the blame cast at him by the author of *The Memoire of the different Rebellions in Ireland*, p. 34.

The execution of scores of these unfortunate objects of misery and desperation would not answer the views of those, (and too many there shamefully were) who from their own private ends connived at and fomented these tumults. They sought a victim of more renown; and selected Nicholas Sheehy, the parish priest of Clogheen in the county of Tipperary, a district then particularly infested by the White Boys, as a fit object for their wicked, though ultimately ineffectual, purpose of implicating the Catholic religion, the Pope, the French, and the Pretender in the tumultuary outrages of these wretched desperadoes. They had him proclaimed upon false informations; and a reward of 300*l.* was set upon his head. He, conscious of his innocence, immediately upon hearing of the proclamation, offered to Mr. Secretary Waite to spare government the reward offered, and surrender himself instantly to take his trial out of hand; not indeed in Clonmel, where he feared the malice and power of his enemies would (as they afterwards proved) be too prevalent for justice, but in the court of King's Bench in Dublin. His proposal having been accepted, he was accordingly brought up to Dublin, and tried there for rebellion, of which, however, after a severe scrutiny of fourteen hours, he was honourably acquitted; no evidence having appeared against him but a blackguard boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief, all brought out of Clonmel jail, and bribed for the purpose of witnessing against him.

His enemies, who had failed in their first attempt, were predetermined upon his destruction at all events. One Bridge, an informer against some of those who had been executed for these riots, was said to have been murdered by their associates, in revenge, although his body could never be found,* and a considerable reward was offered for discovering and convicting the murderer. Sheehy, immediately after his acquittal in Dublin for rebellion, was indicted by his pursuers for this murder, and notwithstanding the promise given him by those in office on surrendering himself, he was transmitted to Clonmel, to be tried there for this new crime, and upon the sole evidence of the same infamous witnesses, whose testimony had been so justly reprobated in Dublin, was there condemned to be hanged and quartered for that murder.

The night before his execution, which was but the second after his sentence, he wrote a letter to Major Sirr, wherein he declared his innocence of the crime, for which he was next day to suffer death; and on the morning of that day, just before he

* It was positively sworn, by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he privately left the kingdom some short time before he was said to have been murdered. See notes of the trial taken by one of the jury in *Exshaw's Magazine* for June 1766.

was brought forth to execution, he, in presence of the sub-sheriff and a clergyman who attended him, again declared his innocence of the murder ; solemnly protesting at the same time, as he was a dying man, just going to appear before the most awful of tribunals, that he never had engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French king, by tendering them oaths, or otherwise ; that he never had distributed money among them on that account, nor had ever received money from France or any other foreign court, either directly or indirectly, for any such purpose ; that he never knew of any French or foreign officers being among these rioters ; or of any Roman Catholics of property or note being concerned with them. At the place of execution he solemnly averred the same things, adding, that he never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered in his life-time ; nor ever knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until he heard it publicly talked of : nor did he know that there ever was any such design on foot. The prompt surrender of Mr. Sheehy when he commanded the readiest means of escape, his acquittal before a Dublin jury of the rebellion charged in the proclamation, and his being afterwards found guilty of the murder of Bridge upon the evidence of those very suborned wretches, whose testimonies had been rejected on his former trial in the King's Bench, and were afterwards also rejected on the trial of a Mr. Keating for another pretended murder at Kilkenny, when coupled with other circumstances of atrocious violence, intimidation, and injustice attending the trial of Sheehy, known to and testified by hundreds of eye witnesses, many of whom are still living, leave no doubt upon the mind of every unbiassed man, that Mr. Sheehy was the devoted victim of the rankest malice and perjury.*

* On the day of this man's trial, a party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding whomsoever they thought proper, while others of them with a certain knight at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner, forcing into inns and private lodgings in the town, challenging and questioning all new comers, menacing his friends, and questioning his enemies. During the trial, Mr. Keating, a person of known property and credit in that country, having given the clearest and fullest evidence, that, during the whole night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house, that he could not have left it in the night time without his knowledge, and consequently that he could not have been present at the murder ; the Reverend Mr. H. an active manager in these trials, stood up, and after looking on a paper that he held in his hand, informed the court, that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list, as one of those that were concerned in the killing a corporal and serjeant in a former rescue of some of these levellers : upon which he was immediately hurried away to Kilkenny jail, where he lay for some time loaded with irons in a dark and loathsome dungeon. By this proceeding, not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was prevented, who came on purpose to testify the same thing, but instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting with the same treatment. Mr. Keating was afterwards tried for this pretended murder at the assizes of Kilkenny, but was honourably acquitted ; too late, however, to

In vain from the beginning of these insurrections did a certain party attempt to fix the body of Roman Catholics with the treason and disloyalty attending them. The plain truth is, that these oppressed wretches being too ignorant to know the law, and too poor to bear the expence of it, betook themselves to violence as to their only resource. Fatal experience teaches us that mobs seldom rise, till they have suffered some grievance; and seldomer disperse till they have occasioned great mischief. The very occasion, which such risings afford to private, and secret, and generally unwarrantable engagements with each other, is one of the most pernicious evils, that can befall society. Linked by common ties, they acquire gregarious firmness, but seldom coalesce upon a specific ground of grievance. Yet whilst these *White Boys* continued to exist, they were generally consistent in the nature of their complaints; of which however the loudest and most lasting were against the extortions of the tithe proctors; the landlords and graziers, in order to divert the irritation of this wretched and oppressed peasantry from themselves, did not scruple to cherish, or at least connive at their resistance to the ever unpopular demands of the clergy. This suffering and misguided people bound themselves to each other by an oath.*

be of any service to Mr. Sheehy, who had been hanged and quartered some time before Mr. Keating's acquittal. The very same evidence, which was looked upon at Clonmel as good and sufficient to condemn Mr. Sheehy, having been afterwards rejected at Kilkenny, as prevaricating and contradictory, when offered against Mr. Keating. James Prendergast, Esq. a Protestant of the established church, a witness for Mr. Edward Sheehy, deposed, that on the day and hour on which the murder of Bridge was sworn to have been committed, viz. about or between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock on the night of the 28th of October, 1764, Edmund Sheehy, the prisoner, was with him and others in a distant part of the country; that they and their wives had on the aforesaid 28th of October, dined at the house of Mr. Tenison, near Ardsinan, in the county of Tipperary, where they continued till after supper; that it was about eleven o'clock when he and the prisoner left the house of Mr. Tenison, and rode a considerable way together on their return to their respective homes; that the prisoner had his wife behind him, that when he (Mr. Prendergast) got home, he looked at the clock, and found it was the hour of twelve exactly. This testimony was confirmed by several corroborating circumstances, sworn to by two other witnesses, against whom no exception seems to have been taken: and yet because Mr. Tenison, although he confessed in his deposition, that the prisoner had dined with him in October 1764, and does not expressly deny, that it was on the 28th of that month, but says, conjecturally, that he was inclined to think that it was earlier than the 28th, the prisoner was brought in guilty. This positive and particular proof, produced by Mr. Prendergast, with the circumstances of the day and the hour, attested upon oath by two other witnesses, whose veracity seems not to have been questioned, was overruled and set aside, by the vague and indeterminate surmise of Mr. Tenison. See *Exshaw's Gentleman's*, and *London Magazine*, for April and June, 1766.

* Of which the following is said to have been the form, and which the most wilful traducer of the Irish cannot distort into any engagement to the Pope, French, or Pretender:

"I do hereby solemnly and sincerely swear, that I will not make known any secret now given me, or that hereafter may be given me, to any one in

The public mind was much agitated by these proceedings and many undue means were used to exaggerate the evil, and convert it into a Popish plot to overturn the government, to massacre the Protestants, and to favour our enemies in their dreaded invasion. Acts of popular outrage are committed generally by the lower order of the people; and as that order principally consists in this kingdom of Roman Catholics, it was in some respect a natural consequence to attribute the misdemeanours of the Southern insurgents, indiscriminately, to persons of that persuasion. The House of Commons therefore appointed a committee "to enquire into the causes and progress of (what was termed) the Popish insurrection in the province of Munster."

* On the 23d of January, 1762, Mr. Hamilton, secretary to Lord Halifax, communicated to the House of Commons the message from the lord lieutenant, by which he informed them, that he had it in command from his majesty, that after the most conciliatory efforts which his majesty's moderation could dictate, or his royal dignity permit, affairs had been brought to an unhappy, though on his side inevitable, rupture with the court of Spain: that in consequence his majesty had directed an immediate augmentation of five battalions to the establishment, which would render some further supplies unavoidably necessary beyond those which they had already so liberally granted. And although in this address to parliament there be an exclusive and particular application to his majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland, it was not as before had been the usual style of the castle, to call upon them to make head against, to resist, or punish the common enemy; but as none but Protestants were members of the house which he was then addressing, and none but they could affect the revenue, his majesty having in all exigencies the most full and firm reliance on the experienced affection and loyalty of his faithful Protestant subjects of Ireland, entertained no doubt that they would concur with their usual cheerfulness and unanimity in raising the additional supplies. The commons immediately resolved on an address of thanks to the lord lieutenant,

"the world, except a sworn person belonging to the society called *White Boys*, or otherwise....Sive Ultagh's Children.

"Furthermore I swear, that I will be ready at an hour's warning, if possible, being properly summoned by any of the officers, serjeants, or corporals belonging to my company.

"Furthermore I swear, that I will not wrong any of the company I belong to, of the value of one shilling; nor suffer it to be done by others, without acquainting them thereof.

"Furthermore I swear, I will not make known, in any shape whatever, to any person that does not belong to us, the name or names of any of our fraternity, but particularly the names of our respective officers.

"Lastly I swear, that I will not drink of any liquor whatsoever, whilst on duty, without the consent of one or other of the officers, serjeants, or corporals; and that we will be loyal to one another as far as in our power lies."

to return thanks for the very important communications he had been pleased to make them; and to assure his excellency of the entire satisfaction which they had received from his prudent and just administration, during the course of which he had fully maintained the dignity of the crown, and at the same time gained the affection and esteem of the *whole kingdom*.^{*} In consequence of this message, the augmentation was accordingly ordered, and another vote of credit passed for the raising of 500,000*l.* at five per cent. The House of Commons also shortly after resolved, that an address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, requesting that he would represent to his majesty the sense of that house, that the entertainments and appointments of the lord lieutenant of Ireland had become inadequate to the dignity of that high station, and that it was the humble desire of that house that his majesty would be pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainments of the lord lieutenant for the time being, as, with the then allowances, should in the whole amount to the annual sum of 16,000*l.* which measure was also effected.

At the close of the session of 1762, Lord Halifax, in his speech to the parliament, thus alluded to the insurrections of the *White Boys*:† “ I must with concern observe, that notwithstanding the exemplary behaviour of all ranks of people in this metropolis, and throughout the greatest part of this kingdom, some distant quarters of the country have been unhappily disturbed with tumults and riots of the lower sort of people. I have on this occasion been reluctantly obliged to call out the military power, which is sometimes the necessary, but ought always to be the last resource of government. The officers ordered on that service have executed their duty with activity and discretion. These tumults are, I hope, wholly suppressed. Many of the persons concerned in them are in custody, and await the punishment of their offences. Others are fled from justice, and seem to want only an occasion of returning to their respective habitations with impunity.”

Amongst the various duties of the historian, it is not the last or least, to point out the sources of disorders, as the best and most efficient antidotes and remedies against their repetition. Although the *White Boys* were generally suppressed, yet the spirit of insurrection was not eradicated: the roots of the evil had spread wider than the province of Munster; for elsewhere also the lower orders were *wretched, oppressed, and impoverished*.

As one insurrection has frequently proved to be an encouragement or prelude to another, so Ireland was soon after disturbed

^{*} This would not have been the language of the commons, had there then in reality existed a Popish conspiracy against the government of the country, as the malevolent party was endeavouring to make the public believe.

† 7 Journ. Com. p. 173.

by risings in other parts, but grounded on different principles; *Oak Boys* and *Hearts of Steel Boys* made their appearance successively, in the northern countries.

The highways in Ireland were formerly made and repaired by the labour of housekeepers. He who had a horse, was obliged to work six days in the year; himself and horse: he who had none, was to give six days labour. It had been long complained, that the poor alone were compelled to work; that the rich had been exempt; that instead of mending the public roads, the sweat of their brows was wasted on private roads, useful only to overseers. At length in the years 1763 and 1764, they shewed their resentment. In the most populous, manufacturing, and consequently civilized part of the province of Ulster, the inhabitants of one parish refused to make more of what they called *job-roads*. They rose almost to a man, and from the oaken branches, which they wore in their hats, were denominated *Oak Boys*.

The discontent being as general as the grievance, the contagion seized the neighbouring parishes: from parishes it flew to baronies, and from baronies to counties, till at length the greater part of the province was engaged. The many-headed monster (as Dr. Campbell observes) being now roused, did not know where to stop, but began a general redress of grievances, whether real or imaginary. Their first object was the overseers of roads; the second the clergy, whom they resolved to curtail of their tithes; the third was the landlords, the price of whose lands (particularly the *turf bogs*) they set about regulating. They had several inferior objects, which only discovered the phrensy of insurrection.

The army was hereupon collected from the other provinces; for till then the province of Ulster was deemed so peaceful, that scarcely any troops were quartered in it. The rabble was soon dispersed, with the loss of a few lives; and the tumult was to appearance quelled in a few weeks. In the ensuing session of parliament, the matter was taken into consideration; the old act was repealed, and provision made for the future repairs of the roads, by levying a tax on both rich and poor. The cause of the discontent being thus happily removed, peace and quiet returned to their former channels. The rising of the *Steel Boys* was not so general, but it was more violent, as proceeding from a more particularly interesting cause;...the source of it was this: An absentee nobleman, possessed of one of the largest estates in the kingdom, instead of letting it when out of lease, for the highest rent, adopted a novel mode, of taking large fines and small rents. The occupier of the ground, though willing to give the highest rent, was unable to pay the fines; and therefore

dispossessed by the wealthy undertaker, who not contented with a moderate interest for his money, racked the rents to a pitch above the reach of the old tenant.

Upon this the people rose against forestallers, destroying their houses, and maiming their cattle, which now occupied their former farms. When thus driven to acts of desperation, they knew not how to confine themselves to their original object, but became like the *Oak Boys*, general reformers. The army however soon subdued them, and some who were made prisoners, having suffered by the hands of the executioner, the country was restored to its pristine tranquillity. Both these insurrections being in the north, the most opulent, populous, and civilized part of the kingdom, we may observe have no similitude to that of the *White Boys* in the south, either in their causes or in their effects, except in the general idea of oppression. The cause which generated the one being removed, and that of the other being only temporary, the duration of neither was long: the rise and fall of each was like that of a mountain river, which swelled by a broken cloud, at once overwhelms all around, and then shrinks down as suddenly into its accustomed bed.

The government of Lord Halifax ended with the session of 1762: this year was an eventful æra to the British empire. Mr. Pitt*, and afterwards the Duke of Newcastle, retired from his majesty's councils to make room for Lord Bute's administration, who is now generally admitted to have brought with him the highest sublimation of Tory principles (with the exception of *Jacobitism*), and to have commanded more personal influence over his sovereign, than a Buckingham or a Clarendon. This change in his majesty's councils was the first check given to the Whig interest, by a prince of the house of Brunswick.

No part of the British empire was more sincerely and deeply affected by the success of his majesty's arms and the security of his government than Ireland. Upon the resignation of Mr. Pitt, and the consequent decline of the Whig interest,† to let

* Mr. Pitt, whose vigorous and successful administration had much endeared him to the people, having in October 1761 proposed in the cabinet an immediate declaration against Spain, which he knew had recently entered into an alliance with France against Great Britain, and being only supported by his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, he immediately resigned, in order, to use his own words, *not to remain responsible for measures, which he was no longer allowed to guide*. The king granted him a pension of 3000*l.* which with some difficulty and risk of his popularity he accepted: though he then refused the peerage, which he afterwards accepted. But his lady was created Baroness of Chatham, with remainder to her heirs male.

† The truly masterly strokes of Mr. Burke upon this subject cannot fail to instruct and delight the reader. In his *Thoughts on the present Discontents*, written in 1770, whilst the nation was sensibly alive to the consequences of this new system, he analyzes it from its source; and although it operated only by rebound, and perhaps imperfectly upon Ireland, yet in the uncontrolled dependance of the Irish administration on the British cabinet, his observations

in the Earl of Bute with new and opposite, but worse than the old Tory principles, the merchants and traders of Dublin in a

cannot be irrelevant to Ireland. "The power of the crown," says he, "almost dead and rotten, as prerogative, has grown up anew with much more strength, and far less odium, under the name of *influence*. At the Revolution the crown, deprived, for the ends of, the revolution itself, of many prerogatives, was found too weak to struggle against all the difficulties, which pressed so new and unsettled a government. The court was obliged therefore to delegate a part of its powers to men of such interest, as could support, and of such fidelity, as would adhere to its establishment. Such men were able to draw in a great number to a concurrence in the common defence. This connection, necessary at first, continued long after convenient, and properly conducted, might indeed in all situations be an useful instrument of government. The powerful managers for government were not sufficiently submissive to the pleasure of the possessors of the immediate and personal favour; sometimes from a confidence in their own strength, natural and acquired: sometimes from a fear of offending their friends, and weakening that lead in the country, which gave them a consideration independent of the court. Men acted as if the court could receive, as well as confer an obligation. This method of governing by men of great national interest or great acquired consideration was viewed in a very invidious light by the true lovers of absolute monarchy. It is the nature of despotism to abhor power held by any means but its own momentary pleasure; and to annihilate all intermediate situations between boundless strength on its own part, and total debility on the part of the people. To get rid of all this intermediate and independent importance, and to secure to the court the unlimited and uncontrolled use of its own vast influence, under the sole direction of its own private favour, has for some years past been the great object of policy. If this were compassed, the influence of the crown must of course produce all the effects, which the most sanguine partisans of the court could possibly desire. Government might then be carried on without any concurrence on the part of the people; without any attention to the dignity of the greater, or to the affections of the lower sorts. A new project was therefore devised, by a certain set of intriguing men, totally different from the system of administration, which had prevailed since the accession of the house of Brunswick. This project I have heard was first conceived by some persons in the court of Frederick Prince of Wales. The earliest attempt in the execution of this design was to set up for minister, a person in rank indeed respectable, and very ample in fortune; but who, to the moment of this vast and sudden elevation, was little known or considered in the kingdom: to him the whole nation was to yield an immediate and implicit submission. But whether it was for want of firmness to bear up against the first opposition, or that things were not yet fully ripened, or that this method was not found the most eligible, that idea was soon abandoned. The instrumental part of the project was a little altered to accommodate it to the time, and to bring things more gradually and more surely to the one great end proposed. The first part of the reformed plan was to draw a line which should separate the court from the ministry. Hitherto these names had been looked upon as synonymous, but for the future, court and administration were to be considered as things totally distinct. By this operation, two systems of administration were to be formed; one, which should be in the real secret and confidence; the other merely ostensible, to perform the official and executory duties of government. The latter were alone to be responsible, whilst the real advisers, who enjoyed all the power were effectually removed from all the danger. Secondly, a party under these leaders was to be formed in favour of the court against the ministry: this party was to have a large share in the emoluments of government, and to hold it totally separate from, and independent of ostensible administration. The third point, and that, on which the success of the whole scheme ultimately depended, was to bring parliament to an acquiescence in this project. Parliament was therefore to be taught by degrees a total indifference to the persons, rank, influence, abili-

body, not indeed legally representing, but well known to speak the sentiments of the great majority of the people of Ireland,

ties, connections, and character of the ministers of the crown, by means of a discipline, on which I shall say more hereafter; that body was to be habituated to the most opposite interests, and the most discordant politics. All connections and dependencies among subjects were to be entirely dissolved. As hitherto business had gone through the hands of leaders of Whigs or Tories, men of talents to conciliate the people, and engage to their confidence, now the method was to be altered; and the lead was to be given to men of no sort of consideration or credit in the country. This want of natural importance was to be their very title to delegated power. Members of parliament were to be hardened into an insensibility to pride, as well as to duty. Those high and haughty sentiments, which are the great support of independence, were to be let down gradually. Point of honour and precedence were no more to be regarded in parliamentary decorum, than in a Turkish army. It was to be avowed as a constitutional maxim, that the king might appoint one of his footmen, or one of your footmen, for minister; and that he ought to be, and that he would be, as well followed as the first name for rank or wisdom in the nation. Thus parliament was to look on, as if perfectly unconcerned; while a cabal of the closet and back stairs was substituted in the place of a national administration. With such a degree of acquiescence, any measure of any court might well be deemed thoroughly secure. The capital objects, and by much the most flattering characteristics of arbitrary power, would be obtained. Every thing would be drawn from its holdings in the country to the personal favour and inclination of the prince. This favour would be the sole introduction to power, and the whole tenure, by which it was to be held: so that no person looking towards another, and all looking towards the court, it was impossible, but that the motive, which solely influenced every man's hopes, must come in time to govern every man's conduct; till at last the servility became universal, in spite of the dead letter of any laws or institutions whatsoever. In the first place, they proceeded gradually, but not slowly, to destroy every thing of strength which did not derive its principal nourishment from the immediate pleasure of the court. The greatest weight of popular opinion and party connection were then with the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt. Neither of these held their importance by the new tenure of the court; they were not therefore thought to be so proper as others for the services which were required by that tenure. It happened very favourably for the new system, that under a forced coalition there rankled an incurable alienation and disgust between the parties, which composed the administration. Mr. Pitt was first attacked. Not satisfied with removing him from power, they endeavoured by various artifices to ruin his character. The other party seemed rather pleased to get rid of so oppressive a support; not perceiving, that their own fall was prepared by his, and involved in it. Many other reasons prevented them from daring to look their true situation in the face. To the great Whig families it was extremely disagreeable, and seemed almost unnatural, to oppose the administration of a prince of the house of Brunswick. Day after day they hesitated, and doubted, and lingered, expecting that other counsels would take place; and were slow to be persuaded, that all which had been done by the cabal, was the effect not of humour, but of system. It was more strongly and evidently the interest of the new court faction, to get rid of the great Whig connections, than to destroy Mr. Pitt. The power of that gentleman was vast indeed and merited; but it was in a great degree personal, and therefore transient. Theirs was rooted in the country. For with a good deal less of popularity, they possessed a far more natural and fixed influence. Long possession of government; vast property; obligations of favours given and received; connection of office; ties of blood, of alliance, of friendship (things at that time supposed of some force); the name of Whig, dear to the majority of the people; the zeal early begun and steadily continued to the royal family: all these together formed a body of power in the nation, which was criminal and de-

presented a most grateful address to Mr. Pitt, expressive of their admiration of his principles and conduct, and their sincere condolence that his country was deprived of his services.* The

voted. The great ruling principle of the cabal, and that which animated and harmonized all their proceedings, how various soever they may have been, was to signify to the world, that the court would proceed upon its own proper forces only; and that the pretence of bringing any other into its service was an affront to it, and not a support. Therefore, when the chiefs were removed, in order to go to the root, the whole party was put under a proscription so general and severe, as to take their hard-earned bread from the lowest officers, in a manner which had never been known before, even in general revolutions. But it was thought necessary effectually to destroy all dependencies but one, and to shew an example of the firmness and rigour with which the new system was to be supported.

"I resta little the longer on this court topic, because it was much insisted upon at the time of the great change, and has been since frequently revived by many of the agents of that party: for, whilst they are terrifying the great and opulent with the horrors of mob-government, they are by other managers attempting (though hitherto with little success) to alarm the people with a phantom of tyranny in the nobles. All this is done upon their favourite principle of disunion, of sowing jealousies amongst the different orders of the state, and of disjoining the natural strength of the kingdom, that it may be rendered incapable of resisting the sinister designs of wicked men, who have engrossed the royal power.

"It must be remembered, that since the revolution, until the period we are speaking of, the influence of the crown had been always employed in supporting the ministers of state, and in carrying on the public business according to their opinions. But the party now in question is formed upon a very different idea. It is to intercept the favour, protection, and confidence of the crown in the passage to its ministers; it is to come between them and their importance in parliament; it is to separate them from all their natural and acquired dependencies; it is intended as the control, not the support of administration. The machinery of this system is perplexed in its movements, and false in its principle. It is formed on a supposition that the king is something external to his government, and that he may be honoured and aggrandized, even by its debility and disgrace. The plan proceeds expressly on the idea of enfeebling the regular executory power. It proceeds in the idea of weakening the state in order to strengthen the court. The scheme depending entirely on distrust, on disconnection, on mutability by principle, on systematic weakness in every particular member; it is impossible, that the total result should be substantial strength of any kind."

Then having given a most pointed sketch of this new court corporation, he says: "The name, by which they chuse to distinguish themselves, is that of *king's men*, or the *king's friends*, by invidious exclusion of the rest of his majesty's most loyal and affectionate subjects. The whole system, comprehending the exterior and interior administrations, is commonly called, in the technical language of the court, *double cabinet*. This system has not risen solely from the ambition of Lord Bute, but from the circumstances which favoured it, and from an indifference to the constitution, which had been for sometime growing among our gentry. We should have been tried with it, if the Earl of Bute had never existed; and it will want neither a contriving head nor active members, when the Earl of Bute exists no longer." Thus spoke this great man in the unchecked vigour of his mind, ere he had yet discovered the difference between an *Old* and a *New Whig*.

* It has often been said, that the late Earl of Chatham was a Tory at heart, notwithstanding his boasted avowals of Whiggism. That in his youth he was a Tory appears more than probable: but it would be too harsh a censure to pass

merchants, traders, and citizens of Dublin at this time being the most opulent and considerable body of men in the kingdom, appear to have taken the lead of all their countrymen in watching and forwarding, according to their rights and abilities, the civil interests of the nation; in which they were encouraged and directed by the famous Dr. Lucas, who (after having triumphed over all his enemies and persecutors) now represented them in parliament.

On the very first day of the session of the last parliament (viz. 22 Oct. 1761) the commons ordered, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill to limit the duration of parliaments: and Dr. Lucas, Mr. Perry, and Mr. Gorges Lowther were ordered to bring in the same.† This favourite and constitutional measure had been most strongly recommended by Dr. Lucas, in imitation of the English septennial bill: he accordingly presented according to order, on the 28th of October, heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, which were received, read, and committed: several amendments were proposed and adopted in the committee. On the 9th of December, 1761, Mr. Lowther, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole house, to whom the heads of the bill had been committed, that they had gone through the same, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table; and they were accordingly read and agreed to. But when a motion was made, and the question put, that the speaker with the house should attend his excellency the lord lieutenant with the heads of the bill, and desire the same might be transmitted into Great Britain in due form, and that his excellency would be pleased to recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his majesty; the house divided, 43 for the motion, and 108 against it. This majority of 65 upon a question so reasonable, so necessary, and so constitutional, shews the rapid decline of the patriotic interest in Ireland after the late changes: the reduction of which was very artfully effected by the two first of the lord justices, Primate Stone, the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. John Ponsonby, the speaker. The house however ordered, that Mr. G. Lowther should attend his excellency the lord lieutenant with the said heads of a bill, and desire the same might be transmitted into Great Britain in due form. Thus was Mr. Lucas's first patriotic bill lost, to the no small disappointment and mortification of the people out of doors. It is highly material to observe, that in proportion as patriots fell off in parliament, they sprang up out of it. This ministerial triumph was followed by no popular dis-

on so great a statesman, to conclude that his conversion to Whiggism was the effect of interest, and not of conviction. Vid. the address, App. No. LXIX.

† 7 Com. Journ. p. 14.

turbance, but great discontent : it produced a more alarming effect upon the castle : riot and insurrection they could easily have subdued, and the quelling thereof would have justified the very measures, that had excited them. But the people's cool, considerate, and firm conduct in investigating and peaceably following up their rights and interests, was truly to be dreaded by those, who were attempting to invade and thwart them. After much canvassing the conduct of their popular representatives in parliament on this important occasion, in March 1762 the merchants, traders, and citizens of Dublin having assembled, came to the following resolutions, viz.

“ Resolved, That we shall ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the several lords and commons, who, in their respective stations, have so eminently distinguished themselves in support of the Septennial Bill.

“ Resolved, That although we rest secure against common enemies, under the protection daily given us by Great Britain, our protection against domestic invaders depends wholly on the limitation of parliaments.

“ Resolved, That the clandestine arts which are usually practised (and have been sometimes detected) in obstructing of bills tending to promote the Protestant interest, ought to make Protestants the more active in supporting the Septennial Bill; the rather, as no doubt can remain, that a septennial limitation of parliaments, would render the generality of landlords assiduous in procuring Protestant tenants, and that the visible advantage accruing, would induce others to conform.

“ Resolved, That these, our resolutions, be presented to the representatives of this city in parliament, intreating they will immediately take into their most serious consideration, the state of the Septennial Bill, now five months in its progress; the session of parliament near its end; all aids within the ability of this nation given with unanimity and cheerfulness to the crown; and nothing yet known, with certainty, touching this act of redress.”

These resolutions, and other popular expressions of the general discontent at the failure of the Septennial Bill raised an awful alarm in government: and they most unwisely rivetted the convictions of the people, that the British ministry was against the measure, by a counter-declaration wrapped up in the following resolutions of the House of Commons.*

“ Resolved, That the suggestions confidently propagated, that the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, and ascertaining the qualifications of members to serve in parliament, if they had returned from England, would have been

* On the 26th of April 1762. Com. Journ. vol. 7, p. 168.

“rejected by this house, though in nowise materially altered, “are without foundation.” Loudly as the public called for such a law, several years past, and imperious circumstances arose, ere Ireland obtained it. The failure in this attempt did not abate the patriotic efforts of Dr. Lucas. He presented heads of a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by ascertaining the qualifications for knights, citizens, and burgesses of parliament, and also of another bill for better securing the freedom of parliament, by vacating the seat of such members of the House of Commons, as should accept of any lucrative office or employment from the Crown, or any person on the establishment of Great Britain or Ireland: neither of which succeeded: such was the ascendancy of the court party over the patriots: It was now no longer called the *English interest*, for Primate Stone was too good a politician to keep up that offensive term, after he had so successfully brought over some of the leading patriots to his side, who in supporting all the measures of the British cabinet, affected to do it, still as *Irish Patriots*.

The Earl of Halifax had been recalled to England to succeed Mr. G. Grenville as secretary of state;* and the Earl of Northumberland came over as lord lieutenant to Ireland to meet the parliament, in October, 1763. His speech to the parliament, on this occasion, was expressive of his majesty's just and gracious regard for a *dutiful and loyal people*: he congratulated them on the happy effects of so glorious a peace, and the birth of the Prince of Wales, and also of another prince. The remainder of his speech, referred to the disturbances in the province of Ulster, of which mention has been before made. “Not only,” said his excellency, “my duty, but my earnest good wishes for “the prosperity of Ireland, oblige me to take this opportunity “of mentioning to you, the only unpleasing circumstance, which “has occurred since my entrance upon this government; the tumultuous risings of the lower sort of people, in contempt of “all laws and magistracy, and of every constitutional subordination, must, if not early attended to, be productive of the “most fatal consequences; they are a disgrace to a country of “liberty; they are ruinous to a country of commerce; and “must be particularly fatal here, where the least check to the “rising spirit of industry is so very sensibly felt, and so very “difficult to be relieved; no means can serve more effectually “to prevent these disorders for the future, than the encouragement of such institutions, as tend to impress on the minds “of the lower order of the people early habits of industry, and “true principles of religion.”

* This happened on the 14th of October, 1762, which situation he held till July 12, 1765, when he was succeeded by the Duke of Grafton.

It has been before observed,* that the chief of the Munster insurgents, called *White Boys*, were Catholic labourers: and that the chief of the Ulster insurgents called *Steel Boys*, *Oak Boys*, *Peep of Day Boys*, were chiefly manufacturing Protestants in the north: but as religion was no ingredient to these tumultuous insurrections, it was certainly something more than hasty or inconsiderate prejudice in the House of Commons, when in 1762† they appointed a committee to enquire into the causes and progress of the subsisting *Popish insurrection* in the province of Munster:‡ and when in 1764 they appointed a similar committee to enquire into the causes of the late tumultuous risings in the province of Ulster; so far indeed was the house from calling them *Protestant insurrections*, which in fact they were, as much as those in Munster were *Popish*, that when a motion was made and the question proposed, that it should be an instruction to the committee to enquire into the causes of those risings, and into the means used to suppress them, and also to enquire into the causes of the insurrections in the south, and to report the whole matter, as it should appear to them specially, it was negatived in a division upon the previous question of eighty against twenty-six: thus was the door shut against enquiry, probably from apprehension, that the truth should be recorded, and an effectual stop put to the system of converting popular discontents into the engines of state intrigues, to the palpable detriment of the nation: for to know the source of a disorder, is the first step to its cure. When the majority of the house rejected this most necessary motion for enquiry and report, § they received from their committee several resolutions, which Mr. Bagwell reported to the house, and these they palmed upon the nation, as an efficient check upon the various tumultuous rioters. They were truisms in form of resolutions, that riots existed, that unless checked they would be attended with fatal consequences, that the laws if properly executed were sufficient to restrain the rioters, that it was the duty of magistrates to enforce the law, that to tender oaths, (not being lawfully authorized) with threats and violence in case of refusal, was a high offence punishable by law, and that it would tend to suppress and prevent the like disorders, if the abhorrence in which government and parliament held these treasonable offences, were made known to the deluded people. Such unmeaning generalities could produce no effect. They gave no information: they furnished no redress: they supplied no means: they afforded no security: they effected no restraint.

* On the impartial authority of Arthur Young.

† Journ. Com. vol. 7, p. 161. ‡ Ibid. p. 293. § Ibid.

Notwithstanding the patriots had so often failed in their parliamentary efforts to bring measures into some constitutional consistency, they still persevered, particularly in their attempt to reduce and regulate the pension list. The commons resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the state of the pensions upon the civil establishment of that kingdom, and how the encrease of them might be prevented: but the motion for addressing his majesty on the subject was negatived on a division of 112 against 73. So weak were now the patriots in the commons.* Pensions continued to be lavished with unchecked profusion. The debate on this

* This motion being very special and important, will let the candid reader into the spirit, which at that time, (8th of November, 1763) directed the councils of the Irish administration. 7 Journ. Com. p. 198. "A motion was made, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to represent in the most dutiful terms, that the debt of this kingdom is become very great. That the pensions now in being, that have been placed on the establishments of this kingdom, are one of the causes of the encrease of the public debt. That those pensions have been paid, and continue to be paid out of all the revenues of this kingdom without distinction. That it appears to this house to be worthy of his majesty's royal consideration, whether the grants that have been made of those pensions are agreeable to or warranted by the laws of this kingdom, and whether the revenues of the crown, that have been given for public uses, ought, or can by law be applied to pensions: and therefore most humbly do beseech his majesty to order it to be made known, as his majesty's royal will and command, to the officers of the treasury of this kingdom, that no part of the revenues of excise, customs, poundage, hearth money, quit rents, ale licences, wine, or strong water licences, or of the additional duties granted or to be granted in this kingdom, for any limited term, be paid or applied to any pension or annuity granted or to be granted out of, or which may any ways charge or effect the said revenue of excise, customs, poundage, hearth money, quit rents, ale licences, wine, and strong water licences, and additional duties, or any of the said revenues, till it shall first be determined by a court of justice of competent jurisdiction, that the crown may grant annuities or pensions out of the said revenues; and that his majesty may be graciously pleased to give his royal orders to the officers of the treasury, that no pensions be paid out of the said revenues, in any other manner than the judgment or decree of a court of competent jurisdiction shall determine to be just, and agreeable to the laws of this kingdom; and that his majesty be graciously pleased to order his majesty's servants of the law in this kingdom, to make that defence that the laws of this kingdom shall warrant, to every suit that shall be commenced or carried on by any pensioner or annuitant, claiming any part of the said revenues, till it shall be judicially determined in the most solemn manner, and by the dernier resort, that the crown may grant pensions or annuities out of the said revenues. That his majesty's faithful commons nevertheless do by no means intend, that the crown shall be deprived of the means of rewarding merit or conferring those bounties on proper occasions, that the honour and dignity of the crown may require; but that his majesty's faithful commons, on the contrary, will be ready to provide a revenue such as the condition and circumstances of this kingdom shall admit of, to enable the crown to reward merit, and on proper occasions to confer those bounties that may be suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown, if it shall be determined, that the present revenues of the crown, that have been given for public uses, ought not to be applied to pensions. Provided those revenues be reserved and applied to the support of his majesty's government in this kingdom only."

question was rather warm. *Mr. J. Fitzgerald took the lead on the patriot side. He stated, (and was not contradicted) that the pensions then charged upon the civil establishment of that kingdom amounted to no less than 72,000*l.* per ann. besides the *French* and *military* pensions, and besides the sums paid for old and now unnecessary employments, and those paid in unnecessary additions to the salaries of others: that the pensions therefore exceeded the civil list above 42,000*l.*: that not only since the house in 1757 had voted the encrease of pensions alarming, had they been yearly encreased; but that in the time of a most expensive war, and when the country had willingly and cheerfully increased a very considerable national debt; and when the additional influence of the crown from the levying of new regiments might well have substituted the necessity of new pensionary gratifications. He then drew a piteous portrait of the country; not one third peopled; two thirds of the people unemployed, consequently indolent, wretched and discontented; neither foreign trade, nor home consumption sufficient to distribute the conveniences of life among them with reasonable equality, or to pay any tax proportionable to their number; what new mode of taxation could be devised? Would they tax leather, where no shoes were worn, or tallow where no candles were burned? They could not tax the roots of the earth and the water on which the wretched peasantry existed; they could tax no commodity, that would not defeat itself, by working a prohibition. He then entered into the legal and constitutional rights of the crown over the public revenue, and strongly resisted the assumed right of charging the public revenue with private pensions. The crown, he contended, had a public and private revenue; the public it received as a trustee for the public; the private it received in its own right; the former arose out of temporary duties, and was appropriated by parliament to specific public purposes, and was not left to the discretionary disposal of the crown. The latter did not in Ireland exceed 7000*l.* per ann. and the pensions amounting to 72000*l.* exceeded the fund, which could alone be charged with them by 65000*l.* per ann.

The court party strenuously resisted these arguments, as an unconstitutional and indecent attack upon the prerogative; insisting that the regal dignity should be supported by a power to reward as well as to punish; that the king was not to hold a sword in one hand and a barren sceptre in the other; that the two great springs of all actions were hope and fear; and where fear only operated, love could have no place; that a people stimulated only by fear, however free, and whatever advantages of government they might boast, were in a worst state, than the

* 1 Cald. Deb. p. 213, 14, 15.

subjects of a despotic prince. In a word, that an enquiry into the legality of these grants would restrain the king's power of doing good. What the opinion of the government was upon the question, was very explicitly set forth by the regular law-officer of the crown, Mr. Philip Tisdal, the attorney-general; he was of opinion, that the king had an indefinite and uncontrolled right to charge the money brought into the treasury with pensions arising from the words of the preamble of the statutes, by which the several duties were laid: and that the crown had this power with respect to duties raised by the very statutes, that declare them not chargeable with pensions; for that the barring clauses with respect to the hearth money and ale licences could affect them only before they were brought into the treasury, and that the moment they became part of the aggregate fund, they were indiscriminately a supply for the exigencies of government and its support.

On another *day, when a motion in the house was carried for taking into consideration the state of the pensions, Mr. R. Fitzgerald took occasion to state to the house, what was not contradicted by those, whose duty as well as disposition it was to correct any false statement, upon matters of so much importance and notoriety. It lamentably proves, that the poverty and dependance of Ireland were wished to be continued by those, who then governed her. Instead of 30 regiments upon the establishment, there then were 42, with the same number of men, viz. 12,000: this augmentation of 12 regiments, besides a large addition of court influence, created an additional expenditure of 15,000*l.* per annum, so that the military establishment then amounted to 100,000*l.* per annum, more than in the height of the war, besides military contingencies and barracks, which amounted to a very considerable sum: that in fact the military and civil establishment with the pensions would only leave 30,000*l.* out of the whole revenue of the country; which sum would be more than swallowed up by the artillery and *laboratory*, an amphibious institution, that might be carried on without control: that the staff of general officers in Ireland amounted to 22,000*l.* per annum, though in England it did not exceed 11,000*l.* and notwithstanding, there were seldom general officers sufficient in Dublin to form a board.

The patriots had so managed the enquiry into the pensions, that they had on the 9th of the month brought the house to agree, that the pensions on the civil establishment were an intolerable grievance: on the same day they passed an unanimous resolution, that on the Tuesday following, they should take that grievance into consideration, which they deferred to the next day,

* 12 Nov. 1763. 1 *Cald. Deb.* p. 308.

when a most violent and angry debate ensued, upon the attorney general's moving, that the question should be adjourned to the 1st of July next: the division for putting off the enquiry was 126, against it 78.*

The tenacity and perseverance, with which the patriots pursued this abuse of pensions extremely annoyed the court party: they could not have taken more popular ground. A pension of 1000*l.* had been granted to Mr. De Verois, the Sardinian ambassador (in the name of George Charles), for having negotiated the peace, which had been lately concluded with the minister of France. On this ground Mr. Pery moved the house, that

* 8 Com. Journ. p. 227. In this debate Mr. Pery, member for Limerick, spoke thus: 1 Cald. p. 324. "I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding these resolutions, I have but too much reason to believe the sitting of such a committee was never intended; and I think it my duty to communicate such reason of my belief to the House. As I was coming last Monday from the four courts, in my chair, I was stopped by a particular friend, a gentleman of great worth and consequence, who asked me, whether I intended to go that day to the House. I answered, that I did not, as I knew of nothing that made my attendance necessary; and that, as I had been much fatigued by business of the House, and by the courts, I intended to make that a day of rest." He replied, "You may not only take your rest this day, but every other day of the sessions, for things are now fixed so as to admit of no alteration; no enquiry will be made into the state of the pensions, nor any thing else done, but what has been agreed upon with those, who are to take the lead." To this I answered with great surprise, that I could scarce think what he told me was possible: that the House had been unanimous for examination, and had actually appointed a committee for that purpose, but a few days ago; that the public expected it, and to disappoint them in an expectation so reasonable, and on an occasion so important, would be wholly inconsistent with the dignity, as well as the duty of the House, as the members would then appear to be nothing more than state puppets, with wires in their noses; by which they were turned first one way, and then another, just as those, who had the management of them thought fit."

Mr. Pery was interrupted by the attorney general, who addressed himself in a very angry strain to the House. "I hope every gentleman in this House feels a proper disdain at being represented as a puppet, moved by dictates of another's will, and sufficient spirit to shew, by his conduct, that he acts upon principles of freedom and independence, by the determination of his own judgment. As to the enquiry in question, I shall, for my own part, oppose it from a full conviction, that it is unnecessary; what could we hope more from this enquiry, than an assurance from his majesty, that he has considered the grievance, and will redress it? And this assurance he has been graciously pleased to give us already. It is indeed true, that this assurance has not come before the House, with the solemnity of a formal message; but gentlemen seem to forget that his majesty could not communicate it in that manner, consistent with his character and dignity. The intimation to the lord lieutenant is a favour, and, if his majesty is graciously pleased to wave his prerogative in our behalf, are we to expect, that he should do it in a way, that would imply a consciousness of his having abused it? His majesty has, in this instance, treated us with condescension and kindness, of which, I may venture to say, we have no precedent; and shall we return it with remonstrance and complaints? Shall we refuse a favour from our gracious prince, merely because it is not offered in a manner that would degrade himself?"

an humble address* should be presented to his majesty, strongly expressive of the impropriety and mischief of such grants, which produced a still more impassioned debate than the former; the address was negatived by 124 against 58. The prevailing argument on the court side was used by Mr. Gore, the solicitor general. "The voice," said he, "of the majority, is the voice of the nation, and in that once given we ought to acquiesce. Give me leave, Sir, to add, that the majority, by which the late question has been determined, consists of gentlemen of rank and abilities; gentlemen, who have great property to secure, and great characters to maintain; and I think there never sate in any national assembly of any age, or any country, persons, who had more the constitutional rights of the people at heart, or knew better how they were to be maintained." The prominent zeal of Mr. Gore in supporting the court party was soon rewarded; he was raised over the head of Mr. Tisdall, the attorney general, to the head of the King's Bench, and was soon after created Lord Annally. With unrelenting perseverance the patriots followed up this popular ground of opposition. On the 13th of December Mr. Pery again came forward, and although he had been very unfortunate in the proposals, that he had made with a view to the public advantage, yet, said he, it was his duty to persevere; let the current therefore run ever so strongly against him, he was determined to strive against it to the last; and though he might not be able to stop, or turn its

* 7 Com. Journ. p. 239. 24 Nov. 1763. A motion was made, and the question being put, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty of the inviolable attachment to his royal person and family; that we have the firmest reliance on his majesty's wisdom, justice, and tender regard for his subjects of this kingdom; but that we should fail in our duty to his majesty, and desert the trust reposed in us by those we represent, should we longer defer laying before his majesty the real state of this kingdom, which we have some reason to fear may not yet have been fully presented to his majesty's view. That we presume to do so from a firm persuasion, that his majesty will not believe, that we are prompted to it by the spirit of faction, but impelled by the necessities of the kingdom; and that we have nothing in view but his majesty's honour and prosperity of our country. That during the late successful war we exerted our utmost efforts for the support of his majesty's government, and to raise such supplies as his majesty thought necessary for his service, though it was with the greatest difficulty we could even provide for payment of the interest of the sums we were obliged to borrow for that purpose. But at the same time we could not without the utmost concern observe, though we lamented it in silence, the great continual encrease of pensions, and that a considerable part of the sums, which were destined for public uses, were diverted to private purposes. That this is one great cause of the heavy debt, which oppresses the kingdom, and which we can scarce ever hope to discharge, deprived as we are of those resources from trade, with which the other parts of his majesty's domains are blessed. That any considerable addition to this burthen must depopulate this kingdom, already much exhausted of its inhabitants. That we presume with all humility to lay these our circumstances before his majesty, not doubting, that they will excite in his royal breast those sentiments, which are so natural to his princely disposition.

course, his resistance to it would at least prevent his being carried away before it.* He accordingly moved, though with

* Mr. Pery's introduction to his motion is so illustrative of the history of his country at this critical period, that the reader will thank me for subjoining it. 2 *Cald.* p. 578. "I have greater reason to hope for success in my present proposal, than in any that I have yet made, for it is a proposal to do what his majesty has, in the most gracious and emphatical manner, recommended to be done in his speech from the throne, the practice of œconomy, and the reduction of our debt." The words of the speech are these, "The situation of public affairs will permit a very considerable diminution of the public expence, and I am only to thank you for your past efforts, without again having recourse to the experienced liberality of parliament, I have nothing to ask but a continuance of the supplies, for the support of the ordinary establishment, which, it is hoped, will not exceed the produce of the ordinary revenue, and I recommend to you a proper attention to the reduction of the public debt." I am sorry there should be any occasion to enforce an address, with which it is so manifestly both our interest and duty to comply, yet certain it is, that we have so far neglected it, that a conduct directly opposite to that here recommended has already brought us to the verge of ruin, and, if continued, will plunge us to the bottom. That I may not appear to create evils, which I do not find, I shall represent the present situation of this country by a series of facts, too notorious not to be believed, and too formidable not to be feared; by which it will appear, that we have tamely and silently acquiesced in the violation of these assurances, and totally neglected this advice. We have been so far from being relieved from the burthen of taxes, which, when they were indispensably necessary, we were little able to bear, that an unexpected requisition of supplies has been made with a long train of pensions, which exceed the expence of all other branches of the civil establishment, by above forty-two thousand pounds. The number of military officers is increased, not only far beyond what it has ever been in time of peace, but even beyond what it has ever been during the most dangerous war. We have two more regiments of dragoons, and four regiments of foot, more than ever; besides four old regiments of horse; the expence of general officers is increased no less than thirteen thousand pounds a year, though there were not a sufficient number of them in this kingdom, to attend the last reduction of forces; the expence of the ordnance is, in two years, swelled from ten thousand six hundred pounds, to above forty-five thousand pounds, though the whole artillery of the kingdom is not equal to the ordnance of a frigate of thirty guns, and every other branch of the civil and military establishment is increased nearly in the same proportion, so that the expence of the nation for these two years appears, by the most exact calculation, to exceed its whole revenue more than three hundred and fourteen thousand pounds, which deficiency being added to the national debt, we must at the next meeting of parliament owe more than one million. It appears also by calculation, that the present establishments in time of peace exceed the establishments during the last war more than ninety-seven thousand pounds. Let us now, sir, pause a moment, and consider what we have been doing; and how we have availed ourselves of a situation of affairs, which admits a considerable diminution of the public expence; how we have fulfilled his majesty's gracious admonition to attend to the reduction of our public debt? We have granted all the supplies, that have been demanded for the support of these establishments, however unsuitable to the circumstances of the kingdom, however unsupportable to the people, however contrary to the declarations from the throne, however incompatible with an attention graciously recommended from it. Let our zeal and affection for his majesty be our apology, and an unlimited confidence in his goodness be our praise; but let us at least apprize him of the sacrifice we have made; let us with all humility represent the danger we have incurred; let us solicit his protection, and though we have given up our all, and even more than our all, he will not keep it to our destruction. We have read of a prince, who, when

his usual want of success, that an humble address should be presented to his majesty on the state of the nation, and respecting the increased expence of the civil and military establishments; and as that address contains an authentic statement of the real situation of Ireland at that time, it follows in the very words of the motion: “*I move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to acknowledge with the utmost gratitude his majesty’s most gracious acceptance of our past services. To assure his majesty of our firm resolution to pursue such measures, as shall tend most to promote the real interest and honour of the crown. To express the general satisfaction and joy, with which his majesty’s most gracious declaration communicated by his excellency the lord lieutenant to both houses of parliament at the opening of the session was received, viz. That by the conclusion of a general peace we were at length relieved from those burthens, which were unavoidable during a war. That the situation of public affairs would permit a very considerable diminution of public expence, that nothing was to be asked, but the continuance of supplies for the support of the ordinary establishments, and that his majesty thanked us for our past efforts, without again having recourse to the experienced liberality of parliament.”....That from these assurances, we drew the most flattering expectations of reducing the national debt, and relieving the impoverished people from the burthen of those taxes they were so little able to bear: but that these pleasing hopes were soon blasted by the unexpected requisition of supplies, to support a civil establishment, loaded with a long train of pensions, the amount of which, exclusive of the French and military, exceeded the expence of all the other branches of the civil establishment, in the sum of 42,627*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* many of which were publicly bought and sold in the market. That the number of officers upon the military establishment is increased, not only far beyond what it ever was in time of peace, but even beyond what it was in the time of the most dangerous war, and would, under any reign but that of his majesty, raise just apprehensions for the constitution, not only of this kingdom, but that of Great Britain. That instead of six regiments of dragoons

he was fainting with thirst, and water was brought him at the risk of life, refused to drink it, “God forbid (said he) that I should drink the blood of these men;” can we then imagine that our gracious sovereign will drink the blood of this nation, that he will use his power, which he has derived from the ardour of our affection to our ruin? Our duty both to him, and ourselves, requires that we should at least apprize him of what we have done, that we may not be left to perish, merely because our danger was not known, nor suffer by a sacrifice, of which the value to us is infinite, but to him, who receives it nothing, for ultimately his glory and prosperity is ours.

* 7 Com. Journ. p. 255.

“and twenty-six of foot, (the most ever before seen in this
“kingdom) there are eight regiments of dragoons, and thirty of
“foot, besides the four old regiments of horse. That the ex-
“pence of general officers is raised from 30,000*l.* in two years to
“45,000*l.* though there was not sufficient number of them in the
“kingdom to attend the last reduction of the forces. That the
“expence of the ordnance is swelled from 10,600*l.* in two years
“to 45,070*l.* independent of its extraordinary charges, which
“are very considerable, though the whole artillery of this king-
“dom is not equal to the ordnance of one of his majesty’s ships
“of thirty guns. That every branch of the military and civil
“establishment is advanced nearly in the same proportion.
“That from principles of duty and affection to his majesty, we
“granted the supplies which were demanded from us in his
“majesty’s name, for the support of these several establish-
“ments, however insupportable to the people. But though
“the warmth of our zeal and affection for his majesty induced
“us thus liberally to grant those supplies, our duty to him and
“those we represent will not permit us to conceal from his
“majesty or the public the real state and condition of this king-
“dom, which we shall lay before his majesty with all humility,
“and cast ourselves at his majesty’s feet, to implore his royal
“protection against his ministers. That the expence of the
“present military establishment amounts in two years to the
“sum of 980,955*l.* 19*s.* The civil establishment to 242,956*l.*
“10*s.* 9*d.*; to which must be added at the most moderate
“computation 300,000*l.* for extraordinary and contingent expen-
“ces of government. That these sums added together amount
“to the sum of 1,523,912*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* That to answer this
“expence, the whole revenue of this kingdom, the additional
“as well as hereditary duties, exclusive of the loan duties,
“which are but barely sufficient to pay the interest of 650,000*l.*
“the present national debt, amount to the sum of 1,209,864*l.*
“at a medium for fourteen years; so that the expence of the
“nation for these two last years, must exceed its whole revenue
“in a sum of 314,248*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* which deficiency being added to
“the national debt, must leave this kingdom at the next meet-
“ing of parliament near 1,000,000*l.* in debt. That the highest
“establishment we ever had in time of peace in this kingdom,
“were those in the two years ending in March 1755, and yet
“the present establishment exceeds them in the sum of 283,028*l.*
“9*s.* 9*d.* That during the late expensive war, the establish-
“ments amounted at a medium, only to the sum of 1,125,790*l.*
“for two years, so that the present establishments in a time of
“peace, exceed the establishments in the last war in the sum of
“97,522*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* That we have already contracted a new debt

“debt of 100,000*l.* though we expected to have discharged part of the old. That the imports, exports, and home consumption of this kingdom are already taxed to the utmost they can bear. That any addition to these taxes, instead of encreasing, must lessen the revenue. That nothing now remains to be taxed but our lands, which are already loaded with quit-rents, crown rents, composition rents, and hearth money. That if the present establishments are to continue, the debt of the nation must constantly increase, and in the end prove the utter ruin of the kingdom. That such is the true, but melancholy state of this country, which nothing but his majesty’s most gracious declarations, signified to us by his excellency the lord lieutenant, could have given us confidence to have laid before him, and which we do, that his majesty may judge how far his most benevolent intentions have been pursued. That we presume not to point out any particular method of redress, fully persuaded as we are, that when his majesty shall have been thus fully informed of our real circumstances, his wisdom, his justice, his humanity, will not permit the utter ruin of a dutiful, a loyal, an affectionate people.”

In tracing, combining, and reflecting upon the events, which fall to the lot of the historian to retail in their order and succession, it is often impracticable to deduce particular effects from their real causes. The great mass of the people in Ireland, the Roman Catholics, who by their exemplary forbearance and unsullied loyalty since the revolution, had not only borne up against the severest persecution, but defeated the keenest provocation, were thereby secured in the affections and confidence of all impartial and unprejudiced Protestants: and the eminently paternal indulgences of our gracious sovereign to that body forbid us to harbour a doubt, whether his Irish Catholic subjects did not ever possess an extraordinary share of his royal tenderness and affection. But there then was, and it is feared, still is in Ireland, a certain description of persons, (it would be little flattering to the established church to admit them in any manner into their pale, by calling them *Protestants*) whose innate acrimony and vindictive cruelty, hold the place of humanity, sympathy, and Christian charity: who professed themselves at all times enemies by principle, and persecutors by disposition of their Catholic countrymen: these were ready instruments in the hands of the *ambitious prelate*, to whose intrigues Lord Clare attributed all the party heats and animosities, that so long disturbed and degraded their parliamentary proceedings. As long as Primate Stone lived,* he pursued the Machiavelian policy of keeping the Irish a divided people, and by that wicked sys-

* He died the 19th of December, 1764.

tem of supporting the *English interest* by reducing each party beneath the court party ; to encrease which he set æconomy, delicacy, and justice at defiance. To the prevalence therefore of his influence, is to be attributed the failure of the first modest effort in favour of the Catholics, during the present reign.

On the 25th of November, 1763, Mr. Mason rose in his place and reminded the house, that in the last session of parliament,*

* One laments that the journals of parliament are to be so little relied on, when matter relating to the Catholics is the subject of entry. My former remarks on that subject are confirmed, but not explained by this unaccountable omission to notice the passing of that bill, upon a division in the last session, or of Mr. Mason's notice to bring in similar heads of a bill for the same purpose on a future day. In this particular, it is wholly improbable, that Sir James Caldwell should not be accurate in his report of this matter (2 vol. p. 511) as he had entered so deeply into the question, as to have published a pamphlet of great acrimony against it, entitled *A brief Examination of the Question, whether it is expedient either in a Religious or Political View to pass an Act to enable Papists to take Real Security for Money which they may lend*. So anxious was this knight for the success of his pamphlet in prejudicing the minds of the public against the heads of the bill, that he published it only at eight o'clock in the evening of the Saturday preceding the Monday, on which the heads of the bill were appointed to be taken into consideration : too late certainly for a question of that importance to the nation to be fairly replied to, had it been the wish of the author to have the question impartially canvassed. The pamphlet was a hasty and virulent compilation of all the calumnies, that had been thrown upon the Catholics, since Protestants existed ; with a most barefaced invention of his own, that the pope's legate, who always resides in Ireland, had interdicted seven Roman Catholic bishops, for having, when the insurrections of the *White Boys* were at the highest, ordered his majesty to be prayed for in all the Roman Catholic chapels of their dioceses, and that these seven bishops had sent in a paper to the lord lieutenant to complain of this legatine interdict, and that they afterwards entreated the lord lieutenant to return their paper, which his excellency refused. There had been no pope's legate or any person vested with legatine authority in Ireland for above a century : and it is matter of notoriety, that the king was prayed for in every Roman Catholic chapel throughout Ireland : nor did one of the whole body of Catholic bishops refuse to concur with the rest in enjoining this duty to their flocks : nor was any such paper presented to Lord Halifax, that could by the most artful malice be distorted into an instrument of the tendency, which that over zealous knight had imagined. Besides this incredible fiction, he hazarded a most malicious assertion, which the experience of all times falsifies : viz. *that no Papist has ever as yet been known to take the oath of allegiance* ; when it was notorious, that the Roman Catholic gentlemen of Ireland did take the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, which was all they required of them as a test of their fidelity : and which they most religiously observed, as has been seen. This active knight discovered the most dreadful consequences, and predicted the infallible ruin to the constitution, if Papists were by law enabled to have real security for their money lent : not reflecting at the same time, that for the space of fifty years, during which the Catholics had invested money on real securities and sued out *elegits*, it never had been doubted, till lately, that they had not a legal right so to do : and more especially, as many of the legislators of the laws of Anne were then living, many of them gentlemen at the bar, and some of them, after the passing of those laws, judges on the bench, who should naturally be well able to interpret those laws, and it is to be presumed would not have permitted them to be so misunderstood and violated. This knight was one of the instruments privately used by Primate Stone to prevent any precedent being set of a relax-

a bill had passed without a division for empowering Papists to lend money on the mortgages of real estates, that it had been lost in England, for what reason he knew not, as he thought the passing of it would have been of great advantage to that kingdom. He contended that at present, Papists could take only personal security for money they lend, which was certainly a great hardship upon them, and, he should endeavour to shew that it was also a great disadvantage to the public. As the public was nothing more than an aggregate of individuals, the suffering of an individual, is a disadvantage to the public in the proportion, which that individual bears to the whole, supposing the suffering of the individual to terminate entirely in himself; now Papists making one part, and a very considerable part too, of that community, it was certain, that the community must suffer with them, supposing their peculiar disadvantages to affect only themselves; but, in this case, their disadvantage affects other parts of the community; if the Papists be prohibited from lending upon such security, as is thought a sufficient indemnification, which, with respect to mere personal security, in such a country as this, cannot be the case, it is certain, that the Protestant is continually restrained from borrowing, and yet borrowing, and lending are mutual advantages. It might, perhaps, be replied, that though the disadvantages, under which the Papists are laid, by what are called Popery laws, are, indeed, disadvantages to the public, yet the disadvantages to the public would be greater, if the Papists were admitted to all the privileges and immunities of Protestants; that they had in that case the power only of chusing the least of two evils, the different religious opinions of the inhabitants of that country making a certain degree of evil inevitable. But, in answer to this, he observed, that, with religious opinions, any farther than they include political principles, affecting civil government, they had nothing to do. The Protestant religion was founded upon the right of private judgment. They renounced the infallibility of the pope, and it would be absurd, indeed to set up, instead of it, an infallibility of the state; as Protestants they must therefore upon their own principles, admit that the opinions of those, who

acted in the Popery laws, his grace foreseeing in that the probable coalition of Protestant and Catholic in the interests of Ireland, and consequently the sure and immediate overthrow of the *English Interest*, which he and his predecessor Boulter, had so effectually reared, cherished, and supported, in direct opposition to the native or country interest. The liberality and paternal affections of our gracious sovereign for his Irish subjects, threatened immediate demolition to that factitious and monstrous fabric, which under that primate had been supported with the most corrupt buttresses; it is said, that his despair of maintaining the system he had so long and so arbitrarily controlled, contributed not a little to his dissolution, which was premature, considering his age and extraordinary strength of constitution.

differ from them may possibly be true; and opinions, that may possibly be true, they had certainly no right to punish. They might indeed, and they ought to keep the power of hurting out of the hands of those whose principles would lead them to exert it; but he thought the Papists a much more formidable enemy, as an inmate, in the possession of ready money, than in the possession of a mortgage deed. Money was always power, and that money which is placed in Protestant hands, upon mortgage, is power in favour of the state; the same money, in the hands of the Papists unlent, supposing the Papist to be an enemy to the state, was power against it. Besides money was not a local, but transitory property; a Papist, possessed only of money, has no local interest in the country, but a Papist mortgagee had; he would be engaged to support the government in point of interest: his security for his money was good, while government subsisted, and in the convulsion, that always attends the subversion of government, it would at least become doubtful; besides, the greater the advantages, which the Papists receive under the present constitution, the more they must desire its continuance, and he would venture to say, that if the Papists were to be admitted to all the privileges of Protestant subjects, there would scarce be a practical Jacobite among them, whatever there might be in theory. I should therefore be glad, that the bill should have another trial, and shall therefore move for leave to bring in heads of a bill, to impower Papists to lend money, on the mortgage of land, and to sue for the same.

Mr. Le Hunte said, that he thought the bill proposed, would eventually make Papists proprietors of great part of the landed interest of the kingdom, which would certainly extend their influence, and that it was dangerous trusting to the use they would make of it, upon a supposition, that their interests would get the better of their principles. That the act mentioned to have passed the last sessions, did not pass without a division, there being a majority of no more than twelve in its favour, and that it would not have passed at all, if it had not been for some artful management, it being brought in the very last day of sessions, when no more than sixty-two members were present. He therefore begged, that the honourable gentleman would postpone his motion till Monday, as the house was then thin, and gentlemen would thus have time to consider the subject, which was of very great importance. He added, that as there was reason to suppose it to be the general sense of the house, that such a bill should not pass, he thought it would be better, that no heads of such a bill should be brought in, as it was cruel to raise expectations, which would probably be disappointed.

Mr. Mason consented to postpone his motion. Accordingly on the 3d of February, 1764, Mr. Mason presented to the house, according to order, heads of a bill, to ascertain what securities may be taken by persons professing the Popish religion, for money lent or to be lent by them; and also what remedies they may have recourse to, for recovery thereof; which were received and read. When a motion was made, and the question being put, that the said heads of a bill be rejected, the house divided, 138 for the rejection, and 53 against it. Another motion was then made, and the question being put, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill to enable Papists to take securities upon lands, but in such manner, that they might not meddle with the possession thereof, which was immediately negatived by a majority of 44. I have been the more particular in detailing the failure of this first effort to break in upon the penal system, in order to draw the reader's attention the more closely hereafter to the rapid and wonderful progress of the public mind, when once the dense fogs of bigotry, prejudice, and fear had been cleared away.

We are now fast approaching to that period in the Irish history, to which Lord Clare alluded in his memorable speech for the Union, when he said, that the system built by the intrigues of that ambitious ecclesiastic would beat down the most powerful nation of the earth, when *the government of England at length opened their eyes to the defects and dangers of it; when they shook the power of the Aristocracy, but were unable to break it down.* Whilst Primate Stone,* whose primary view was to realize his own system of politics, lived, the party, which he commanded could ensure any question whatever. Thus they often tantalised the public by consenting to preliminary popular motions, which it was intended ultimately to resist and reject: so upon the motion of Mr. Bagnall, leave was given to bring in heads of a bill for better securing the liberties of the subject.†

* Of this prelate and of his political situation, power, and system, the Rev. Dr. Campbell, an ingenious and enlightened author, thus spoke, in 1777 (*Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 55*): "Stone was a man of considerable abilities, but more of the politician, than the prelate; he devoted his life to the supporting a party in the Irish parliament. It is said, that when he went over to London, to consult the gentlemen of the faculty on his state of health, he very candidly said to them, 'Look not upon me as an ordinary churchman, or incident to their diseases, but as a man, who has injured his constitution by sitting up late, and rising early, to do the business of government in Ireland.'"

"They consider his death an æra in the polity of this kingdom; for had he lived till now, he would have been always one of the lords justices, with the power of the whole; and of course business would have been conducted in the usual way. Administration would have continued to throw all its power into his hands."

† Such rejections of the most constitutional and necessary proposals for the civil liberty of the subject were no novelties to Ireland; for soon after

What those heads were, no where appears: nor do we find the patriotic sentiment ever after followed up; although the non-resistance of the motion in the first instance occasioned an intemperate effusion of public dissatisfaction. Inexpressible, though silent, were the grief and disappointment of the Catholics at the failure of this application to the favour of the legislature, not in fact for any new favour or indulgence, but for assuring to them a continuance of a capacity to take real security for their money, which the astute attempts some of their enemies had only lately began to question. Thus was the healing draught of leniency and mercy dashed with relentless harshness from their eager lips; and all their flattering prospects of being received into the fostering arms of their king and constitution at once defeated. Their despondency was not of long duration: their oppression formed the base of the then Anglo-Hybernian system of government: the deaths of Primate Stone and the Earl of Shannon, in December, 1764, put an end to that system; and from thence a new scene opens itself to our view. To this moment of Irish history it is, that Lord Clare alluded, when he said, "*the government of England at length opened their eyes to the defects and dangers of it: they shook the power of the Aristocracy,* but were unable to break it down.*"

the Bill of Rights had passed in England, the following heads of a similar one for Ireland were presented for transmission by the Irish parliament to Lord Capel, then Lord deputy of Ireland, on the 14th of October, 1659, of which no more was heard:

Heads of a Bill of Rights.

- " 1. That the pretended powers of suspending of laws by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.
- " 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as hath been assumed or exercised, is illegal.
- " 3. That levying money for, or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.
- " 4. That it is the right of the subject to petition the king, or the chief governor or governors of the kingdom, for the time being, and all commitments or prosecutions, or threats for such petition, are illegal.
- " 5. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence, suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.
- " 6. That the freedom of speech, and debates on proceedings in parliament, ought not be impeached, or questioned, in any place out of parliament.
- " 8. That juries ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and juries which pass upon men in trials for high treason, ought to be freeholders.
- " 9. That all grants and promises, fines, forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.
- " 10. That for redress of all grievances in this kingdom, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought not to be dissolved, as they have been in the late reigns.
- " 11. That the free quartering of soldiers on any of this kingdom, in time of peace, is arbitrary and illegal."

* This Aristocracy is thus described by Dr. Campbell (*Phil. Surv. p. 56*): "In this nation are three or four grandees, who have such an influence in the

Although the deaths of two of the lords justices made an opening to many great events, no immediate effects ensued of sufficient importance to arrest the reader's attention. The Lord Chancellor Bowes, and Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker of the House of Commons, were created lords justices, to whom afterwards the Earl of Drogheda was joined; and from the change of system they were the last lords justices ever appointed. Lord Viscount Weymouth was appointed lord lieutenant, but he never went over. The Earl of Hertford met the parliament in 1765.

In December, 1765, died, at Rome, the famous Chevalier de St. George, only son of James II. he was the subject of the political fable of the Warming Pan: he supported a long life of misfortunes, sufferings, and retirement with great Christian forbearance and equanimity. As his attempt to recover the British throne, in 1715, and his son's effort to the same end, in 1745, had made no sensation in Ireland, little is it to be wondered, that his death was scarcely known or thought of in that country; although many of the then existing generation, through every part of the British empire, had taken an active share in the attempts to replace him on the throne of his ancestors.

Although by the management and power of the British cabinet the number of the patriots in the Irish parliament had been greatly reduced, their spirit was not subdued: they again returned to the charge of the pensions; *and on the 6th of December, 1765, a motion was made, and the question being put, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure him of their inviolable duty and zealous attachment to his person and government. That it affected them with the deepest sorrow to find, that the pensions in general on the estab-

"House of Commons, that their coalition would, at any time, give them a clear majority upon any question. It has, therefore, always been a maxim of government to disunite these factious chiefs. And, still further to disable opposition, it has been thought expedient to disengage, as much as possible, the followers from their leaders. This was attempted by Lord Chesterfield, so early as the year 1745, but his stay was too short to effect it.

"Formerly, these principals used to stipulate with each new lord lieutenant, whose office was *bien mal*, and residence but for six months, upon what terms they would carry the king's business through the houses; so that they might, not improperly, be called undertakers. They provided, that the disposal of all court favours, whether places, pensions, or preferments, should pass through their hands, in order to keep their suite in an absolute state of dependance upon themselves. All applications were made by the leader, who claimed, as a right, the privilege of gratifying his friends in proportion to their numbers.

"Whenever such demands were not complied with, then the measures of government were sure to be crossed and obstructed; and the session of parliament became a constant struggle for power, between the heads of parties, who used to force themselves into the office of lord justice, according to the prevalence of their interest."

* 8 Journ. Com. p. 64.

“lishment of that kingdom had greatly increased of late years, “insomuch as to have amounted to the sum of 158,685*l.* 4*s.* 8½*d.* “in the two years ending at Lady Day, 1765. That many of “those pensions had been granted for long terms of years, and “for lives, and had been made payable out of the revenue at “large. That they had long been the causes of silent disquietude; and were of late become the subjects of universal murmur and complaint. That they should think it a breach of “the trust reposed in them, longer to conceal from his majesty “the grievances of his faithful subjects, and by such omission to “postpone for a day that redress, which with the utmost confidence they expected from the dictates of paternal affection, “and the suggestions of royal justice.” This motion was negatived by a majority of 119 against 41.

It is, even at this distance of time, lamentable to behold the vigorous exertions of the British cabinet to secure an *English ascendancy* in the Irish parliament, and at the same time an imperious reluctance to use that very ascendancy for the welfare of the Irish nation. Indigence and distress pervaded the whole kingdom: the encreasing tumults, insurrections, and outrages of the *Steel Boys* and other insurgents in the North, created serious alarm in the minds of all those, who really looked to and felt for the well-being of their country. Accordingly on the 23d of May a motion was made, and the question was put, “That an humble address be presented to his majesty, expressing, in the “strongest terms, the full confidence of his ever loyal subjects of “Ireland, in his majesty’s justice and parental affection for “that kingdom. And representing to his majesty, that his “faithful commons of Ireland apprehending that it was a part of “their bounden duty to lay before his majesty, for his consideration, such grievances of his people, as they judged might “be most deserving of his notice, and as they feared he might “not otherwise be fully informed of, from a sense of their duty, “presumed to acquaint his majesty, that in many instances the “laws of their land were less resorted to, revered, and observed “by the lower class of people, at that time, than had been usual “theretofore in that kingdom, or than was becoming a people, “who enjoyed the blessing of a free government, of which the “commotions in several parts of that kingdom, were but too “plain and striking examples. That one principal source of “these evils consisted in the appointing persons of mean abilities and totally unacquainted with the state and municipal “constitution of Ireland, to the ministration of justice in the “supreme courts of law in that kingdom; by the means of “which, all law suits were protracted to an excessive length,

“ and the expences of them were rendered intolerable; the security of persons, of life, and of property, were daily diminished and made more precarious; the laws, instead of being considered as the protection, were become the oppression of the people, and in the place of being obeyed and loved, appeared too often contemptible or disgusting from the incapacity, which sometimes was found in those, who were entrusted with the execution of them. That his majesty’s faithful commons, in that humble representation, were by no means desirous of making any distinction between the subjects of different parts of his dominions; with gratitude they acknowledged, that in former times judges of the most illustrious abilities had been sent from Great Britain into that kingdom, to the furtherance of justice, and the manifest advantage of Ireland; particularly in the instance of that great man, who had so long and ably presided in his majesty’s High Court of Chancery, to the universal satisfaction of all ranks of people; neither could they, with justice, omit expressing their approbation of such of their present judges as were natives of that kingdom, whose conduct and abilities were, in their opinion, irreproachable. That his majesty’s faithful commons did not presume to point out to his majesty any remedy for those evils, relying, with the firmest confidence, on his majesty’s wisdom, and experienced affection for his whole people.”

This address spoke too much truth, not to be opposed: on a division it was negatived by a majority of 71 against 35. The decrease of the numbers of the patriots on this division roused those, who had not yet been bought off, to bring forward instantly some motion, which should at least convince the nation of the corrupt means, by which their rights and interests were sacrificed by a venal majority to the *English interest*.

On the very next day* a motion was made, that an humble address be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, representing to his excellency, that the Commons of Ireland, with hearts full of the sense of their miserable condition, yet supported with the hopes they had of his administration, had cheerfully contributed to all such supplies as had been demanded from them, and that they did not despair of his goodness being extended towards them in such a prudent and gracious manner, as might afford them relief, according to their present exigences of their condition; and therefore humbly requested his excellency would be graciously pleased to lay, or order to be laid, before that House all the proceedings of the privy council in March last, relative to the suppression of heads of a bill, entitled, *A bill for the better securing the Freedom of Parliament, by*

* 24 May, 1767. 3 Journ. Com. p. 143.

ascertaining the Qualification of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses in Parliament; and humbly requested, that his excellency would order all the patents granted in reversion or in possession during that administration to be laid before the House; and that his excellency would use his influence, that no more reversionary grants should be disposed of in that kingdom, inasmuch, as they debilitated the crown in present, and might be attended by the imposition of new burdens upon the public. On which the court party moved, and of course carried their motion, that in lieu of the words, *the sense of their miserable condition*, they should insert the words, *their happy condition under his majesty's auspicious government*. The heads of the bill alluded to in this motion were for septennial parliaments, an object, to which the whole Irish people then most earnestly bent their thoughts. In a limitation of parliaments, they saw the only remaining check against the open and gigantic system of venality, under which all parliamentary process was then carried on. Throughout every part of the kingdom resolutions and addresses were carried in their county meetings in favour of that measure. The citizens of Dublin publicly and pointedly declared their sentiments in their spirited instructions to their representatives to support the measure.* All these efforts of the patriots in parliament, and of the people without, were ineffectual. The heads of the bill were introduced, agreed to, and transmitted, but arrested in their progress by the English privy council. Here again the vice of the old system of governing Ireland was manifested in the answer given by the lord lieutenant to the address of the Commons.† “I have,” said his excellency, “received information of the most authentic nature, that the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments will not be re-
turned during this session. I shall however fully lay before

* The Merchants, Traders, Freeholders, and Citizens of Dublin, presented the following Address to their Representatives.

“GENTLEMEN,

“HAVING authentic intelligence, that the bill, upon which the Protestant interest and freedom of this kingdom depend, is dropped in Great Britain: and finding, that every attempt made by the Commons of Ireland, strengthened by the united and general voice of all ranks and denominations of Protestants, to obtain a law for limiting the duration of parliaments, has hitherto proved ineffectual, we cannot but think, the Commons of this kingdom will stand justified in following the example given by the Commons of England on a similar occasion, at the late glorious Revolution, that grand era of British liberty. We, therefore, as citizens and freeholders of this metropolis, thinking ourselves bound to stand foremost in all national measures, have taken the earliest opportunity to declare our sentiments upon this most interesting event, and to intreat, that you will never give your assent to any money bill of longer duration than three months till a law passes in this kingdom for a septennial limitation of parliament.”

(Signed by William Rutledge, Richard French, Esqrs. High Sheriffs, and upwards of 800 merchants and traders.)

+ 8 Journ. Com. p. 152.

“his majesty the sentiments of the House of Commons, contained in this address, and shall renew the representations, which I have already made in the strongest and warmest manner, in favour of such a law.” It was an insult to the understanding and respectability of the people of Ireland, that the lord lieutenant should pretend to act in opposition to the British cabinet, and recommend a measure, which they avowedly opposed.* The patriots moved for a very strong and pointed address to be presented to his majesty, which spoke a language of too much firmness and independence to be relished by the court party, and it was negatived upon a division of 117 against 29.† A more moderate address was however moved for by the

* By natural effect, the Union must put an end to the unwarrantable, but too frequent and successful practices of shifting responsibility and playing off the different wills, powers, and commands of the sovereign and his vicegerent, the British cabinet and the Irish administration, the Irish legislature and the Irish people, against each other, as the political juggle of the moment required. The principles of union must now direct the powers of government to a common focus.

† 8 Journ Com. p. 132. A motion was made, and the question being put, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, testifying, in the strongest terms, our inviolable attachment to his person, family and government, and lamenting, that we are obliged to mingle with the effusions of our zeal and loyalty our solicitude for the return and our concern at the delay of the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in this kingdom: a delay which we conceive to arise from some misrepresentation, inasmuch as we have the firmest reliance and the fullest confidence in his majesty's royal beneficence and justice; virtues which in their own operation must incline his majesty to listen graciously to the universal voice; and to the most fervent prayers of his loyal people; more especially, when they desire nothing new or doubtful; when they desire only that they may not be deprived of a reasonable frequency of election with respect to their own representation, of which no other part of his majesty's subjects, not in the meanest of his colonies, is deprived, when they desire not a parliament once every year or oftener, to which they are entitled by a constitution of six hundred years establishment, and by the express statute of Edward the Third never repealed, and of above four hundred years antiquity; but that no one parliament should continue above seven years, which is the longest period, to which it was found possible to extend the duration of parliament in a neighbouring kingdom; an extension grounded upon circumstances there, which never existed in this country; when therefore their application in this particular is, strictly speaking, not to limit but prolong parliaments; not to abridge but to increase prerogative, by giving the crown a power to continue the same parliament seven years, which it has not now by the laws and constitution; when they desire only, that an unconstitutional and illegal custom may not be perpetuated upon them, or continuing the same parliament for the life of the reigning king, which there have been but two instances of from the beginning of time in this kingdom, and which was tolerated in these two instances only from the most unlimited and overflowing loyalty and attachment to his majesty's royal house, which induced our ancestors to suffer their most sacred rights to be in this particular suspended, rather than expose the recent establishment of his majesty's auspicious family to the most imaginary hazard; when they hope, that this their conduct, which might well be rewarded with an increase, will not be punished by a deprivation of privileges; and that their just, humble, temperate, and legislative desires, their most reiterated and ardent supplications will not be neglected, whilst the less regular applications and even resistance of some of their fellow subjects in a case far different have been attended with satisfaction and redress.

patriots on the next day, testifying their ardent and inviolable attachment to his sacred person and government, and imploring his majesty, that he would suffer the universal prayers of his loyal people of Ireland to assist the representations and endeavours of his chief governor of that kingdom towards inducing the best of princes to return his most faithful subjects the bill transmitted to Great Britain for limiting the duration of parliaments; which the patriots carried by a majority of two voices, there being 90 for and 88 against the address. His majesty's answer to the address did not appear very gracious to the addressers. "His majesty has received the address of the House of Commons on the subject of a bill some time transmitted for limiting the duration of parliaments. The sentiments of his faithful commons were already known to his majesty by their passing the heads of that bill: nor can any solicitation add weight to that ancient and constitutional way of signifying their desires on the like occasions. His majesty will always have the highest satisfaction in complying with the wishes of his faithful commons: but no consideration can prevail with his majesty to swerve from that indispensable duty, which the constitution prescribes to him of concurring in such provisions only, as on mature deliberation and advice of his council appear to him at the time calculated to promote the true interest and happiness of his people." From the spirit, which dictated this answer, and the further conduct of the British cabinet at this time, it appears, as if they had selected this particular juncture for a trial of strength between the *English* and the *Irish* interest. A bill for better securing the liberties of the subject was this session passed in the commons, and transmitted, but was not returned. Another bill of a patriotic tendency was introduced this session, to prevent the buying and selling of offices, which concern the administration of justice, or the collection of his majesty's revenue: but it miscarried in the commons. Thus failed every effort of the patriots to remedy the system of venality, which now openly prevailed, and to bring back the constitution to its primitive principles of freedom and independence.*

* As this was the time and this the system, to which Mr. Burke alluded in his incomparable political chef d'œuvre, on the *Cause of the present Discontents*, I will favour the reader with some of his thoughts peculiarly applicable to this juncture. P. 56. "The court party resolve the whole into faction. Having said something before upon this subject, I shall only observe here, that when they give this account of the prevalence of faction, they present no very favourable aspect of the confidence of the people in their own government. They may be assured, that however they amuse themselves with a variety of prospects for substituting something else in the place of that great and only foundation of government, the confidence of the people, every attempt will but make their condition worse. When men imagine, that their

In the year 1765 the revenue of Ireland, although considerably increased upon the whole receipt, still fell so far short of the expences of government, that 100,000*l.* were directed to be raised at 4 per cent. and the principal due upon the different loans was ordered to be consolidated into one sum, making in the whole 595,000*l.* at five per cent. which remained due at Lady Day. The debt of the nation then amounted to 508,874*l.* 5*s.* 9½*d.* There was this year a great scarcity of grain, as likewise a general failure of potatoes, which was still more severely felt by the lower ranks. The legislature found it necessary to interpose: they passed an act to stop the distilleries for a certain time, which consequently produced a decrease in the Excise, and also an act to prevent the exportation of corn; in both of which acts it is recited, that it was apprehended, there was not sufficient corn in the kingdom for the food of the inhabitants until the harvest. In the latter of these acts is contained a proviso, that it should be lawful *for his majesty, his heirs, and successors, by his or their order in the privy council of Great Britain, or for the chief governor or governors and privy council of Ireland for the time being, by their proclamation, to permit the exportation of any of the kinds of corn, grain, meal or flour therein mentioned, any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.* The heads of the bill had been transmitted over without any dispensing power to the king in the British council: this was an alteration introduced by the British cabinet, and was violently, though ineffectually opposed by the few re-

food is only a cover for poison, and when they neither love nor trust the hand that serves it, it is not the name of the roast beef in Old England, that will persuade them to sit down to the table, that is spread for them. When the people conceive, that laws, and tribunals, and even popular assemblies, are perverted from the ends of their institution, they find in those names of degenerated establishments only new motives to discontent. Those bodies, which when full of life and beauty, lay in their arms, and were their joy and comfort, when dead and putrid, become but the more loathsome from remembrance of former endearments. A sullen gloom, and furious disorder, prevail by fits; the nation loses its relish for peace and prosperity, as it did in that season of fulness, which opened our troubles in the time of Charles the First. A species of men, to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister piety, they cherish, in their turn, the disorders, which are the parents of all their consequence. Superficial observers consider such persons as the cause of the public uneasiness, when, in truth, they are nothing more than the effect of it. Good men look upon this distracted scene with sorrow and indignation. Their hands are tied behind them. They are despoiled of all the power, which might enable them to reconcile the strength of government with the rights of the people. They stand in a most distressing alternative. But in the election among evils they hope better things from temporary confusion, than from established servitude. In the mean time, the voice of law is not to be heard. Fierce licentiousness begets violent restraints. The military arm is the sole reliance; and then call your constitution what you please, it is the sword that governs. The civil power, like every other, that calls in the aid of an ally stronger than itself,

remaining patriots in the Irish House of Commons. The two grounds, upon which the now dwindled patriotic party in the Irish House of Commons resisted these alterations were undoubtedly constitutional: 1°. That even under the restrictions of Poyning's Law (which though perhaps prudent when passed, considering the then preponderancy of the Irish oligarchy had been latterly execrated by all Irish patriots), the king only had a power of assent or dissent: not a power of alteration, which from its nature must import a deliberative power, which could exist no where, but in the Lords and Commons of Ireland. 2°. That if it be expedient or necessary to lodge a dispensing power in the executive for the occasional benefit of the kingdom, such power to be executed by proclamation with the advice of the privy council in Great Britain, where the king personally resides, the proclamation issues directly from the king, with the advice of his privy council of Great Britain: but in Ireland, where the executive power is vested in such substitute or deputy as the king appoints, it issues in the name of such appointee, with the advice of the privy council of Ireland. The practice is evidently bottomed in reason: otherwise the council of Great Britain would have a control over the legislative acts of the independent kingdom of Ireland. The patriots attributed the precipitancy,* with which the court party pressed this bill through the Houses, to the most unworthy motives of driving the people to the desperate alternative of famine, or the subversion of their constitution.

On the 22d day of December, 1765, Dr. Lucas, as one of the representatives of the city of Dublin, published an address to the lord mayor and aldermen, sheriffs, commons, citizens and freeholders of Dublin, on the passing of this bill, in which he

perishes by the assistance it receives. But the contrivers of this scheme of government will not trust solely to the military power, because they are cunning men. Their restless and crooked spirit drives them to rake in the dirt of every kind of expedient. Unable to rule the multitude, they endeavour to raise divisions amongst them. One mob is hired to destroy another; a procedure which at once encourages the boldness of the populace, and justly increases their discontent. Men become pensioners of state on account of their abilities in the array of riot, and the discipline of confusion. Government is put under the disgraceful necessity of protecting from the severity of the laws that very licentiousness, which the laws had been before violated to repress. Every thing partakes of the original disorder. Anarchy predominates without freedom, and servitude without submission or subordination. These are the consequences inevitable to our public peace, from the scheme of rendering the executory government at once odious and feeble; of freeing administration from the constitutional and salutary control of parliament, and inventing for it a new control, unknown to the constitution, an interior cabinet; which brings the whole body of government into confusion and contempt."

* Vid. 8 Com. Journ. p. 70. The Journals very unfairly have suppressed the nature of the alteration made in England. They merely state that a committee was appointed to examine the transmiss with the heads of the bill sent from that House, and that it afterwards passed without amendment.

gave the following succinct history of its progress. "On Thursday (viz. 19) this bill was first presented to the House and read. As soon as the fatal alteration was discovered, it filled one part of the House with horror and detestation of the measure, and a motion was made to reject it. But, it passed in the negative; and it was ordered, and accordingly did receive a second reading on Friday last. It was then ordered to be committed on Saturday, passed the committee, was reported the same day, and ordered to be ingrossed, though in every step of its progress, in which there were not one third of the members in the House, it met with constant, uniform, though fruitless opposition, with many divisions of the House and the committee, in all which, I gave my utmost opposition to the measure, but had the misfortune to be always of the minority. I could not suspect, a bill with any, specially with such an alteration, could be permitted to make so rapid progress, through any part of the legislature. Its fate now depends upon a single question in the House of Commons: when it will be put, or how determined, I cannot inform you; but the presumption is, it will be to-morrow."

In fact the question for the bill's passing with the inserted alteration was put on the next day, viz. Monday the 23d of December, 1765, and was carried by a majority of twenty-nine against fifteen.*

* 8 Com. Journ. p. 71. One of the most strenuous supporters of this bill with the alterations, was the late Lord Clare, then Mr. J. Fitzgibbon, member for Newcastle; to whom the following passage in Mr. Lucas's address referred. "Since I have mentioned precedents, you may see by the votes, that lawyers have not let a worm-eaten parliament roll, nor an obsolete musty statute, escape the most diligent research. If one happier than the rest should think he found a case in point, in times, indeed, the most fit for the black purpose, under the auspices of the direst foe to the liberties of Europe and of Britain, the Spanish tyrant Philip, the worthy consort of bloody Queen Mary, that horrid firebrand to the religion and the laws of her country; for it is in such a tyrannic reign alone, that any one could hope a precedent for the purpose of this innovation might be found; what use could be made of such a precedent in our happy days? It is indeed true, that an act passed in this kingdom, in the third and fourth years of that abominable reign, for reducing certain waste lands to shire grounds; giving however, a power to the crown, for seven years, to suspend or repeal the whole act or any part thereof. Thus far the act proves a case in point: but upon reading the whole section through, it appears that the ends, for which alone it could be cited and read, were utterly frustrated: because, however evil and unjust the power granted in that statute may appear, it was not, as some favourers of this innovation may contend, to make it serve as a precedent; it was not left to a private order, conceived in the council of Great Britain, but it was expressly provided, "that every suspension, repeal or revocation of the statute should be made in writing under the great seal of Ireland, and public proclamation thereof made." If those who raked through much obscurity, and rubbish, and filth, thus serve their country, had found a better precedent, no doubt their commendable zeal would have produced it. But you see how little this question can answer the purposes of such favourers

From the frequent defections of the patriots and the consequent reduction of their numbers, it became the policy of the castle, at this time, to throw all possible disrepute upon the few, who still earnestly espoused that cause. Upon this subject Dr. Lucas explained himself very pointedly in another address to his constituents:* but it would be uncandid to leave the reader in the vulgar prepossession, that because this eminent and true patriot stood firm to the last hour of his life in the honourable cause of his suffering country, therefore he was unacceptable either to his sovereign or his vicegerents. The Earl of Hertford had particularly noticed Dr. Lucas when he was in England, and was esteemed by him in return: he boasted also of his kind treatment from the Lords Chesterfield and Harrington, Halifax and Northumberland. He bore affection as well as loyalty to his majesty.† The unremitted and faithful attention to his parlia-

“ of innovation as may produce it. In the innovation in these heads of a bill, “ an order conceived in the council in England, which from its known appella- “ tion must be secret, is to repeal a statute passed in the parliament of Ire- “ land, without any proclamation or publication in Ireland, or perhaps without “ its being at all known in the kingdom, till it comes to be executed in the “ ports. Yet this is attempted to be introduced, after the enlivening spirit of “ the revolution, and the consequent Hanover succession, broke the illicit “ bonds of the never-enough-to-be-detested race of Stuarts, and bade us all live “ and be free.”

* Patriot and patriotism, are now no longer considered as real, but ideal characters. That they were once otherwise, our author thus confesses. I hope, he is taught by his own heart to believe, that there are yet some men in the world, who are ready and willing to sacrifice, upon a proper occasion, their time, their fortunes, their healths, their lives, to the service of their country.

That designing men have often layed hold of trifling, as well as weighty occasions, to set forth their own importance, to gain their private ends; and that great and important subjects taken up apparently, with just and public-spirited views, have been given up and forsaken, when the ministry have thrown out the proper lure, are notorious, as they are hateful.

That the royal consent was once anti-constitutionally, yet without opposition, inserted in an act of parliament, and that at another time, the proposition was constitutionally spurned at, and rejected in the same parliament, is certainly true. That many patriots arose upon this great occasion, while the funds were redundant in the treasury, is true. But that these were short lived pageants is true. That some lost their places, some their pensions, for a while is certain; but that the chapping and changing, placing and pensioning, and replacing and repensioning these patriots, cost the nation about half a million, is certain: As it is, that while they justly contended for the right of parliament to the disposal of the redundancy of the funds in the treasury, they afterwards peaceably suffered it to be drawn out of the treasury by the sole mandate of the crown. And thus, it must be confessed, that ours, like other patriots, have been the pageants of a day, each acting their parts like the poor player, who frets and struts his hour upon the stage, and then is heard no more.

† You know I am no flatterer: you know how often and in what terms I have testified my disinterested love and loyalty to his majesty, and my zealous and inviolable attachment to his royal house. That I have always looked upon him, as not only politically, but actually free from blemish or imperfection; that I know his heart overflows with pure love and benevolence to all his subjects, and that I have myself sensibly shared of his royal clemency, in rescuing me from the oppressive hands of that detestable heavy tyrant, a long parlia-

mentary duties, with the discouraging prospect of failing in every exertion, forced from him a confession, that he was weary

ment, with a wicked ministry, and certain iniquitous rulers of this city. His royal touch healed the wounds and bruises given my country, through my sides. You know my words, my writings, the tenor of my whole life and conduct, proclaim my invariable gratitude, affection, and duty. And when I forget the deliverer of my country, let my right hand forget its function, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. In his royal goodness, I repose the most boundless confidence.

But why is his sacred name and character to be hauled into this controversy? Is it to be imagined, that he can look into matters of this nature? Are they not all left to his council? Does not the council refer them to one or two servants of the crown, who after report or reject them at pleasure? I honestly and openly confess, I have not the fullest confidence in all those, that are put in authority under him, in either kingdom.

My lord, my character is known to all, and thank God! approved by all that dare be honest and free. I challenge my direst foe to charge a single instance of flattery upon me, to kings, or even to more mighty ministers. You know my invaried love and loyalty to my king, and you know my declared motives. Had I not had these, I should have scorned to prostitute the offered incense.

A just proportion of the regard due to the sovereign, I have ever been ready to pay to his representative; unless the conduct of the substitute provoked me to say, with the insulted free apostle, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall; for I should not be provoked more than the holy man, had I not the same apology, might I not say, as he did, when rebuked, brethren, I wist not that he was God's high priest; because he stripped and degraded himself of the power and dignity of his office, by commanding a free citizen to be smitten, in open court, contrary to law, justice, and decency. What good and worthy vicergerent of the crown, wanted my poor applause? What bad and unworthy lieutenant escaped my poor censure? You see then, I have ever loved, respected, and revered, these great officers of the crown, or hated, despised, and condemned them, according to their well proved merit or demerit. My conduct in private and public life, always did, and always shall, prove these truths. Witness the different treatments, by me given to the Lords Chesterfield and Harrington, Halifax and Northumberland. In all which, you know, I acted upon invariable principles. My conduct in these instances will convince you, that I always shall act as a person, who for himself has nothing to ask, and nothing to fear, which must always keep me a free agent. To stand quite clear of all suspicion of adulation, I should have declined expressing my sentiments of the present lord lieutenant, till the expiration of his office. But, as I am called upon, I must explain myself, in mine own justification. I could not have lived as long as I did in London, without being well acquainted with the character of our present viceroy. I confess, I honoured and admired it, before I had the honour of being known to him, and when I petitioned his present majesty, against his wicked ministers and judges in Ireland, I had the good fortune to find myself, from the justice of my cause, patronized by this great good man, who then knew no more of me, than my character, and who did me the honour to present me, and saw me make my complaint to the royal ear. To him, I confess myself indebted for that share of the royal clemency, with which I now stand distinguished. If my return to my native country, be grateful to my countrymen and fellow citizens, the obligation is due to the Lord Hertford, who, in spite of great and mighty powers, made my case known to our patriot king, who embraces every opportunity of testifying his parental love for his faithful subjects. His excellency has since deigned to confer marks of his favour on some of my family. So that your lordship and honours see, that I stand under singular obligations for my country, my family, and myself, to the lord lieutenant. It may possibly be suspected, that from principles of gratitude for private favours, I may have been blinded to, or prejudiced in favour of the great man's public conduct. I hope my character

of his task, because he laboured incessantly in vain.* Lord Hertford not having supported, as zealously as the British cabinet expected, their alterations in the corn bill, was recalled. The old lords justices filled their stations for the last time until the appointment of Lord Townsend to be lord lieutenant on the 14th of October, 1767.

This nobleman was selected to introduce a very important change in the system of governing Ireland. The choice was in many points judicious. In order to attempt the arduous task of supplanting the deep-rooted influence of the Irish oligarchy, it was requisite, that the lord lieutenant, to whom that power was to be transferred, should be endowed with those qualities, that were most likely to ingratiate him with the Irish nation. The new lord lieutenant excelled all his predecessors in that convivial ease, pleasantry, and humour, so highly prized by the Irish of every description. The majority, which had been so dearly bought in the Commons, by those who had heretofore had the management of the *English interest*, was now found not altogether so tractable, as it had heretofore been. There were three or four grandees, as Dr. Campbell observed, who had such an influence in the House of Commons, that their coalition

is too well known to fail under this imputation. I have never yet been able to pay my devoirs in person to his excellency; consequently I could never have said what the author pleased to say of me, that I acquit him of closetings, squeezings, and such like customary arts. Let placemen and pensioners, a band in which I shall never inlist, testify this. I hope every man can; I hope they are arts, which no lord lieutenant will ever dare to practise on this virtuous parliament, and I verily believe, the present ruler detests such practices as much as I do. In public and in private, I have thought myself bound to justify this great character. Without having had any intercourse with him or his ministers, I saw many proofs of his public spirit agreeable to the hopes I had conceived from his general character, and his being more interested than any of his predecessors, in the freedom and happiness of this kingdom.

These, I confess, gave me confidence in his excellency, and I gladly laid hold on two instances, that proved in my judgment, his conduct, when an unasked for, not to say unnecessary, vote or act of credit was offered, and when the alteration in the corn bill came over. Here I confess myself, in the only instances of my life, under some degree of what you may call court influence, for, this was such a conduct as raised him still higher in my esteem, and I did him the justice to declare my sentiments, as I also should, and shall do, if his future conduct should possibly, as I hope it shall not, induce me to change my sentiments.

* I have, said he, quitted a comfortable settlement in a free country to embark in your service. I have attended constantly, closely, strictly to my duty. I have broke my health, impaired my fortune, hurt my family, and lost an object dearer to me than life, by engaging with unwearied care and painful assiduity, in this painful, perilous, thankless service. All this might be tolerable, if I could find myself useful to you or my country. But the only benefit, that I can see, results to those, whom I cannot look upon as friends to their country, bands of placemen and pensioners, whose merit is enhanced and whose number has been generally increased, in proportion to the opposition given to the measures of ministers. I dare not neglect, much less desert my station, but I wish by any lawful or honourable means for my dismissal.

would, at any time, give them a clear majority upon any question. To gain these had been the chief anxiety of former governors: they were sure to bring over a proportionate number of dependants, and it had been the unguarded maxim to permit subordinate graces and favours to flow from or through the hands of these leaders, whom experience now shewed to be as irritable and versatile as the most insignificant of their followers.* Formerly these principals used to stipulate with each new lord lieutenant, whose office was biennial and residence but for six months, upon what terms, they would carry the king's business through the House: so that they might not improperly be called *undertakers*. They provided, that the disposal of all court favours, whether places, pensions, or preferments, should pass through their hands, in order to keep their suite in an absolute state of dependance upon themselves. All applications were made by the leader, who claimed as a right the privilege of gratifying his friends in proportion to their numbers. Whenever such demands were not complied with, then were the measures of government sure to be crossed and obstructed: and the session of parliament became a constant struggle for power between the heads of parties, who used to force themselves into the office of lord justice according to the prevalence of their interest. This evil had been seen and lamented by Lord Chesterfield: and his resolution and preparatory steps for undermining it probably contributed not a little to his immediate recal upon the cessation of the danger, which his wisdom was thought alone competent to avert.

This was the system, which Lord Clare said, *the government of England at length opened their eyes to the defects and dangers of: they shook the power of the aristocracy, but were unable to break it down*. The monopoly of civil power long survived the administration of Lord Townsend: no small share of it rested with that noble earl, who thus faithfully describing it, practically knew the inability of the English government to break it down. The primary object of Lord Townsend's administration was to break up the monopolizing system of this oligarchy. He in part succeeded, but by means ruinous to the country. The subalterns were not to be detached from their chiefs, but by similar though more powerful means than those, by which they had enlisted under their banners. The streams of favour became not only multiplied, but enlarged, consequently the source of remuneration the sooner exhausted. Every individual now looked up directly to the fountain head, and claimed and received more copious draughts. Thus, under colour of destroying an overgrown aristocratic power, all parliamentary

* Phil. Surv. p. 57.

independence was completely secured by government. The innovation naturally provoked the deserted few to resentment: but they were bereft of their consequence when left to their individual exertions.* They took refuge under the shelter of patriotism, and they inveighed with less effect against the venality of the system, merely because it had taken a new direction, and was somewhat enlarged. The bulk of the nation, and some, though very few of their representatives in parliament, were earnest, firm, and implacable against it.

The arduous task, which Lord Townshend had assumed was not to be effected by a coup de main: forces so engaged, so marshalled, and so commanding rather than commanded, as he found the Irish parliament, were not to be dislodged by a sudden charge: regular, gradual, and cautious approaches were to be made: it was requisite, that the chief governor should first be popular, and then powerful, before he could be efficient and successful. His lordship therefore to those convivial fascinations, to which the Irish are supereminently sensible, super-added as many personal favours, as the fiscal stores could even promise to answer, which in a people of quick and warm sensibility creates a something very like momentary gratitude; and in order the more completely to seat himself in that effective power, which was requisite for his purpose, he judiciously fixed upon a favourite object of the wishes and attempts of the patriots to sanction with his countenance and support.

The patriots had long and loudly complained, that although in early times the parliament of Ireland continued but for the year or session, and then the popular representatives having discharged the duties required of them for that period, resigned their delegated authority and powers into the hands of those, from whom they had received them, to be again at their free option and disposal: yet in latter times their parliaments were prolonged from the beginning of each reign to the demise of the sovereign, unless he chose by an extraordinary exertion of prerogative to put an earlier period to their existence by dissolution. This they considered as a flagrant violation of the rights of the people: as from them, the representatives derived their political character, its continuance ought to be commensurate with the will of the people, not that of the crown: from the moment their power exceeded their delegation, it was usurpation: the nation might in that case number several self-created

* Under various pretences these gentlemen endeavoured to spirit up the people to adopt their resentments, and they affected to take refuge in the arms of patriotism. The contest produced a series of political letters, replete with wit and humour, inferior perhaps to nothing of the kind, except the letters of Junius. They have been since published in an octavo volume, under the title of *Baratariana. Phil. Surv. p. 59.*

law-givers, not one representative. A national evil, which called loudly for redress. Under this baneful system, from the moment of their election, the commons became almost wholly independent of the people; and under the refined improvements of Sir Robert Walpole, in the management of parliamentary interest, the seduction became too powerful for most men, when they were at liberty to treat for life. The patriots anticipated the cure of venality in the frequency of their parliaments, the people hailed the welcome return of their power and control over their representatives, and government sensibly felt, that they could not longer withhold from Ireland what England had so long and so reasonably enjoyed.* Dr. Lucas had several times failed in his endeavours to procure a bill for limiting the duration of parliament. Now however a septennial bill was transmitted, and was returned with an alteration in point of time, having been changed into an octennial one. There appears to have been some unfair manœuvring in the British cabinet, in order by a side wind to deprive the Irish of that, which they dared not openly refuse them. At the same time a transmiss was made of another popular bill for the independence of the judges, in which they had also inserted some alteration. It was expected, that the violent tenaciousness of the Irish commons for the privilege of not having their heads of bills altered on this side of the water, would have induced them to reject any bill, into which such an alteration had been introduced. In this the English cabinet was deceived: the Irish commons waved the objection as to the limitation bill, in order to make sure at last of what they had so long tried in vain to procure, and considered that they surrendered no part of their privilege by objecting on this very account to the judges bill, which was transmitted at the same time with alterations: for although this latter bill had been particularly recommended in the speech of the lord lieutenant, it was on account of an alteration inserted in it in England, upon the report of the committee appointed to compare the bill with the heads of the bill, unanimously rejected.†

No sooner was the octennial bill returned, than the commons voted a respectful and grateful address to the throne, beseeching his majesty to accept their unfeigned and grateful acknowledg-

* Our parliaments have continuance for seven years, by 1 Geo. 1. c. 38.

† Vid. 8 Journ. Com. p. 270. The committee appointed to compare the bill with the heads of a bill for making the commissions of judges to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserunt* have accordingly compared the same, and found that the following alteration hath been made therein. In the last sheet, at the end of the last clause, after the word *Parliament*, the following words are added, "Certified by the lord lieutenant and council there under the great seal of Ireland, in like manner as bills are usually certified, or upon the address of both houses of the parliament of Great Britain." *Resolved*, That the bill be rejected.

ments for the condescension, so signally manifested to his subjects of that kingdom, in returning the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, which they considered not only as a gracious mark of paternal benevolence, but as a wise result of royal deliberation. And when the royal assent had been given, the action was so grateful to the people, that they took the horses from his coach, and drew him from the parliament house to the castle with the most enthusiastic raptures of applause and exultation.* But his lordship's† popularity did not last long. By diverting the channel of favour, or rather by dividing it into a multitude of little streams, the gentlemen of the House of Commons were taught to look up to him, not only as the source, but as the dispenser of every gratification. Not even a commission in the revenue, worth above 40*l.* a year, could be disposed of, without his approbation. Thus were the old undertakers given to understand, that there was another way of doing business than through them. It was not, however, without much violence on both sides, that he at length effected his purpose. The immediate sufferers did not fail to call this alteration in the system of governing, an innovation, which they artfully taught the people to resent as a national grievance.

It is not a very extravagant system, that all men are born with equal powers of mind, and that special circumstances and occasions draw forth this general mental aptitude into the various degrees of energy and excellence, which we witness in the indefinite variety of times, climates, religions, governments, changes, and affections of different portions of the human race. Whenever a great change takes effect upon the public mind of a nation, it is a primary duty of the historian to trace and faithfully to retail the causes, which have brought it about. We have before remarked, that a spirit of patriotism had begun soon after the Revolution to manifest itself in Ireland: and the first public effort of resisting English oppression upon the true principles of the Revolution itself, was the publication of Mr. Molyneux's *Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*.

The English House of Commons, finding the arguments unanswerable, ordered the books to be burned by the hands of the common hangman; a circumstance very remarkable, as they were the very commons of the Revolution parliament;

* Dr. Campbell, who made his philosophical tour through the south of Ireland, during the administration of Lord Harcourt, Lord Townshend's immediate successor, said, (p. 58) "That notwithstanding that deed were so pleasing to the people, yet they then began to think, that that favourite law was of no other use, but to increase the value of boroughs; a single seat in one of which then sold for 2000*l.* at least.

† Ibid.

and could not deny the truth of its principles, without shaking the basis of their own liberty, which must have upset the whole superstructure of that government they had just raised. This conduct in the Commons of England raised jealousy and suspicions in the Commons of Ireland. They saw that the very principles of liberty, which Englishmen admired and revered in Locke as the foundations of the freedom of England, were reprobated in Molyneux, and condemned as seditious, when brought to bear upon Ireland. In that moment they most sensibly felt the galling situation of an arbitrary subordination. This execution instead of degrading, increased the character of the book. It had suffered political martyrdom; and, as in all other cases of martyrs, its disciples increased by persecution. The people of Ireland sought after and read Molyneux with avidity. The book has ever since been in the widest circulation, and its doctrines have been deeply engraven on the hearts of all true Irishmen. The politics of Molyneux are not less revered by the Irish, than the morality of Confucius by the Chinese. The writings of Dean Swift went still further in opening the minds of the Irish, and preparing them to nurture the seeds of freedom, and to vindicate those rights, which Heaven has bestowed upon the human race. He wrote to be understood by the common people, and made use of the cheapest mediums for distributing advice. The Draper's letters were cried about the streets of Dublin, and sold for a penny each. Every man who could read, read the Draper's letters. They were dispersed through the kingdom, pasted up in alehouses and cottages all over the country, and their influence was very suddenly perceived. Swift was the first person, who pointed out to the Irish the necessity of associating against wearing foreign manufactures: and to that *non-importation* association must be attributed the successful advances, which the nation was then making towards civil liberty. A prosecution was instituted against the printer of Swift's Essays, which terminated in the imprisonment of the printer (Alderman Faulkener), who peremptorily refused to give up the writer. This prosecution, like the burning of Molyneux's book, increased the popularity of the Essays and the author. It stimulated the satiric genius of the Dean, who literally wrote some of his enemies out of the world. It brought the doctrine of libels into discussion in the courts of Ireland; and the arguments of the council for the defendants convinced the people that the liberty of speaking, thinking, and writing, was one of the great principles of the constitution.

The universal estimation, in which Mr. Molyneux's book, as well as the Draper's letters have been since holden by all that is respectable throughout the British empire, most irrefragably condemns the impolicy and injustice of the conduct of the Bri-

tish cabinet towards Ireland in both these instances. So proper, so beneficial to the country, so constitutional in their tendency did Lord Chesterfield consider the Draper's letters, that in order to reconcile the minds of the public to a desirable measure during his administration, he himself framed a letter in the exact style of Swift, then in his melancholy state of dotage, and had it published under the signature of *the Draper*, and circulated in the same way, in which those letters formerly had been. No nation on earth naturally takes a more lively and active interest in the political events of the day than the Irish: none holds the efforts of wit, humour, and talent in higher estimation: none more justly appreciates the benefits and advantages of civil liberty. Upon principles arising out of these facts very soon after the accession of his majesty had the *Freeman's Journal* been set up in Dublin.

This paper was soon followed by another public print, called the *Hibernian Journal*. The gentlemen of the university of Dublin supplied these papers with ample matter for entertainment and information. Dr. Lucas was the director of the *Freeman's Journal*; and from the elegance of composition and strength of political argument, which marked several of the essays, it was known that they had also support from Mr. Flood, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Grattan, and other gentlemen, then generally esteemed. In the administration of Lord Viscount Townshend, another public paper appeared, called the *Dublin Mercury*,* avowedly patronized by government. It was the business of this paper to turn every serious argument of the adversary into ridicule. Men of extensive learning and attic genius sported their wit in print; among whom were Mr. Courteney, Captain Jephson, and Dean Marlay. The press transplanted those shoots of liberty to all parts of the country. Newspapers appeared in every town, and tended to sow the seeds of that ardour for civil freedom, that ended in the establishment of Irish independence in the year 1782.

Very early in the session, the attention of parliament was drawn to the consideration of the army upon the Irish establishment. This was a subject, upon which the nation was most justly sore: and it it the more material to touch upon it, as out of the misconduct of the British cabinet, with reference to the military establishment of Ireland, arose that important and wonderful Revolution in the political system of Ireland, which will hereafter be noticed in its appropriate time and order. The following message was sent to the House of Commons from his excellency by the hands of the Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, who delivered it to the speaker, and he read it to the House.

* In these different papers appeared the several letters and essays, that we have before remarked made up the collection of *Baratariana*.

(TOWNSHEND.)

“GENTLEMEN,

“I am commanded by his majesty to inform you, that his majesty, upon the most mature consideration of the state and circumstances of his kingdom of Ireland, judges that a number of troops not less than twelve thousand men, commission and non-commission officers included, should be constantly kept therein, for the better defence of the same; and that his majesty finding, that, consistently with the general public service, the number before mentioned cannot always be continued in Ireland, unless his army upon the Irish establishment be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole, commission and non-commission officers included, his majesty is of opinion, that such augmentation should be immediately made, and earnestly recommends it to his faithful Commons to concur in providing for a measure, which his majesty has extremely at heart, as necessary not only for the honour of his crown, but for the peace and security of his kingdom; and I have his majesty’s special commands to assure you expressly, in his name, that it is his determined resolution, that upon such augmentation, a number of effective troops, not less than 12,000 men, commission and non-commission officers included, shall at all times, except in the cases of invasion or rebellion in Great Britain, be kept within this kingdom, for the better defence thereof. I have ordered a plan and estimate of the immediate charge, and of the annual expence, which will be incurred by this measure, to be laid before you; and if, by the strictest œconomy and the non-effective funds, any savings can be made, you may be assured, that, of the sums which shall be granted, no greater part shall be used than shall be indispensably necessary for this service. And I have it further in command from his majesty to acquaint you, that his majesty has been pleased to determine, that as the several general officers who now compose the staff upon the military establishment of this kingdom, shall happen to die, or be provided for, the number shall be reduced, and consist of no more than a commander in chief, and five general officers.” It was ordered to be entered on the journals, and at the same time a committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the military establishment, and also into the application of the money granted for its support from 25th March, 1751. The result of this enquiry shewed manifest misconduct, as appears from the report at large, and the returns thereunto annexed: part of the report is to the following effect:

“Your committee beg leave to take notice, that the entire reduction of the army, after the conclusion of the peace, did not take place till the latter end of the year 1764; and that it appears

from the return of the quarter-master-general, that there were great deficiencies in the several regiments then upon the establishment, at the several quarterly musters comprised in the said paper, which precede the month of January, 1765; the full pay of such vacancies must amount to a very large sum, and ought, as your committee apprehends, to have been returned as a saving to the public, especially as it appeared to your committee, that orders were issued by government, not to recruit the regiments intended to be reduced." Upon the whole, it was resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, to lay before him the report of the said committee, to acknowledge his constant attention to the welfare of the people, to express the utmost confidence in his majesty's wisdom, that if upon such representation any reformation in the said establishment should appear necessary to his majesty, such alteration would be made therein as would better provide for the security of the kingdom, and at the same time reduce the expence of the establishment, in such a manner as might be more suitable to the circumstance of the nation. Whatever be or have been the unsound policy to suppress or misrepresent the actual state of facts, when we look to Ireland with impartiality, from what has been stated, we have melancholy but indisputable proof of the impoverished state of the kingdom at this juncture. She was oppressed by a rapidly increasing debt, burthensome taxes, unnecessary expences, places and pensions, and evident misapplication of the public money; and under these circumstances the representatives of the people made some ineffectual efforts for the relief of their country; but the majority was secured, and vainly did the efforts of patriotism encounter the exertions of the new system, to keep individuals steady to their post on the treasury bench.

The unusual interval of 16 months between the dissolution of the old and the meeting of the new parliament was carefully employed by the lord lieutenant in forming the particular arrangements with the new members for carrying on the work of government upon the new system of the immediate influence of the chief governor: and considering the length of possession, the nature of the power, the struggle of the former holders to retain it, and their personal weight and influence upon their dependants, his efforts were uncommonly successful for a first essay.* On the 17th of October, 1769, the lord lieutenant met

* Painful and discouraging as it is to contemplate the frequency and facility, with which the Irish (like too many other) patriots were drawn over, yet if their patriotism, whilst it lasted, whether affected or sincere, were founded in reason and truth, we must honour, revere, and commend the virtue, although we lament the profligate recreancy of those, who abuse and desert its cause. The number of the wicked but enhances the merit of the good. It is an humiliating conclusion, which has been often, perhaps not without reason, drawn by

the new parliament. Mr. John Ponsonby was unanimously elected speaker of the House of Commons. The lord lieutenant's speech pointed only at three things, namely, the encouragement of the charter school, the linen manufacture, and the prevention of running contraband goods, by which the revenue was much injured. His lordship however did the nation the justice so to mention the late popular act for limiting the duration of parliaments, as to justify the exertions of the patriots, who had so eagerly urged, and condemned the opposition of the court party, who had so obstinately resisted the passing of that bill. "It is," said his lordship, "with particular satisfaction that I meet the first parliament limited in duration, that ever assembled in this kingdom. I am confident, that you are come together with the justest sentiments of duty and affection to our excellent sovereign, who has gratified the earnest wishes of his faithful subjects of Ireland with that great improvement of their constitution."

This first session of the first octennial parliament of Ireland, under all the peculiarity of its circumstances, stands unprecedented in the Irish annals. Lord Townshend, whose special mission was to renovate the court system of government in that kingdom, after having ceded to the Irish party, with ungracious reluctance, the octennial bill, and laboured with unabated industry and contrivance through the long interval of 16 months to create a new junto in support of the *English interest*, independent of their former leaders, had not so matured his plan as to have ensured the whole game. He had not altered the nature, but only raised the price of accommodation: and lavish as the Irish have generally been of their voices in parliament to the highest bidder, there ever appear to have been some cases reserved out of the bargain. Such had been the reservation of right to vote for limited parliaments, in some of the most obsequious devotees to the measures of the castle: and such now was a similar exception in some of his pensioned supporters to resist the right of the English council to make money bills originate with them, and not with the commons of Ireland. On this point the British cabinet and the Irish house of commons came fairly to issue.* The judges bill and the octennial bill

real well wishers to their country, in support of the union, that Ireland is better without any parliament at all, than to be cursed with a corrupt and venal one.

* It had long been the avowed and boasted maxim of all Irish patriots to decry Poyning's Law as a most unconstitutional national grievance. The union having now rendered its observance impossible, it behoves us, notwithstanding, to consider the effect, which its execution and resistance have heretofore respectively produced upon the Irish nation. It was an act passed in the 10th Hen. VII. c. 4. This statute is called Poyning's Law, from Sir Edward Poyning, the viceroy, who is generally considered to have obtained it by a manœuvre. The major part of the lords and commons were drawn from their attendance in parliament by stratagem, and in their absence this law was

had both been qualified on this side of the water to bring on the trial; and now another formal attack having been made upon

passed; a law to which the poverty, calamity, and discontent of Ireland, have generally been attributed by the patriots. It enacts as follows, that "no parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and counsaile their first do certifie the king, under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts affirmed by the king and his counsaile to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed; and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law."

As this statute precluded any law from being proposed, but such as were preconceived before the parliament was in being, which occasioned many inconveniences, and made frequent dissolutions necessary, it was provided by statute the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, chap. 4. that any new propositions might be certified to England in the usual forms even after the summons and during the sessions of parliament. To remedy in some measure the inconvenience arising from these laws, the Irish lords and commons had adopted a mode of originating laws in their own houses. A lord or commoner applied to the house, of which he was a member, for leave to bring in heads of a bill, which leave being granted by the majority of the house, the heads of the bill were proposed, received after regular discussion, alteration, and amendment, and having passed through all the forms of parliamentary order, paragraph by paragraph, and being perfected to the satisfaction of the house, where they originated, they were sent to the Irish privy council, in order to be transmitted to the King of England. If these heads of bills were transmitted to England by the Irish privy council (which was not always the case), and were assented to by the king, they were then re-transmitted to Ireland, and if not negatived by one of the houses of parliament, they received a formal royal assent from the viceroy. This statutable authority of the Irish privy council was often complained of by the people of Ireland as an unwholesome medium between the king and his Irish subjects, and under its baneful influence, laws of the most salutary nature often perished. When heads of bills prepared by the Irish lords and commons, militated against the sentiments of the council, or the wishes of the viceroy, such bills were arrested in their course to the throne, and in the technical language of the council, they were "put under the cushion," from whence they never reached the ear of majesty. By Poyning's law, all bills must originate in the Irish privy council, and receive the assent of the king and council in England, previous to their being presented to the legislative bodies of the Irish parliament; in consequence of which process, all bills that came certified from the Irish council to the king in England, were immediately on their arrival delivered to the attorney general of England, to be perused, and settled by himself or the solicitor general, but which in fact was generally done by some chamber council, who had leisure to attend to it. The inconvenience of this was illustrated by a bill returned to Ireland altered in 74 places, which had been successively revised by Lord Thurlow, when attorney general, Lord Roselyne, when solicitor general, and the late Mr. Macnamara, a chamber council. The bill so metamorphosed was rejected by the commons of Ireland. These various corrections by an English, Scotch, and Irish lawyer, were of serious consequence to government. The temporary duties of Ireland expired in a few days after the rejection of the bill. Several weeks elapsed before a money bill could be perfected, sent over to England, returned, and approved by the Irish commons and lords...and in the interim the merchants imported duty free. The commissioners of the revenue, though no law existed,

the legislative powers of Ireland for the same purpose by the origination of a money bill in the privy council, the commons resolved fairly to meet the question: accordingly it was moved in the House of Commons, that a bill, intituled, "*An Act for granting to his Majesty the several Duties, Rates, Impositions, and Taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the Payment of the Interest of the Sums therein provided for, and towards the Discharge of the said principal Sums,*" should be then read a second time on the day following. This motion was negatived; and it was resolved, that such bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that house.

The lord lieutenant, though he thought proper to allow the Irish parliament to grant their own money in their own way, protested against the right claimed by the House of Commons, and endeavoured, but in vain, to enter his protest upon their Journals. The house would not submit to this encroachment upon their privileges: the lords were less inflexible, and after much opposition and debate, his excellency's protest was solemnly recorded on the Journals of the House of Peers. But before that was done, it having been generally suspected, that such was his intention, the following motion was made in the House of Peers, "That the speaker of this house be desired that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a lord of parliament, and a member of this house, and which doth not respect a matter, which had been previously in question before this house, and wherein the lord protesting had taken part with the minority, either in person or by proxy, be entered on the Journals of the house." After a warm debate upon this motion, the question was negatived upon a division of 30 against 5.*

Although only two bills passed in this singular and short session of parliament, it did not go over without incident: besides what we have already remarked, the patriot party, not having been satisfied, that the papers delivered in from the treasury, were sufficient to bring the whole appropriation of the public money since the last parliament under their examination, moved for an address to the lord lieutenant, apprizing him of what papers had been actually delivered in, and requesting, that

by which they could levy the duties, seized the goods, and lodged them in the king's stores. The merchants replevied, the commissioners opposed the sheriffs of Dublin, raised the *posse comitatus*, broke open the stores, and the goods were conveyed to the merchants houses in triumph. Certain it is, that the British constitution knows not any law, that gives power to any person or set of persons, distinct from the great council of the nation, to frame, propose, originate, or suppress bills intended to be statutes; which must be injurious to the legislative power of the state, and subversive of the constitution thereof.

* Vid. App. No. LX. the protest of the five dissentient lords, and also the protest of the lord lieutenant, and the whole proceeding thereupon from the Lords Journals.

his excellency would be pleased to inform the house, if those were the only estimates and accounts intended by his excellency's most gracious speech: and a motion was made and the question put, that an amendment be made to the said address, by inserting the following words, **"being the only papers usually laid before this house at the beginning of a session, in consequence of the chief governor's speech and in pursuance of the address of this house."* Upon which a division took place of forty-seven for, and sixty-five against the motion. This was the first trial of the strength of the lord lieutenant's newly marshalled phalanx. It was not upon any of the excepted questions, and he was far from being satisfied with his victory.

The 21st of November, 1769, was the day appointed for the grand experiment of the new artillery, which his excellency found only to be defective, from the scantiness of the priming: accordingly after this failure he deferred any further experiment, till he had more fully ascertained the calibre of each piece of ordnance, and he took care to have it charged accordingly.

†*"A motion being made, and the question put, that a bill entitled, an act for granting to his majesty the several duties, rates, impositions, and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such manner as is therein directed, be now read the first time,"* it was carried in the affirmative: and the bill being accordingly read, a motion was made and the question put, that the bill be read a second time to-morrow morning: the house divided: ayes sixty-eight, noes eighty-seven. Then the motion, that the bill be rejected was put and carried by ninety-four against seventy-one: and it was resolved *that the said bill was rejected because it did not take its rise in that house.* The lord lieutenant took this defeat in the commons so much to heart, that he resolved to bring no more government questions before them during that session: or until he could, as the castle phrase then was, make more sure of the king's business. The representations, which were made of this transaction in England, soon found their way into the newspapers, and the light in which Mr. Woodfall placed the majority of the Irish House of Commons on that important division in the Public Advertiser, fully proved the general sentiments entertained at that time in England upon the whole system of the Irish government. ‡On the 18th day of December, 1769, a motion was made and carried without opposition, that a paper entitled the Public Advertiser, by H. S. Woodfall, London, December the 9th, 1769, might be read. It contained the following words: "Hibernian

* 8 Journ. Com. p. 295. † Journ. Com. vol. 8, p. 323. ‡ Ibid. p. 344.

“ patriotism is a transcript of that filthy idol worshipped at the
 “ London Tavern ; insolence, assumed from an opinion of im-
 “ punity, usurps the place which boldness against real injuries
 “ ought to hold. The refusal of the late bill, because it was
 “ not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of
 “ the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependance of
 “ Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behaviour more suiting an
 “ army of White Boys than the grave representatives of a na-
 “ tion. This is the most daring insult, that has been offered to
 “ government. It must be counteracted with firmness, or else
 “ the state is ruined. Let the refractory house be dissolved ;
 “ should the next copy their example, let it also be dissolved ;
 “ and if the same spirit of seditious obstinacy should continue,
 “ I know no remedy but one, and it is extremely obvious. The
 “ parliament of Great Britain is supreme over its conquests, as
 “ well as colonies, and the service of the nation must not be left
 “ undone, on account of the factious obstinacy of a provincial
 “ assembly. Let our legislature, for they have an undoubt-
 “ ed right, vote the Irish supplies ; and so save a nation, that
 “ their own obstinate representatives endeavour to ruin.” These
 paragraphs having been read, it was resolved, that they were a
 false and infamous libel upon the proceedings of that house, a
 daring invasion of the parliament, and calculated to create
 groundless jealousies between his majesty’s faithful subjects of
 Great Britain and Ireland : it was therefore ordered, that the
 said paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hang-
 man. And on the Wednesday following, viz. the 20th of De-
 cember, the said paper was burned before the gate of the House
 of Commons by the hands of the common hangman, in the pre-
 sence of the sheriffs of Dublin, amidst the indignant shouts of
 an immense croud of spectators, who loudly, though without
 outrage, resented the insult offered to their representatives.

* On the same day (viz. 18th of December, 1769) Sir Charles
 Bingham, according to order, reported from the committee, to
 whom it had been referred, to enquire into the state of pensions,
 the matter, as it appeared to them, with the resolutions of the
 committee thereupon. The ministerial party well knowing, that
 it was then his excellency’s intencion to prorogue the parliament
 within the week, and being sensible, that the subject of pensions
 was too green a wound to be then probed in that temper of the
 house, moved, that the further consideration of the said report
 should be adjourned until the first Monday after the Christmas
 holidays : on this tender subject many of the ministerialists, who
 had quitted their ranks on the former questions, rallied accord-
 ing to their engagements, and outvoted the patriots : ninety-

eight being against the agitation of the pension list at that time, and eighty-nine only for it. So trifling a majority did not encourage the lord lieutenant to hazard any more questions before the prorogation: although no hint or suggestion had been thrown out by the ministry, that it was the intention of government to prorogue the parliament, yet so fully convinced of it were the patriots, that on the 20th of that month (of December) the commons resolved, that it was their undoubted privilege to address the chief governor, to know whether he had any instructions or entertained any intentions to prorogue the parliament at an unusual season: an address was therefore agreed upon, whereby it was requested, his excellency would inform the house, whether he had any instructions or had any intention to prorogue the parliament sooner than usual. Here again the lord lieutenant found his deficiency *in doing the king's business*: for upon a division on the main question the minister was left once more in a greater minority than ever: there being 106 for his excellency's making the declaration, and 73 only against it.* On the very next day, however, Sir George Macartney, the secretary, reported to the house, that his excellency had returned the following answer.

GENTLEMEN,

"I shall always be desirous of complying with your request when I can do it with propriety. I do not think myself authorized to disclose his majesty's instructions to me upon any subject, without having received his majesty's commands for so doing. With regard to my intentions, they will be regulated by his majesty's instructions and *future events*." This answer was neither ambiguous, nor gracious: *past events* had provoked it: and the lord lieutenant awaited only his justification from England of the measure, which his own judgment and disposition had predetermined him to adopt. On the day after Christmas day his excellency put an end to the session.

A message was sent by the gentleman usher of the black rod to the commons to attend his excellency in the House of Peers, where after the royal assent was given to two money bills, the speaker Mr. John Ponsonby made the following speech at the bar of the House of Peers.†

* Journ. Com. vol. 8, p. 353.

† It is remarkable that the Journals of the Lords take no notice of the speaker's speech to the lord lieutenant; that appears only in the Journals of the Commons (8 vol. p. 354) and the Journals of the Commons make no mention of the lord lieutenant's speech to the commons: that appears in the vol. 4 of the Lords Journals, p. 538, the whole of which, with the proceedings and protest are to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“ His majesty’s faithful commons having, upon
 “ all occasions, given the strongest, and most distinguished
 “ proofs of their loyalty, duty, and affection to his sacred per-
 “ son and government, do now attend your excellency, to present
 “ you, for the royal assent, two bills of supply granted by them
 “ this session of parliament; one for granting unto his majesty
 “ an additional duty on beer, ale, strong waters, wine, tobacco,
 “ hides, and other goods and merchandises therein mentioned;
 “ and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace,
 “ and of all cambricks and lawns, except of the manufacture of
 “ Great Britain; the other for granting to his majesty the sever-
 “ ral duties, rates, taxes, and impositions therein particularly
 “ expressed to be applied to the payment of the interest of the
 “ sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the
 “ said principal sums, in such manner as therein directed. The
 “ commons are pleased with every opportunity of testifying
 “ their zeal for his majesty’s service; and as they always have,
 “ so they ever will continue, to support and maintain his govern-
 “ ment with dignity and honour. They think themselves per-
 “ fectly secure under a prince, who considers it as his highest
 “ glory to make all his subjects happy; they humbly presume,
 “ that their loyal and dutiful behaviour will entitle them to the
 “ continuance of his majesty’s favour and protection, and they
 “ are persuaded, from their knowledge of your excellency’s re-
 “ gard to justice, that they shall be represented as a dutiful, a
 “ loyal, and a grateful people.”

Whereupon his excellency made a very pointed speech to the commons, setting forth his reasons for protesting against their conduct. Then the lord chancellor, by his excellency’s command, delivered the said protest to the clerks of the parliaments, which he read at the table, and kept, in order to enter it in the Journals of the lords: after which the chancellor, by his excellency’s further command, declared the parliament prorogued to the 20th day of March next. The commons upon their return to their house gave orders, that their clerk should not enter the lord lieutenant’s speech in their Journals.

The lord lieutenant having experienced so much inflexibility and difficulty in the management of the commons in the first session, fully resolved to meet them no more in parliament, till they were more properly marshalled, and thoroughly broken in to every manœuvre of the new tactics. His excellency accordingly by proclamation on the 12th of March, 1770, prorogued them to Tuesday the 1st of May following: on the 20th of April, 1770, he further prorogued them to the 28th of August,

and by three other successive proclamations he further prorogued them to different periods, and ultimately to the 26th of February, 1771, and then to sit for the dispatch of business. This measure of depriving the nation of all benefit of their representatives, because a majority of them had stood up firmly for their privileges, coupled with the effect produced on the nation by some cavalier and angry expressions, which had escaped the secretary in debate, kept the public mind in a state of soreness and irritation, which was not merely confined to Ireland. On the 3d of May, 1770, as soon as conveniently could be, after the second prorogation, a motion was made in the British House of Commons, by the Hon. Boyle Walsingham,* on the late extraordinary prorogation of the Irish parliament, which he introduced by a speech, wherein he said, that the state of Ireland was most deplorable; that, in consequence of the last unexpected prorogation, the following temporary laws had expired; the act for assigning judgments, by which the Roman Catholics could alone obtain landed security for their money; that the tax upon hawkers and pedlars had ceased, which had been appropriated to the support of the incorporated society for building Protestant charter schools; that 2800*l.* granted for public works, &c. would remain unappropriated in the treasury; that many useful laws, regarding the late insurrections, and the tillage and improvements of the country, had expired; and concluded with moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he "would be graciously pleased to give directions, that here be "laid before that house, a copy of all instructions given to the "lord lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland relating to the late "sudden prorogation of the Irish parliament, at a time when "affairs of the greatest national importance to that kingdom "were depending in the said parliament, together with the papers, on which the said instructions were founded, and his "answers thereto; and likewise a copy of a message of the "16th of November, last from the lord lieutenant of Ireland to "the House of Commons of that kingdom, relative to the augmentation of the forces there," which motion was seconded by the Hon. Constantine Phips; upon which the right Hon. George Grenville said, that the late prorogation was unconstitutional; that the Stuarts had ever been desirous of ruling without parliaments; that prorogations always followed grants of money, as was the case lately in Ireland; that administration had given up the prerogative of the crown to obtain the augmentation in Ireland; that Lord Townshend's message, and the king's promise, were contrary to two English acts of parliament, the act of the last sessions repealing the 10th of King William, and to the 13th of Charles the Second vesting the

* Parliam. Deb. 5 vol. p. 399.

power and disposition of all the land and sea forces in the crown; that if this promise were observed, it would be in contradiction to those two statutes: he believed deceit and delusion had been hung out to the Irish parliament, to induce them to come into the augmentation.

He then moved, that the papers relative to the augmentation also might be laid before parliament.

Lord North, in reply, said, that the prorogation of the Irish parliament was unavoidable; the minister would have been impeachable, if he had advised otherwise: the resolution of the House of Commons was contrary to Poyning's law, the grand bond of the dependance of Ireland upon England, and warranted by the precedent of Lord Sidney in 1692; that, founded upon that, he advised the lord lieutenant's protest, and the prorogation of the Irish parliament; that he affirmed his majesty's bounty from his privy purse would be extended to the incorporated society; that the augmentation could be obtained from Ireland upon no other consideration, than the king's promise of 12,000 men being stationary at all times in that country. Sir William Meredith reverted to the original proposition of his honourable friend; the consideration of the prerogative of the Irish parliament; and in order thereto, he entered into a summary view of Poyning's law, and those statutes, which are derived from it; strongly urging that the Irish House of Commons had a right to give their reason for their votes, which did not impugn in the least the validity of the statute in question. He continued, that he would not then comment upon the violation of the privileges of both houses of parliament by Lord Townshend's protest, but content himself with observing, that in a speech of Sir George Macartney's, printed as it appeared to him in justification of that measure, he said, that this council money-bill was a fine, which they paid for the renewal of parliament, and pointed to a man of great abilities in that country; telling the house at the same time, that he had lost his place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, for impeding the progress of a similar bill at the commencement of his present majesty's reign, recommending it to others to avoid a like fate. He then contended, that the proceedings of administrations in Ireland had been most arbitrary and oppressive. Their house had a coercive power over ministers in every part of the British empire; and he hoped, that the afflicted country of Ireland, would obtain from the British legislature, that reparation, which her own parliament could no longer give her; and that their policy and interest would induce them to do that, which justice loudly demanded from them.

The house at length divided upon the question, when 66 were for it, and 178 against it.

The augmentation of the army had very considerably augmented the debt of the nation, which for two years ending at Lady Day, 1769, amounted to 628,883*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* and the pensions during the same period amounted to 177,052*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.* The national distresses called loudly for the interference of the legislature. All were dissatisfied: some publicly complained. The corporation of the city of Dublin, on the 29th of October, 1770, transmitted an address under their common seal to his majesty, wherein they humbly informed him, that from some defects in the laws relative to corn, flour, and other necessities of life, and in the laws affecting the police of that city (a situation from which they could only be relieved by the meeting of parliament), his majesty's subjects there experienced many and great difficulties, and apprehended yet greater; and therefore besought his majesty to grant them such relief, as in his royal wisdom he should think fit. During this cessation of parliament, the lord lieutenant redoubled his efforts to complete his operose system of ensuring a majority of individuals. This necessarily exposed him to numberless applications, to which he neither had the means nor the will to accede. Anxious to perfect his system with all possible dispatch, he frequently found himself thwarted by the slenderness of his means, but had the address to accompany the disappointment or refusal with some trait of humour, which ingratiated rather than offended the Irish.*

The dearth of political virtue in Ireland has long been the theme of lamentation to most men, of derision to some, and even of boast to others: the historian has but to shew, who at different times have supported, who have deserted, and who have resisted her cause. During the long interval of 14 months, that Ireland, greatly distressed and impoverished, was kept without a parliament, the lord lieutenant did not labour in vain to bring over a considerable portion of the opposite party; at the head of which shone conspicuous, the great *quondam* patriot, Mr. Sexton Pery, who was first seated in the chair of the house of commons, with a promise of being soon after raised to the peerage. With this accession of force the lord lieutenant, on the 26th of February, 1771, faced the parliament in full confidence; he told them in his speech, it was with the truest satisfaction that he obeyed his majesty's commands to meet them again in parliament. He observed in his speech, that the then high price of corn was an object of the first importance, and demanded the

* It has been generally supposed, that this noble lord had sketched and published a caricature (in which he excelled) of himself, with his hands and feet fettered: he had one of them in his study, and would often humorously point to it by way of apologizing for a refusal.

most serious attention; at the same time he recommended the continuance or revival of such laws, as should be found to be immediately necessary for the general good of that country. Addresses were passed as usual to his majesty by both houses, and also to the lord lieutenant; and the commons, in their address to the former, acknowledged, with the most perfect submission, that they were ever tenacious of the honour of granting supplies to his majesty, and of being the first movers therein, as they were the voluntary tribute of grateful hearts to the best of monarchs; and they most humbly besought his majesty, that he would not permit their zeal in this particular to be construed into an invasion of his royal authority, than which nothing was more distant from their thoughts: they likewise returned their most humble thanks to his majesty, for continuing his excellency, Lord Townshend, in the government of that kingdom. This address was carried by 132 against 107. In consequence thereof the speaker wrote the following letter, which was communicated to the house by the clerk on the 4th of March, 1771.

“ To the Honourable the House of Commons of Ireland.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ When I had the honour of being unanimously elected to
 “ the chair of the house of commons, I entered on that high
 “ office full of the warmest sentiments of loyalty to his majesty,
 “ and firm determination to dedicate my whole endeavour to
 “ preserve and transmit to my successor, inviolate the rights
 “ and privileges of the commons of Ireland. But on the last
 “ day of the last session of parliament, his excellency the lord
 “ lieutenant was pleased to accuse the commons of a great crime,
 “ which I am confident was far from their intentions, as it ever
 “ was and ever shall be far from mine, that of intrenching upon
 “ his majesty’s royal power and authority, and the just and un-
 “ doubted rights of the crown of Great Britain; and as it has
 “ pleased the house of commons to take the first opportunity
 “ after this transaction, of testifying their approbation of his
 “ excellency, by voting him an address of thanks this session;
 “ and as the delivery of such approbation to his excellency is
 “ incidental to the office of speaker, I beg leave to inform you,
 “ that as such thanks seem to convey a censure of the proceed-
 “ ings, and a relinquishment of the privileges of the commons,
 “ my respect to them must prevent my being the instrument of
 “ delivering such address; and therefore I request you may
 “ elect another speaker, who may not think such conduct in-
 “ consistent with his honour. I am, gentlemen, your most
 “ obliged and most humble servant, *John Ponsonby*, speaker.”

The commons having hereupon proceeded to elect a new speaker, Edmond Sexton Pery,* Esq. had a majority of four votes, and was appointed in the room of Mr. Ponsonby.

Mr. J. Ponsonby on this occasion was as much applauded by the people for his dignity of spirit and purity of principle, as the conduct of Mr. Pery was reviled and execrated. As the lord lieutenant had now secured a majority in parliament, his grand manœuvre was to do away the effects of the votes of the last session, and justify his conduct in the sudden and continued prorogations of the parliament. Nothing was permitted to pass without a division; upon each of which successively the patriots fell off. They were however resolved to leave to posterity upon their Journals a faithful portrait of their suffering country in that state of decline; they moved and put the question, which was lost by a majority of 123 against 68, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, expressing, that his faithful commons of Ireland have been always most ready to repose the utmost trust in the persons employed in high authority under his majesty; that therefore his faithful commons did confidently hope, that a law for securing the independency of the judges of this kingdom would have passed: such a law having been recommended, and promised by his excellency the lord lieutenant, in the speech from the throne, in the first session of his excellency's government. That, in like manner, as his excellency had recommended to that house, in his speech from the throne, in that session of parliament, an atten-

* The conduct and speech of Mr. Pery on this occasion bespoke the forward zeal of a new proselyte.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"THE commons in parliament assembled, have, in obedience to your excellency's command, proceeded to the election of a speaker, and have elected me, and now attend to present me to your excellency. It would give your excellency no favourable impression of my sincerity, if I were to pursue the usual form, and affect to decline this important office. I confess it is the highest point of my ambition, and if I have the honour of your excellency's approbation, I shall endeavour to prove by my conduct, that I have not been more solicitous to obtain, than I shall be anxious to discharge the duties of it." The lord chancellor receiving directions from his excellency the lord lieutenant, said, "Mr. Pery, I am commanded by his excellency the lord lieutenant, to declare his full approbation of the choice, which the commons have made of you for their speaker, and he has the strongest confidence that your knowledge of the laws and constitution of your country, your experience in the business of parliament, and your loyalty to the king, which so eminently qualify you for that important office, will carry you through it with honour and universal satisfaction." Then Mr. Speaker said, "Since your excellency has been pleased to approve the choice of the commons, permit me to make my most humble and grateful acknowledgments to your excellency, for having expressed your approbation in a manner so gracious, and in terms so honourable to me; and to assure your excellency that I shall endeavour to merit the continuance of your excellency's favour, by the faithful discharge of my duty."

"tion to the high price of corn, his majesty's faithful commons
 "did flatter themselves, that the tillage of the kingdom would
 "have received encouragement ; but that, on the contrary, in a
 "session professedly called for the making and receiving useful
 "laws, his majesty's commons had the unspeakable grief to find,
 "that two laws heretofore enacted, and transmitted, in order to
 "be continued and revived, for the benefit of tillage, one for
 "the restraining of distilleries, the other for a bounty on the
 "carriage of corn coastways, had not been returned, though
 "calculated to meet and correspond with the wishes of govern-
 "ment, expressed from the throne, respecting that important
 "article to the community, whereby that kingdom has been de-
 "barred of the benefit of two useful laws ; the salutary effects
 "of which they had formerly experienced, and which the then
 "existing circumstances of that country, and the morals of the
 "people, peculiarly required. That the suppression of those
 "bills, and the unexpected alteration of others, whereby the hopes
 "of that country, founded in the declarations of his majesty's
 "servants there, had been frustrated, tended to weaken the con-
 "fidence of the public in his majesty's ministers, so essential to
 "the dignity of the crown, and to the happiness of the subject.
 "That both public and private credit was in a very low state,
 "that government securities, which used to bear a considerable
 "premium, could not then be circulated at par. That money
 "could scarcely be obtained, and that the price of land was fall-
 "ing. That the circumstances could not fail to be attended by
 "melancholy and anxious apprehensions in the most loyal of
 "his majesty's subjects ; and imploring that his majesty would
 "be graciously pleased to take such steps for the remedy there-
 "of, as his royal wisdom and paternal dignity should suggest."

In the address of the commons to the lord lieutenant, which
 was moved for and carried on the 16th of May, two days only
 before the prorogation, the patriots objected to the thanks con-
 tained in it for his excellency's *just and prudent administration* ;
 but on a division they were outvoted by 106 against 51 : this
 address together with the king's answer* to the address of the

* 2nd of May, 1771. Journ. Com. vol. 8, p. 333. The Right Honourable
 Sir George Macartney informed the house, that he was commanded by his ex-
 cellency the lord lieutenant, to acquaint them, that his majesty had been
 pleased to return a most gracious answer to the address of this house, which
 he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, and the same was read
 by Mr. Speaker (all the members being uncovered) and is as followeth :

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty thanks the house of commons for the many warm
 "expressions of affection and loyalty contained in their address, and for their
 "congratulations on the increase of his family.

"His majesty is extremely glad to find that the opportunity he has given
 "them of consulting together, at this time, for the general good of his king-

commons to the throne, was considered, by the castle, to have completely counteracted the whole effect of the successful efforts of the patriots in the last session, and to have given the express royal sanction to every part of the viceroy's conduct.

The address of the lords to the king contained the following paragraph: "We have the truest sense of the many instances, which your majesty has been pleased to afford us of your paternal care, and particularly your continuing the Lord Viscount Townshend in the government of this kingdom, of which, as his experience enables him to form the truest judgment, so his candour and integrity will, we doubt not, move him to make the justest representation." A warm debate took place upon the question being put, that the said paragraph do stand part of the address; which was carried by thirty against fifteen. The protest entered by sixteen lords on this occasion, is an authentic and very precise historical document of the grounds and nature of the opposition made in parliament to that lord lieutenant's administration.

**Dissentient.*

1° Because the repeated proofs we have of his majesty's paternal tenderness towards his people, convince us, that a misrepresentation of his faithful commons could alone have determined his royal breast to exert his undoubted prerogative of proroguing his parliament at a crisis, when the expiration of laws essential to the well-being of this kingdom, seemed peculiarly to point out the most urgent demand for the assistance of the legislature: at a time, when the commons had given a recent efficacious testimony of their unremitting zeal for his majesty's service, by voting an augmentation of his majesty's forces; a measure, which had been represented to parliament as highly acceptable to the king; at a season too, when the suddenness of this unexpected mark of royal displeasure, rendered its consequences almost irretrievably fatal to the nation, insomuch, that we see, with the deepest concern, an extraordinary deficiency in his majesty's revenue, proceeding from the declining state of our credit, trade, and manufactures, thereby occasioned.

2° Because the unbounded confidence we repose in his majesty's inviolate regard to the fundamental principles of the consti-

dom of Ireland, has been received by them with so much satisfaction, and he trusts it will be productive of every benefit to the public that they could desire.

"His majesty is well pleased with the assurances given by the house of commons, of their regard for his rights and those of the crown of Great Britain, which it is his indispensable duty to assert, and which he shall ever think it incumbent upon him to maintain.

G. R."

tution, assures us, that the attempt, which has been lately made, to infringe that balance, indefeasibly inseparable from its very formation, by entering upon the journals of this house a protest, animadverting upon the proceedings of the house of commons, was the result of pernicious counsels, insidiously calculated to alienate the affections of the most loyal subjects, from the most amiable of princes: an opinion, in which we conceive ourselves by so much the better founded, as this unconstitutional extension is unprecedented; (save only in one instance) which was followed by just disapprobation of the sovereign, testified by the immediate removal of the chief governor. We further conceive, that as the constitution of this kingdom is, in respect to the distinct departments of the crown, the lords, and the commons, one and the same with that of Great Britain; we should depart not only from our duty to our king, and to this our country, but likewise from that, which we owe to Great Britain, if in our high capacity of hereditary great council of Ireland to the crown, we should acquiesce under an attempt, which manifestly tends to subvert that reciprocal independence of the three estates, which is the basis of its security.

3^d Because the justice and piety, which shine conspicuous in our sovereign, as well in his domestic life as on the throne, do not suffer us to suppose, that this dismissal of trusty nobles and commoners from his majesty's privy council, the former only, because they made a just exercise of their hereditary birth-right as peers of the realm, the latter, on account only of their parliamentary conduct, can have proceeded from the truly-informed intention of so great and good a prince.

4^d Because moderation, firmness, consistency, a due distinctive regard to all ranks of persons, a regular system of administration, being, as we conceive, indispensably requisite to the support and dignity of government, and to the conduct of his majesty's affairs, we cannot, without violation of truth and justice, return thanks to the king for continuing a chief governor, who in contempt of all forms of business and rules of decency, heretofore respected by his predecessors, is actuated only by the most arbitrary caprice to the detriment of his majesty's interests, to the injury of this oppressed country, and to the unspeakable vexation of persons of every condition.

Leinster, (by proxy)
Westmeath,
Lanesborough,
Shannon,
Mornington,
Lisle,
Powerscourt,
Charlemont,

Baltinglass,
Mount-Cashell,
Moira, (by proxy)
Longford,
Louth,
Bective,
Molesworth,
Bellamont.

And when on the same day it was resolved, that the address to the lord lieutenant, then before the house, should stand the address of that house, the same sixteen peers* protested against it. Because the address to the lord lieutenant having contained acknowledgments of thanks to his excellency for his conduct in the government of that kingdom, to which they were conscious he had not any just claim, they had therefore conceived it to be their duty to withhold even that accustomed compliment. No policy is more unwise, than to attempt to suppress from a nation (as from an individual) in debt the real state of its finances. It appears evident, from the arguments of the still uncorrupted patriots of the house of commons, from the protests of the sixteen peers, from the state of the national accounts still upon record, and from other historical documents, that the national debt of Ireland very heavily accumulated during the administration of Lord Townshend: yet we find, that after the experience, which two years and a quarter had given him of the inadequacy of the fiscal resources of that kingdom to answer his new plan of keeping up the *English interest*, he refrained from calling on the commons for any supplies, alleging in his speech to parliament, on the 26th of February, 1771, that with very strict œconomy, the duties granted last session would be sufficient to answer the expences of his majesty's government; and therefore he would ask no further supply.

The confidence, with which Lord Townshend met the parliament in October 1771, was strongly depicted in his speech. "My experience" said his excellency, "of your attachment to his majesty's person, and of your zeal for the public service, affords me the best grounded hopes, that nothing will be wanting on your part to co-operate with his majesty's gracious intentions to promote the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, and when to this consideration I add my remembrance of your kind regard for the ease and honour of my administration, I feel the most sensible pleasure in the present opportunity, which his majesty has given me of meeting you a fourth time in parliament."† Notwithstanding his boasted œconomy, which prevented his application to the commons for any further supply in the last session, he now told them, that it was with concern, that he must ask a sum of money to discharge the arrears already incurred on his majesty's establishments, but that they would find, they had been unavoidable; for that the strictest œconomy had been used, not only in the

* These same lords also protested against the motion for entering the lord lieutenant's protest on their journals: it is also a well considered, well worded and truly constitutional representation of that extraordinary and illegal measure of Lord Townshend's; which see in the Appendix, No. LXII.

† Journ. Com. vol. 8, p. 403.

charges of the late augmentation, upon which a very large saving had been made, but in the reduction of the staff, which was then diminished to the number directed by his majesty.*

Another part of the lord lieutenant's speech referred to the illegal associations and audacious outrages committed in divers parts of the kingdom, but especially in the north, which deserved their most serious attention, being as destructive to commerce, as disgraceful to liberty: the parliamentary proceeding upon this recommendation, was a still stronger illustration of the unconstitutional tendency of the measures and general system of that nobleman's administration. One of the insurgents, charged with felony, had been apprehended and carried to Belfast, and there confined in order to be transmitted to the county jail. Provoked by this treatment of their associate, several thousands of them proceeded to Belfast, to rescue the prisoner. When intelligence of this reached the town, it being resolved not to give him up, he was removed to the barrack, and placed under a guard of soldiers. The Steel Boys pressed forward to the barrack, firmly determined to effect a rescue. The consequence in all probability, would have been fatal to many on both sides and to the town, had not a gentleman of commanding influence, interposed, at the risque of his life, and prevailed with the military to set the prisoner at liberty. Being delivered up to his associates, they marched off in triumph. One house only experienced the effects of their resentment. Many, who were engaged in this enterprise, returned home, and had afterwards no further connection with the rioters: yet their numbers daily

* Very strong objections have been made to the unconstitutional system of Lord Townshend's administration both in and out of parliament: but he had now so completed his system of managing the house of commons, that he was sure on all occasions of one third majority on any question: and it is remarkable, that by such majority did he carry the question on seventeen different divisions, which took place in the house of commons on the two first days of the session. Most of these questions arose upon the eulogies contained in the addresses upon the lord lieutenant's conduct and administration. Some however turned upon mere matters of fact, which the patriots charged him with having designedly misrepresented in order to deceive the people. One of the questions, upon which they divided, was upon a proposal to insert in the address the following words: "notwithstanding that the said resolution was proposed to obviate the tendency of that part of the lord lieutenant's speech wherein he insinuates, that the deductions made from the revenue for payment of grants, for premiums, bounties, and public works, were the cause of the great arrears mentioned in his excellency's speech." Another division took place upon a motion for adding the following words to the address: "notwithstanding we must observe, that two of the gentlemen, who resigned the staff, are aged and infirm, so that the public are not likely to receive so much benefit from that alteration, as was graciously intended by his majesty: and that a pension of 200*l.* a year has been granted to General Lambert and 300*l.* a year to his wife, in consideration of his long and faithful services, making in all 500*l.* a year, which is within 47*l.* 10*s.* of the saving accruing to the public from his resignation." *Vide Com. Journ.* vol. 8, p. 408.

increased, and their spirit extended to the neighbouring counties. Besides the oaths, which they exacted, they ill treated individuals and destroyed houses: and several were guilty of other flagrant acts of inhumanity. Some of them were taken and tried at Carrickfergus; but whether from want of evidence, from fear of incurring the resentment of the populace, or from partiality in the witnesses and the jury, they were acquitted. On this account the legislature passed an act, by which all persons indicted of such offences were ordered to be tried in counties different from those, in which the excesses were committed. In consequence, several of the *Steel Boys* against whom examinations had been taken, were carried to Dublin and put upon their trial. But so strong was the prejudice conceived against this new law, that no jury there would find any of them guilty.

But when the* obnoxious act was repealed, reflection took place, and the pernicious consequence of the principles and the

* This act 11 and 12 of Geo. III. c. v. was entituled, “ *An Act for the more effectual Punishing wicked and disorderly persons, who have committed, or shall commit violences and do injuries to persons or properties of any of his Majesty’s subjects in the counties of Antrim, Down, Armagh, City and County of Londonderry, and County of Tyrone, or any of them; or who shall deliver or publish Threatening Letters, or who resist or oppose the levying the public Taxes in the said Counties, or any of them; and for the more effectual bringing to Justice certain Offenders therein mentioned.*” And the sixth section of it is to the following effect, “and whereas there is great reason to believe, that such wicked persons have been greatly encouraged in the commission of such enormous crimes by their hopes of being acquitted, if to be tried by the petty juries of their respective counties: for the more impartial trial of all persons so as aforesaid offending, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any indictment or indictments for offences committed, since the first day of January last, or which shall be committed against the said acts of the twenty-ninth reign of his late majesty George the Second and the fifth of his present majesty, herein before mentioned, or either of them, or for high treason or murder committed since the first day of January last, or to be committed hereafter, or for any offence or offences, which shall hereafter be committed against this act, shall be found in any of the said counties, where such offences shall be committed, the offender or offenders to be mentioned in such indictment or indictments, may be proceeded against and tried upon indictment or indictments for such offences before such commissioners of oyer and terminer and general gaol delivery, as shall be assigned by the king’s majesty’s commission under the great seal of this kingdom of Ireland, by the good and lawful men of the body of the county of Dublin, or of the county of the city of Dublin, as respectively shall be appointed in such commission, and at such place within the said counties or either of them as shall be appointed in said commission; and such proceeding shall be valid and effectual in the law, as if the offence had been done within the county, where the same shall be tried; and such indictment or indictments in such cases, shall be certified unto such commissioners upon his majesty’s writ of *certiorari*, to be issued for that purpose; and that in all such cases no challenge to the array or the polis shall lye, or be allowed, by reason that the jurors do not or have not come from the proper county or place, where the offence was committed, or by reason, that the trial is out of the county or place, where such offence was committed; but nevertheless upon the trials of such offences the challenge to any juror for want of freehold in the county

conduct of the insurgents began to be viewed by the people in the true light. Once more some of them were tried in their respective counties. The indictments were proved, and they were condemned and executed. These examples, with proper exertions of the military, extinguished the commotion; though the consequences of it produced effects that were permanent, and highly prejudicial to the country. In a short time, many thousands of its inhabitants emigrated to America.

The great ground of opposition to Lord Townshend's administration was, that in supporting the government by unconstitutional means, he deprived the country of that basis of freedom and happiness, to which by the fair enjoyment of its constitution it was entitled. When therefore the address of thanks to the king was reported to the house by Mr. Foster, of which the second paragraph began in these words, "*We are fully persuaded, that the support of your majesty's government is the great and firm basis of the freedom and happiness of this country,*" an amendment was proposed, that before the word *support*, the word *constitutional* should be inserted; it was negatived by a majority of 88 against 36.*

The baneful example of the chief governor's marshalling the ranks of parliament encouraged the already too deeply rooted principle of despotism throughout the nation. Not only the great lords and real owners of land exercised in general a most ferocious rule over their inferiors: but that obnoxious race of self-created gentlemen, whose consequence and virtue consisted in not being Papists, and whose loyalty was mere lust for persecuting and oppressing them, were uncontrollable in their petty tyranny. Even the lord lieutenant was so sensible of it, that being resolved to pardon a Catholic gentleman unjustly found guilty, he withdrew the hand of mercy, with this reflection: *I see them resolved upon his blood; so he may as well go now.*

The remainder of Lord Townshend's administration went over without any further incident worthy of notice, either from

"where the same shall be tried by virtue of this act, and all other due challenges to jurors shall be allowed, any thing in this present act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

* During this administration we find by the Journals mentioning the tellers upon the different divisions, that three of the most forward and constant supporters of every government question were Mr. Monk Mason, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Fitzgibbon: and historical justice obliges us to remark, that the truth or falsity of the propositions little availed, provided it were made a government question. Thus besides the instances already adduced, we find upon the Journals (8 vol. iii.) the following resolution negatived on the 8th of March, 1766: "That it be resolved, that the office of a commissioner of his majesty's revenue would be better executed by a person resident in this kingdom, than by an absentee." During this session of 1771, died Dr. Lucas, whom, from his first entrance into political life, no promises or offers could seduce from untainted patriotism; in this particular he has been more admired than imitated by his countrymen.

the opposition of the patriots within, or the disturbance of other persons out of parliament. It is remarkable, that the whole of this lord's administration should have passed without any public act, or the agitation of any question concerning the Roman Catholics. Lord Townshend's natural humanity and benevolence concurring with the known disposition of his gracious majesty to lenity and liberality, softened as much as possible the rigour and sharpness of the existing laws. His lordship could not however retire from a situation, which he had holden for near five years, without having given some proof of his zeal for promoting the Protestant religion. Having been so successful in proselytizing for the state, he recommended to parliament his own specific in gaining converts to the church. Such efficacy did he annex even to the smallest pension, that he conceived an additional 10*l.* per ann. a more powerful lure to bring over the Catholic clergy, than any of the means of rigour or intimidation enacted by former statutes. A provision had been made by the 8th of Anne, that every Popish priest, who had or should become Protestant, and be approved of as a convert, should have 30*l.* yearly for his maintenance, until provided for by some ecclesiastical preferment beyond that amount. But by an act* of this session it was recited, that it had been found by experience, that the former act had not answered the purposes intended, *especially as the provision made as aforesaid for such Popish priests is in no respect a sufficient encouragement for Popish priests to become converts*; it was therefore enacted, that 40*l.* should in future be allowed annually, in lieu of 30*l.* to every Popish priest converted from the Popish to the Protestant religion. The multiplication of these allowances up to the height of the most proselytizing zeal could not interfere with the civil list of pensioners, as these spiritual douceurs were to be levied on the inhabitants of the district, wherein the convert last resided.†

This act for the encouragement of converts to the Protestant religion was also in some measure deemed necessary to counterbalance the effects of another act made in the same session, supposed to be very favourable to the Catholics, and which in times of less liberality had been repeatedly thrown out of parliament, as tending to encourage Popery to the detriment and prejudice of the Protestant religion. This was *An Act to encourage the reclaiming of unprofitable Bogs*.‡ This act recites, that there were large tracts of deep bogs in several counties of the kingdom,

* 11 and 12 Geo. III. c. xxvii.

† The consequence, which by this act appears to have been annexed to the paltry sum of ten pounds per annum, rather justifies the wit of the Irish (they will be witty on the gravest subjects) upon the efficacy of *Townshend's golden drops*; upon which, songs, squibs, toasts, and epigrams were endless.

‡ 11 and 12 Geo. III. c. xxi.

which in their then state were not only unprofitable, but by their damp rendered the air unwholesome ; and it had been found by experience, that such bogs were capable of improvement, and of being converted into arable or pasture land, if encouragement were given to the lower class of people to apply their industry to the reclaiming of them. It therefore enacted, that notwithstanding the laws then in force, any Catholic might be at liberty to take a lease of fifty plantation acres of such bog, and one half an acre of arable land adjoining thereto, as a site for a house, or for the purpose of delving for gravel or limestone, for manure, at such rent, as should be agreed upon between him and the owner of the soil, as also from ecclesiastical or bodies corporate ; and for further encouragement, the tenant was to be free for the first seven years from all tithes and cesses ; but it was provided, that if half of the bog demised were not reclaimed at the end of twenty-one years, the lease should be void ; and no bog was to be considered unprofitable, unless the depth of it from the surface, when reclaimed, were four feet at least ; and no person was to be entitled to the benefit of the act, unless he reclaimed ten plantation acres ; and the act was not to extend to any bog within one mile of a city or market town.*

When Lord Townshend met the parliament for the last time, after the common place topics of congratulations and thanks for

* I have been rather particular in detailing the substance of this act, in order to give legislative proof of the unnatural and unaccountable parsimony, with which the Irish government heretofore dealt out justice even to themselves and country. Such extreme bigotry could not be credited, if the public records of the nation, even as late as 1771, did not proclaim it in every line of the above-mentioned act. The liberal and philosophical Dr. Campbell has given us a striking instance of the backwardness of government, in earlier days, to encourage or promote the advantages, which nature has lavished on that country. Writing from Cashell in 1775, he says, that the first place he stopped at in the province of Munster, going from Kilkenny, was a little village called Killinaul ; there he entered into conversation with his landlord. (P. 120.) " Upon my supposing, in my turn, that the clear fire before me was of Kilkenny coal, his answer was somewhat indignant, yet fraught with information." " Arrah no ! my dear jewel, for by Shasus we have as good coal as Kilkenny ourselves, ay and better too. The devil an inch you rode to day but upon coal pits. Sure it is we, that serve all Munster with coals, and Connaught too. Did not the Dutch boors offer to their countryman, King William, that, if he would let them live by the laws of Holland, that they would make meadow ground of the whole bog of Allen, and carry the coals of Killinaul, through their canals, all over Ireland, ay and England too. For you see, that our coal is the hottest coal in the universe, and the only coal for drying malt with, because it has no smoke, and therefore gives the beer neither taste nor smell." He then touched upon the affair of the *White Boys*, to whom he was no friend. He said they had been in that town the very night before. You have heard of these banditti. I am not yet in possession of the true state of their case. For it is so variously represented in this country, that one must listen with attention, and assent with caution. But the whole country round Killinaul bears upon the very face of it an evident and sufficient cause for their insurgency ; if insurgency it may be called, where each house-keeper disclaims all connection with the wretches concerned.

their long and close attention to public business ; he particularly assured the commons, that he should faithfully apply the supplies granted at the beginning of that session to the support of his majesty's establishment, and to the advancement of the public service. Yet that the arrears incurred before their meeting upon his majesty's establishment civil and military had made it necessary for him to borrow 100,000*l.* immediately after the act was passed ; and that that sum not sufficing, he had since been obliged to raise the remaining 100,000*l.* being the full extent of the credit entrusted to him by that act. We have seen that some fruitless divisions were made, upon the different conceptions, which the patriots had of the lieutenant's applications of the revenue, to the advancement of the public service ; they did not consider the public purse liable to any of these appropriations by way of bargain or remuneration, by which they openly charged the lord lieutenant with having obtained a majority of the members, in his support, and kept them steady in their ranks. Every effort to countervail the system so successfully established by this lord lieutenant became not only negatively fruitless, but positively mischievous by encreasing the evil and extending the infection. As this governor had completely succeeded in his arduous attempt of reducing the parliamentary influence of Ireland to the uncontrollable direction of the castle, he took care in this farewell speech to leave such a portrait, as he wished to hand down to posterity of his administration of the kingdom of Ireland.

“ His majesty gave it in express command to me, to make
 “ your interest and prosperity the great object of my adminis-
 “ tration, and my own inclination incited me to a strict and zea-
 “ lous performance of that duty. I have upon every occasion
 “ endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to promote the public
 “ service, and I feel the most perfect satisfaction in now repeat-
 “ ing to you my acknowledgments for the very honourable
 “ manner, in which (after a residence of near five years amongst
 “ you) you have declared your entire approbation of my conduct.
 “ Be assured that I shall always entertain the most ardent
 “ wishes for your welfare, and shall make a faithful representa-
 “ tion to his majesty, of your loyalty and attachment to his royal
 “ person and government.”

How far this chief governor of Ireland did in reality promote the interest and happiness of the people of Ireland, the unbiassed observer of past scenes will judge more accurately than the chief actor himself. His lordship however has the credit of having ably performed the part allotted to him ; as Dr. Campbell observed in the year 1775, his successor *Lord Harcourt then*

*found the parliament of Ireland as obsequious as that of Great Britain.**

When Lord Harcourt assumed the government in October, 1772, he had little to do, but to continue the system, which his predecessor had with so much perseverance, difficulty and charge to the finance regularly established according to his instructions from the British cabinet. In order therefore to give continuance and stability to the new *English interest*, which had been raised upon the partial destruction of the Irish oligarchy, as Lord Clare observed, a man was chosen of amiable character, easy disposition, and of no other ambition than to move by the direction, and thus acquire the approbation of his immediate employers. With the active labour of office he considered, that he also threw the burthen of responsibility upon his secretary. He had been nearly twelve months in the government of Ireland before he met the parliament, on the 12th of October, 1773. Nothing particularly commands attention in his excellency's speech: he assured the commons, that he had it in command from his majesty, to lay before them the public accounts and estimates, by which they would be able to judge of the provisions necessary to be made for the honourable support of his majesty's government, and to ask the necessary supplies for that purpose; which on his part he pledged himself should be faithfully applied and frugally administered. The address, thanks and other proceedings usual at the commencement of a session passed without opposition. The first stand made by the patriots, was upon an alarm at the intention of government, in laying the accounts before the house, to hold back several of the documents, which would too palpably bring to light, the means used in the late administration of ensuring a majority *to do the king's business.*† After the house had ordered the different accounts and estimates to be laid before them,‡ a motion was made for an address to his excellency, that he would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers to lay before the house the estimates; and an amendment was proposed to be made to the question, by adding the following words, *as far as there are materials for that purpose:* upon which a division took place, and the amendment was carried by 88 against 52. Thus was it left in the discretion of the clerks, or rather of their patrons, to bring forward or hold back what materials they chose.§

On the 24th of December, 1773, the commons were summoned to attend the lord lieutenant at the bar of the house of

* Phil. Surv. p. 59.

† Or rather, as Lord Clare observed, *the Minister's.*

‡ Journ. Com. vol. 9. p. 16.

§ By this division we see the proportionate strength of the opposite parties in the house.

Peers, when his excellency gave the royal assent to some money bills, and to the repeal of that unconstitutional act for the trial of offenders out of their own counties, passed in Lord Townshend's administration. Mr. Pery had too long sided with the patriots, not to see the real state of distress and difficulty, into which the country was then plunged: and having himself gone over upon terms to the court party, he found it difficult to take any step or suggest any measure to the House of Commons, that could effectually check the ruinous system, in which the patriots would not cordially join; and this would have been considered by the people out of doors either as concession, or coalition. A middle plan was therefore devised, by which the feeling and sense of the representatives of the people should be, in part at least, handed up to the throne through the lord lieutenant, without weakening the majority by hazarding the steadiness of individuals on questions too palpable for plausible controversy. To accomplish this half measure, calculated to commit ministers, no further than to the uncertain result of consequences, Mr. Pery, the speaker, delivered the following speech at the bar of the House of Lords.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“ The commons have exerted their utmost efforts
 “ to answer your excellency's expectations, not only in providing
 “ for the discharge of an arrear of 265,000*l.* but also in making
 “ an addition to the revenue of near 100,000*l.* a year. Difficult
 “ as this task appeared in a kingdom so destitute of resources as
 “ this is, yet it was undertaken with cheerfulness and prosecuted
 “ with vigour; but if the means they have employed shall prove
 “ inadequate to the liberality of their intentions, it must be
 “ imputed to the inability of the kingdom not to any disinclina-
 “ tion or unwillingness in them to make ample provision for his
 “ majesty's service, to which they have sacrificed their most
 “ favourite objects. The moderation and temper, with which
 “ all their proceedings have been conducted during the course
 “ of this session, afford the clearest proof, not only of their
 “ gratitude for his majesty's attention and condescension to their
 “ wishes, but also of the just sense they entertain of your excel-
 “ lency's effectual intercession in their favour, to which they
 “ attribute those measures of œconomy, which have been lately
 “ adopted, and which they doubt not will be continued; and
 “ they have the fullest confidence, that the same humane and
 “ benevolent disposition will induce your excellency to represent
 “ to his majesty in the strongest light, not only their duty and
 “ affection to him, but also the state and circumstances of this

* *Com. Journ.* vol. 9. p. 73.

“ kingdom: from which, and from your excellency’s credit and
 “ influence, they conceive the most sanguine hopes, that those
 “ restrictions, which the narrow and short sighted policy of
 “ former times, equally injurious to Great Britain and to us,
 “ imposed upon the manufactures and commerce of this king-
 “ dom, will be remitted. If Great Britain reaped the fruits of
 “ this policy, the commons of Ireland would behold it without
 “ repining, and submit to it without complaining; but it aggra-
 “ vates the sense of their misfortunes to see the rivals, if not
 “ the enemies of Great Britain, in the undisturbed possession
 “ of those advantages, to which they think themselves entitled
 “ upon every principle of policy and justice. It is the expecta-
 “ tion of being restored to some, if not to all of those rights,
 “ and that alone, which can justify to the people the conduct of
 “ their representatives in laying so many additional burdens
 “ upon them, in the course of this session; and no time can be
 “ more favourable to their wishes, than the present, when the
 “ public councils are directed by a minister, who has judgment
 “ to discern, and courage to pursue, the common interest of the
 “ whole empire, and when the throne is filled by a monarch, the
 “ sole object of whose ambition is to render all his people
 “ happy.”

Lord Harcourt’s administration at first promised so much moderation and fair intention to promote the real interest of Ireland, that it met with the support of several most respectable and popular characters, which afterwards opposed it, when they found it carried forward entirely upon the principles and plan of the administration of Lord Townshend. There was an affectation of correcting some of the defects, errors, and extravagances of the last administration; thus was the insurgent act repealed: thus was the board of excise,* created in the former administration, abolished, and thereby some saving made to the

* The following proceedings in the commons were had upon this subject. (9 *Journ. Com.* 28.)

“ The house being informed that Mr. Vaughan Montgomery attended at
 “ the door, he was called in, and at the bar presented to the house, pursuant
 “ to their order:

“ No. I. An account of all charges that have attended the new boards of
 “ excise and customs, distinguishing each expence, and for what paid, from the
 “ 3d of February, 1772, to the 26th of October, 1773.

“ No. II. An account of all charges that have attended the appointment of
 “ the four new surveyors general, from their respective appointments to the
 “ 26th of October, 1773.

“ No. III. An account of all new offices and additional charges on the estab-
 “ lishment of the commissioners of excise during the period of Lord Viscount
 “ Townshend’s administration.

“ The titles whereof were read, and the accounts ordered to lie on the table
 “ for the perusal of the members.

“ A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that it be resolved,
 “ that the present expences of government ought to be greatly retrenched;

nation. It must however be allowed, that this lord lieutenant had the exclusive merit of having proposed a measure, which the interests of Ireland had long called for, and which the influence of the great land owners in the country had always opposed. At the beginning of the first session under Lord Harcourt, an absentee tax was offered on the part of government, and wonderful to say, was rejected. In the then distressed and empoverished state of Ireland, it will be neither rash nor harsh, to conclude, that the patriotism of the majority, which rejected this seasonable relief to their country could have been neither disinterested nor pure. It was proposed, that a tax of two shillings in the pound should be laid upon the net rents and annual profits of all landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons, who should not actually reside in that kingdom for the space of six months in each year from Christmas 1773 to Christmas 1775. This measure though so equitable in itself, so desirable for the country, which was drained of its own produce to be spent in another country, could not so decently be pressed by the representatives of the English government, as left to the free disposal of the Irish parliament, whose interest it more immediately concerned. It was not therefore made a government question, all their connexions were understood to be left at perfect liberty, and most of the servants of the crown voted

“ An amendment was proposed to be made to the question by inserting between the word “resolved,” and the word “that,” the following words; “that it is necessary and parliamentary at this time to declare.”

“ And the question being put, that the words proposed, stand part of the question :

“ It was carried in the affirmative, *Nem. Con.*

“ An amendment was proposed to be made to the question by inserting between the word “declare,” and the word “that,” the following words; “notwithstanding the reduction of expences lately made by government, and though the report is not yet made from the committee of accounts.”

“ And the question being put, that the words proposed stand part of the question :

“ It was carried in the affirmative, *Nem. Con.*

“ A further amendment was proposed to be made to the question by inserting between the word “accounts,” and the word “that,” the following words; “and notwithstanding we have the utmost confidence in the present chief governor.”

“ And the question being put, that the words proposed stand part of the question :

“ It was carried in the affirmative, *Nem. Con.*

“ And the question so amended, is as follows :

“ Resolved, That it is necessary and parliamentary, at this time, to declare, notwithstanding the reduction of expence lately made by government, and though the report is not yet made from the committee of accounts, and notwithstanding we have the utmost confidence in the present chief governor, that the present expences of government ought to be greatly retrenched.”

“ And the main question put :

“ The house divided, when the ayes were 88 and the noes 112. It passed therefore in the negative.”

against the question. Considering the powerful interest, that was made against the tax by the most considerable land owners on this and the other side of the water, the small majority, by which it was rejected, is rather to be wondered at, there being 102 for and 122 against the measure.*

* The following letters to and from Lord North will fully and fairly display the grounds of the failure of this desirable measure for Ireland.

“ MY LORD,

“ It is publicly reported, that a project has been communicated to the king’s ministers, for proposing in the parliament of Ireland, a tax of regulation, which is particularly and exclusively to affect the property of those of his majesty’s subjects, who possess lands in that kingdom, but whose ordinary residence is in this. It is in the same manner publicly understood, that this extraordinary design has been encouraged by an assurance from administration, that if the heads of a bill proposing such a tax, should be transmitted from Ireland, they would be returned with the sanction of his majesty’s privy council here, under the great seal of England. My lord, we find ourselves under the description of those, who are to be the object of this unprecedented imposition. We possess considerable landed property in both kingdoms; our ordinary residence is in England. We have not hitherto considered such residence as an act of delinquency to be punished; or, as a political evil, to be corrected by the penal operation of a partial tax. We have had, many of us, our birth, and our earliest habits in this kingdom; some of us have an indispensable public duty, and all of us (where such duty does not require such restriction) have the right of free subjects, of choosing our habitation in whatever part of his majesty’s dominions we shall esteem most convenient. We cannot hear, without astonishment, of a scheme, by which we are to be stigmatized, by what is in effect, a fine for our abode in this country, the principal member of our British empire, and the residence of our common sovereign. We have ever shewn the utmost readiness in contributing with the rest of our fellow subjects, in any legal and equal method, to the exigences of the public service, and to the support of his majesty’s government. We have ever borne a cordial, though not an exclusive regard, to the true interest of Ireland, and to all its rights and liberties: to none of which we think our residence in Great Britain to be in the least prejudicial, but rather the means, in very many cases, of affording them a timely and effectual support. We cannot avoid considering this scheme as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of that kingdom as well as of this; its manifest tendency is to lessen the value of all landed property there, to put restrictions upon it unknown in any part of the British dominions; and as far as we can find, without parallel in any civilized country. It leads directly to a separation of these kingdoms in interest and affection, contrary to the standing policy of our ancestors, which has been, at every period, particularly at the glorious Revolution, inseparably to connect them by every tie both of affection and interest. We apply to your lordship in particular. This is intended as a mode of public supply; and as we conceive the treasury of Ireland, as well as that of England, is in a great measure within your lordship’s department, we flatter ourselves we shall not be refused authentic information concerning a matter in which we are so nearly concerned; that if the scheme, which we state to your lordship doth exist, we may be enabled to pursue every legal method of opposition to a project in every light unjust and impolitic. We have the honour to be,

“ Your lordship’s most obedient and most humble servants,

“ Devonshire, Rockingham,

“ Besborough, Milton,

“ Upper Ossory.

“ Lender, October the 16th, 1773.”

One of the next schemes of finance was to raise the sum of 265,000*l.* by tontine annuities with benefit of survivorship at six pounds per cent. and the second reading of the bill for this purpose produced a division of a majority of 103 against 49.* The plan of the tontine was this. The sum of 650,000*l.* was divided into shares of 100*l.* each, and for every share one life was allowed to be nominated; the lives were divided into three classes. No dividend of the interest arising from the shares of those, who died in each class, was to be made, until it yielded a clear one half per cent. among the survivors; and the increased interest never was to be more, than the principal originally advanced by each subscriber. The remainder of the interest as it occurred, to be applied to the credit of the nation. This scheme was holden forth by the secretary of the day, as a master-piece in finance, as being little less than an actual gain of so much, without adding in the least to the debt, as the principal was never to be refunded. The revenue being this year considerably short of the expences of government, stamp duties were granted upon all parchment, vellum or paper, on which any legal proceeding or private instrument, of almost any nature, should be written or engrossed, according to the nature of the article; stamped; the duties were at first granted for one year and nine months from the 25th of March, 1774; at the expira-

Answer from Lord North to the Duke of Devonshire.

“MY LORD,

“Your grace, and the Lords Rockingham, Besborough, Milton and Upper Ossory, having in your letter of the 16th desired authentic information concerning a project of proposing to the parliament of Ireland, a tax upon the landed property of such persons, whose ordinary residence is out of that kingdom, I will endeavour to state in a few words, what has passed upon the subject. In the course of the summer, the lord lieutenant of Ireland sent over several propositions for restoring the credit, providing for the debts, and putting upon a proper footing the finances of that kingdom; at the same time he informed his majesty’s servants here, that he had reason to believe, that among other modes of supply, there would probably be a tax of the nature mentioned in your grace’s letter. The answer, which was returned to his excellency, by those of his majesty’s servants, to whom this communication was made, was to the following effect: that if the Irish parliament should send over to England such a plan, as should appear to be well calculated to give effectual relief to Ireland, in its present distress, their opinion would be, that it ought to be carried into execution, although the tax upon absentees should be a part of it. I beg leave to trouble your grace to communicate this information to the other lords, and have the honour to be, with great respect, &c. &c. &c. North.”

On account of this answer, circular letters were written by Lord Rockingham, to the several gentlemen who might be affected by this measure, proposing a general meeting for the purpose of adopting the most eligible and effectual means of defeating it. But as it was rejected by the parliament, any further opposition became unnecessary. A melancholy instance of the prevalence of self-interest over that of the country in some of the most plausible patriots.

* Journ. Com. vol. 9, p. 109.

tion of which period they were continued, and have been to this day, from time to time, raised very considerably. The stamp duties have been found by experience one of the most efficient resources of the financier. It was confidently promised, that these duties would so far increase the revenue, as to be equal to the expences, when they had undergone the economical reduction thus intended, so that the pernicious practice of running in debt would be no longer pursued. The public accounts of the next session, however, clearly displayed the fallacy of those promises. As to the national debt, it amounted at Lady Day, 1773, to 994,890*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* and the total of pensions to 172,464*l.* 14*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* for the two years then ending. A bill for the improvement of the agriculture of that kingdom having passed, and being duly returned, the commons voted an address of thanks thereupon to his majesty, considering it as a signal instance of his paternal regard for his people of Ireland.

To the further credit of Lord Harcourt's administration must be laid the meritorious account of opening the door of that civil liberty, through which the great body of Irish Catholics were afterwards admitted to the rights of subjects. True it is, that the British ministry began about this time to be alarmed at the too well grounded discontents of the king's American subjects: the constitutional maxim, *no representation, no taxation*, was fully considered and carried into action on the other side of the Atlantic; the fatal and ill-advised resistance ended in the avulsion of that bright western gem from the imperial diadem. It was impossible, that a man of Lord North's penetration should not foresee the inversion of many constitutional maxims, when brought practically to bear upon the bulk of the Irish nation; he wisely therefore, though silently, instructed the lord lieutenant to endeavour by all means to sooth and engage the affections of the Catholics by gradual relaxations of the rigorous code of penalties, pains, and disabilities, under which they had so long and so patiently suffered. As early therefore in the session as the 10th of November, 1773, *leave was given to bring in the heads of a bill to secure the repayment of money, that should be really lent and advanced by Papists or persons professing the Popish religion to Protestants on mortgages of lands, tenements, and hereditaments; and that it might be understood to be a government measure of grace, Mr. Mason, Sir Lucius O'Bryen, and Mr. Langrishe, great and determined supporters of government, were ordered to bring it in. †On the preceding day leave had been given to bring in heads of a bill to enable Papists upon the terms and subject to the provisoes therein mentioned to take leases of lives, of lands, tenements, and

* 9 Com. Journ. p. 28. † Ibid. p. 27.

hereditaments. But neither one or the other of these bills at that time proceeded. The Irish antipathies to Popery, *and the reluctance of most men in place or power in Ireland to do justice to the Catholics deterred the easy mind of Lord Harcourt from pushing forward, what they persuaded him would create difficulties and disturbances in parliament, and interrupt that easy and quiet majority which government then enjoyed, and which he had it strongly in command to keep up by all possible and prudent means. Although the managers of the *English interest* in Ireland (this lord lieutenant was but their passive tool) had blasted these two scions of indulgence in their first shoot, yet the British ministry sent over positive and uncontrollable orders, that some act of the legislature should positively be passed in that session of a soothing and conciliatory tendency to the Catholics: well imagining, that the breadth of the Atlantic would not prevent the infection of political discontent in persons equally suffering a deprivation of that nutriment and support, which their constitution required for the preservation of their existence. On the 5th, therefore, of March, 1774, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable his majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him;† and as the bill remitted no part of the then existing code of severity, but purported merely a permission to the Catholics of expressing their allegiance to their sovereign, which before they had not, it passed both houses without obstruction or opposition.‡ It gratified the Catholics, inasmuch as it was a formal recognition, that they were subjects; and to this recognition they looked up as to the corner stone of their future emancipation. To this act and the well known and long tried allegiance of the Catholics, the lord lieutenant in his speech to the parliament at the close of the session thus alluded: {“ This reciprocal intercourse of duty and protection, which has for so many

* Thus Mr. Burke expressed himself upon this subject in a letter to a peer of Ireland in 1785, (p. 28): “ From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, a spirit of domination, and not a bigotted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up those oppressive statutes. I am sure I have known those, who have oppressed Papists in their civil rights, exceedingly indulgent to them in their religious ceremonies; and who wished them to continue in order to furnish pretences for oppression; and who never saw a man by conforming escape out of their power, but with grudging and regret. I have known men, to whom I am not uncharitable in saying, though they are dead, that they would become Papists in order to oppress Protestants; if being Protestants it was not in their power to oppress Papists. It is injustice, and not a mistaken conscience, that has been the principle of persecution, at least as far as it has fallen under my observation.”

† 9 Com. Journ. p. 114. Mr. Robert French, and Sir Lucius O'Bryen, two ministerial members, were ordered to bring it in.

‡ 9 Journ. Com. p. 160. 13 and 14 Geo. III. c. xxxv. For the form of this oath or test, vide Appendix, No. LXIII.

§ 9 Journ. Com. p. 160.

“ years happily prevailed, and from which so many salutary
 “ consequences have been derived during his majesty’s auspi-
 “ cious reign, holds out to every part of his majesty’s empire,
 “ an example reflecting the highest honour upon the virtues of
 “ a most amiable and excellent sovereign, and the wisdom and
 “ good conduct of affectionate and loyal subjects. In the high
 “ station, in which his majesty has placed me, I claim no merit,
 “ but a faithful execution of his majesty’s gracious purposes for
 “ the happiness of his people of Ireland, and the most just, and
 “ therefore the most favourable representations of their loyal,
 “ dutiful, and affectionate conduct, which cannot fail to entitle
 “ them to the continuance of his royal favour and protection.”

At the commencement of the next session in October 1775, the lord lieutenant observed, that, since the last meeting of parliament, his majesty’s tender concern for the welfare of that kingdom had induced him to pass several laws in the British parliament highly beneficial to the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of Ireland. “ By the act, which extends the
 “ great advantage of British fisheries to Ireland a source of
 “ industry and wealth (said he) is opened to you, which has
 “ made other nations great and flourishing. That act, which
 “ allows the clothing and accoutrements necessary for his
 “ majesty’s forces paid from the revenues of this kingdom to
 “ be exported from Ireland, is a particular mark of the royal
 “ favour; and even that, which allows the importation of rape
 “ seed into Great Britain from this kingdom, under certain
 “ regulations, connected with those salutary laws passed in our
 “ last session, form such a system of agriculture and improve-
 “ ment as will, I trust, secure riches and plenty to the people of
 “ Ireland. A bounty granted by Great Britain, upon the im-
 “ portation of flax, is so marked a recommendation of the
 “ linen manufacture, that it becomes needless for me to urge
 “ the most persevering application to that staple of the country.”

The allusion, which the lord lieutenant made to the proceedings of the British parliament, during the recess of the parliament of Ireland, calls upon us to submit to our readers, what passed on this side of the water during that interval. The opinions of the British legislators upon Irish incidents are strong illustrations of Irish history. On the 16th of December, 1774, upon Mr. R. Fuller’s calling for papers relative to our military forces in America, a desultory, though interesting conversation took place, in which the late Governor Johnstone took occasion to make several pointed applications to Ireland: they originated out of the confident and unequivocal declarations made in the course of the last session by Mr. Rigby (master of the rolls in Ireland), that *the parliament of Great Britain had a right to tax*

*Ireland in all cases whatsoever as well as America**. Mr. Fox observed, that it was certainly proper to include Ireland in all the debates upon American taxation, in order to ascertain the parliamentary right of taxation over every part of the British empire.

As Great Britain never hitherto had been known to overflow with liberality and kindness to her sister kingdom, it becomes proper to trace the true and genuine sources, out of which this new disposition to favour Ireland arose. The differences between America and her mother country had now broken into open war. Most of the leading members of the opposition in both countries (who afterwards composed that administration, which put an end to the American war) opposed the war upon principle: they inveighed against the unconstitutional exactions of the ministry, and in their debates went very little short of formally justifying the American rebellion. The analogy between America and Ireland was too close to pass unnoticed; and the defection of the American colonies produced strong effects upon Ireland. The exportation of Irish linen for America had been very considerable; but now this great source of national wealth was totally shut up, by an extraordinary stretch of prerogative. Under the pretext of preventing the Americans

* 1 Par. Deb. p. 19. "The kingdom of Ireland (said Governor Johnstone), within our own dominion, is a proof of what these learned gentlemen assert to be impossible. A worthy member, in my eye, being pressed with this argument in the last session of parliament, from the fairness of his mind, avowed, as his opinion, that we could tax Ireland. I remember there were some gentlemen in the gallery when this declaration was made, whom I immediately perceived by the contortions in their countenance to be Irish members. Next day the worthy member chose to make some apology to his friends. He said, no parallel could be drawn between Ireland and the colonies; for Ireland had a paraphernalia; and this satisfied both the English and Irish members. For my part, I do not see what difficulty can occur, in leaving the different colonies on the same footing of raising money by requisition, as from the people of Ireland. Lord Clare (Nugent) jocularly complimented Mr. Rigby on the exceeding popularity, reverence, and esteem, that gentleman was held in by the whole Irish nation; that there was no man in England or Ireland more loved or revered. Mr. Rigby said, he acted in that country as secretary to the lord lieutenant; which, on many accounts was rather an invidious and critical situation; that the sentiments now alluded to, he maintained upon general principles; that his opinion was not singular, for he was supported in it by a statute passed in the reign of George the First: that he begged to be understood, according to the obvious construction of that statute; and that, according to that sense of it, he still continued to be of opinion, that the legislature of Great Britain had a right to make laws to bind Ireland, and all the other members and dependances of the British empire. Sir William Mayne drew a melancholy picture of the sufferings of the Irish; said that all promises had been shamefully broken with them; that pensions to the amount of 10,000*l.* per annum had been lately granted on that miserable, ruined and undone country; and that the castle was an asylum to every needy, servile, cringing apostate, that would bow the knee, and barter every thing which should be dear to him, for emolument and court favour.

from being supplied with provisions from this country, an embargo was laid on the exportation of provisions from Ireland, which, in prejudicing that kingdom, served only to favour the adventures of British contractors. This embargo, combined with other causes, which were invariable and permanent, produced the most melancholy effects. Wool and black cattle fell considerably in value, as did also land; and rents in many places could scarcely be collected; so much was public credit essentially injured. It has already been observed, that the parliament of Ireland had declared the general sense of the kingdom respecting its distressed situation, and the illiberal restrictions thrown on its commerce: it had even defended its constitutional privileges; and though the voice of the nation were only thus conveyed through the speech of the speaker of the House of Commons, the public mind was not unknown in Great Britain. As the American fisheries were now abolished, it became necessary to think of some measures for supplying their place, and particularly to guard against the ruinous consequences of the foreign markets either changing the course of consumption, or falling into the hands of strangers, and those perhaps inimical to Great Britain. The state of public affairs in Ireland it now seemed necessary to take some notice of, and to pay some greater considerations to her interests, than had been hitherto practised. The question between England and her colonies, particularly in the manner it had been argued, was not calculated to quiet the kingdom of Ireland: and the repose of such parts of the empire as were still at rest was never more necessary. In the crisis, to which matters were now evidently tending, little doubt remained, that every assistance would be requisite from Ireland; besides, her patience, her sufferings, and her forbearance, might be holden up as a mirror, in contrast to America: and though these merits had long passed unregarded, this did not seem a fit season to encourage an opinion, that a similar conduct would never obtain any reward. The nature of the benefit, however, was to be considered, and nothing could seem better adopted, than a donation, which would be an advantage instead of a loss to the giver. It was not itself very considerable, but it might be considered as a beginning; and small benefits carry weight with those, who have not been habituated to great favours. It had been shewn to the British parliament, that the exports from England to Ireland amounted then to 2,400,000*l.* annually; besides the latter supported a large standing army, at all times ready for the defence of the former; and immense sums of her ready cash were spent there by her numerous absentees, pensioners and placemen; yet by oppressive restrictions in trade, Ireland was cut off from the benefit of her great natural staple

commodity, as well as excluded from the advantage, which she might derive from the peculiarity of her situation.

The British minister on the 11th of October, 1775, moved for a committee of the whole house, to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland. This attention to Ireland was generally approved of, and after some conversation on the hardships that country suffered, it was proposed by Mr. Burke to extend the motion, by adding the words "trade and commerce;" and thereby afford an opportunity to grant such relief and indulgence in those exports, as might be done without prejudice to Great Britain. The minister objected to this; however, the committee in its progress granted several bounties to the ships of Great Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery; and it was farther resolved in favour of Ireland, that it should be lawful to export from thence, cloaths and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment, as were employed abroad: and also, that a bounty of five shillings per barrel should be allowed on all flax seeds imported into Ireland. This last resolution was passed, to prevent the evils, that were apprehended there, from the cutting off their great American source of supply in that article. Another resolution was also passed, by which Ireland was allowed to export provisions, hooks, lines, nets and tools for the implements of the fishery. The committee also agreed to the granting of bounties for encouraging the whale fishery, in those seas, that were to the southward of Greenland and Davis's Straits fisheries: and upon the same principle took off the duties, that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone, from Newfoundland, &c. They also took off the duty, that was payable upon the importation of seal skins.*

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 436. Mr. Burke thanked his lordship (North) for the friendly disposition he had now shewn towards his (Mr. Burke's) native country; observing at the same time that however desirous he might be to promote any scheme for the advantage of Ireland, he would be much better pleased, that the benefits thus held out should never be realized, than that Ireland should profit at the expence of a country, which was, if possible, more oppressed than herself. Mr. Thomas Townshend condemned, in the most pointed terms, the narrow, weak, and ill-founded policy, which had directed the English councils in respect to Ireland, ever since that country had become a part of the British dominions; and recommended very warmly an enquiry into the state of Irish commerce and manufactures, in order that such of them as did not immediately interfere with those of Great Britain, might receive every possible encouragement consistent with the general interests of the whole empire. Mr. Conolly drew a very melancholy picture of the present state of Ireland, and recapitulated many instances of the eminent loyalty of that country, and of the repeated proofs she had given, for a series of years back, of her readiness to contribute much beyond her ability, to the common support. Besides the merits she had to plead on these grounds, he pointed out the absurdity of several of the restraints laid upon the Irish commerce;

As soon as prudence would admit, after the lord lieutenant had called upon the gratitude of the Irish parliament for the favours granted by the English legislature, his excellency sent through his secretary, Sir John Blaquiere, a message to the House of Commons to the following effect:

("HARCOURT.)

"I have his majesty's commands to acquaint you, that the situation of affairs in part of his American dominions is such as makes it necessary, for the honour and safety of the British empire, and for the support of his majesty's just rights, to desire the concurrence of his faithful parliament of Ireland, in sending out of this kingdom a force not exceeding 4000 men, part of the number of troops upon this establishment, appointed to remain in this kingdom for its defence; and to declare to you his majesty's most gracious intention, that such part of his army as shall be spared out of this kingdom, to answer the present exigency of affairs, is not to be continued a charge upon this establishment, so long as they shall remain out of this kingdom. I am further commanded to inform you, that as his majesty hath nothing more at heart, than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, it is his intention, if it shall be the desire of parliament, to replace such forces as may be sent out of this kingdom, by an equal number of foreign Protestant troops, as soon as his majesty shall be enabled so to do; the charge of such troops to be defrayed without any expence to this kingdom."

The message having been referred to a committee, they resolved, that this force of 4000 men might at that juncture be spared, provided they were no longer a charge upon the establishment, than they remained in that kingdom. Upon which resolution being reported to the house, the patriots determined not to let an opportunity go by, without manifesting to their constituents their persevering attention to the rights and welfare of the nation. They saw through this first opening the gross inattention of the British cabinet to the internal defence and welfare of Ireland.

An amendment was accordingly proposed to be made to the resolution, by inserting after the word "Resolved," the following words, viz. "That having in consequence of his majesty's gracious recommendation, and of our mature consideration of the state of this country, repeatedly declared our opinion, that 12,000 men are necessary for the defence of this kingdom;

and endeavoured to shew that some of those were as unkind as impolitic; and that there were some branches of trade, particularly that to the Levant, which might be laid open, much to the advantage of both countries, and to the complete rivalry of the French.

“being sensible, that it would be a violation of the trust reposed in us, should we have subjected our constituents to a very heavy expence, in times of perfect tranquillity, for the purpose of providing a force, which we are to part with in times of danger, and being convinced that since the time, at which we first declared 12,000 men to be necessary, the probability of a war has increased and not diminished; it is now the opinion of this house that”....

This proposed amendment was negatived upon a division of 103 against 58. Yet much to the surprise and embarrassment of government, the second proposition of introducing foreign troops into that kingdom was negatived by nearly as large a majority as the first was carried; namely, by 103 against 68. The house accordingly voted an address to his excellency, expressive of their sense and resolution upon this subject.* This conduct of the Irish commons is of singular importance in the history of Ireland, inasmuch as it was the first patriotic step taken by the representatives of the people towards attaining that state of civil liberty, which was obtained by the nation in what Mr. Burke

* 9 Com. Journ. p. 223.

To his Excellency, Simon, Earl Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland. The humble address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in parliament assembled.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“We his majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, deeply impressed with a sense of the many blessings we enjoy under his majesty’s government, humbly request, that your excellency will be pleased to assure his majesty of our zeal at all times for the support of his just rights, and for the honour and safety of the British empire. That your excellency will be pleased to express the ready and cheerful concurrence of his majesty’s faithful commons in sending out of this kingdom a force not exceeding 4000 men, part of the troops upon this establishment appointed to remain in this kingdom for its defence. That your excellency will be pleased to assure his majesty, that we acknowledge his paternal regard to the ease and relief of this country, manifested in his majesty’s most gracious intention, that such part of his army as may be sent out of this kingdom during the present exigency, shall not be continued a charge upon this establishment, so long as they shall remain out of this kingdom. That your excellency will be pleased to return his majesty our most grateful thanks for his gracious declaration, that his majesty hath nothing more at heart than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, of which his majesty has given a signal proof, by his offer, if it shall be the desire of parliament, to replace such forces as may be sent out of this Kingdom, by an equal number of Protestant troops, the charge thereof to be defrayed without any expence to this kingdom. And we entreat your excellency, that you will be pleased to assure his majesty, that, fully sensible of his majesty’s benevolent attention to his faithful commons, after mature deliberation, they have agreed not to desire that the 4000 troops, which may be sent out of this kingdom in the present exigency, should be replaced, as mentioned in your excellency’s message; confiding in the vigilance and care of government, and trusting, that with its assistance, his majesty’s loyal people of Ireland may be able so to exert themselves, as to make such aid at this juncture unnecessary.”

called their revolution of 1782. Once the spirit of patriotism had regained an influence upon the ministerial ranks, many of them rather sought than shunned opportunities to unfetter their shackles, and some of them probably created occasions of opening, with a view to improve the terms of their bargains. A more favourable opportunity could not have presented itself to resist the mandates of the British cabinet, than a renewed attack upon their favourite privilege of originating money bills in the commons. The heads of a bill for granting additional duties on beer, ale, &c. being transmitted, were returned with certain alterations, for which reason, the bill was rejected, and a new one framed. The like circumstances also attended the bill for granting stamp duties. As there was by these means for some short time no law there for collecting the additional duties on tobacco and other goods imported into that kingdom, great exertions were made by the importers to procure supplies of such articles, before a new bill could receive the royal assent. An opportunity, which proved of some advantage to several individuals, and no inconsiderable detriment to the finance.

The patriotic party having on some great national questions been supported by several of the opposite side of the house, resolved, ere the session closed, to afford another opportunity of calling forth their exertions upon the general and melancholy state of the nation.* A motion was accordingly made two days before the end of the session for an address to his majesty, "to express their inviolable attachment to his royal person and government, humbly to assure his majesty, that they felt a conscious happiness in the ample and liberal discharge of duty to a sovereign so ready to express his gracious approbation of the loyal endeavours of his people. To return their unfeigned thanks for his majesty's paternal solicitude at the burdens sustained by his people; a solicitude repeatedly communicated to them from the throne by his majesty's representatives, and suggesting to them an attention to the diminution of their expence, and the discharge of their national debt: that they met the wishes of his majesty, and would not, by an inexcusable silence, conceal from his majesty the real distresses of his people of Ireland. That at the close of the last war, the debt of that nation did not exceed 521,161*l.* 16*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* which was then deemed so considerable, that his majesty's paternal care thought itself called upon to direct the attention of his faithful commons to the discharge of their national debt, and to signify his gracious wishes for a very considerable diminution of their national expence. That after a peace of ten years, the debt of the nation

* 9. Journ. Com. p. 280. What the division was on this occasion the Journals do not disclose.

appeared to be so increased, that it was voted by his faithful commons in the last session of parliament, to be a sum not exceeding 994,890*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.* a circumstance so alarming and insupportable to his people, that they determined with one voice to put an end to the pernicious practice of accumulating debts, and they thought it their duty to accomplish that necessary end by first endeavouring to raise the revenue of the kingdom to an equality with the establishment. That they adopted every proposition of his majesty's ministers, and accepted their promises of œconomy with unbounded confidence, vainly expecting, that it would be ever after unnecessary to afflict their gracious sovereign, by enumerating either the complaints or the distresses of his people. That as they wished to second the promised œconomy of his majesty's ministers by every effort on their part, they had considerably diminished the sum usually granted by this house for the purposes of national improvement. That in order, that there might be no remnant of any arrear upon any of his majesty's establishments, they had departed from the usual custom of discharging the arrears to the 25th of March only, and had raised the sum of 265,000*l.* to pay them up to the 29th of September, 1773; and to prevent the necessity of any arrear for the future, they had consented to a stamp duty, and several other taxes, which their predecessors, in the times of the most expensive wars, had never thought proper to impose. That the calculations of his majesty's ministers were admitted, their promises were relied upon, the taxes they proposed were voted, and their projects were uninterrupted by any opposition from his faithful commons. But that they were then reduced to the melancholy necessity of informing their gracious sovereign, that those unquestionable proofs of their zeal had been equally proofs of their inability. That the new taxes had fallen short of the estimates made by his majesty's ministers, and unequal, as they were to the effects, which were hoped for, they had served only to shew, that they had arrived at that point of taxation, where the imposition of new lowered the old duties. That the debts and incumbrances of his faithful subjects had increased with such alarming rapidity, that they had in that session been reduced to the unfortunate necessity of raising 175,000*l.* to defray the arrears incurred in one year and six months only. That the perseverance of his faithful commons was not yet exhausted, and they had again endeavoured in that present session, to support his majesty's establishments, by new burdens upon themselves. But that the experience of his majesty's ministers, assisted by the best efforts of his faithful commons, had been able to devise one new tax only, a tax upon spirits; a tax the last, which they proposed for his majesty's service, because it was of the most doubtful nature; a tax,

which proved their despondency as well as their zeal, and concerning which they knew nothing certainly, except that it could not produce enough. That they saw before them the necessity of borrowing, session after session continued. They saw the funds, on which they used to borrow nearly exhausted. They saw the new duties, which they raised with the hopes of providing a sufficient revenue within the year, mortgaged in part for the payment of incumbrances; and that they saw his majesty's ministers relapsing into their former despondency of supplying the exigencies of the state, in any other manner, after every effort, made on their part, and seconded by them, and with a dreadful increase of debt incurred during the experiment. That if an indulgence to his majesty's ministers could induce them to suppress these truths, they should be guilty of a criminal deceit towards the best of sovereigns. That could they neglect the most essential interests of themselves, their constituents, and their posterity, still their duty to his majesty would prevent them from suffering the resources of his majesty's power and dignity to dwindle and decay; and that they were the more necessitated to make that earnest application, because the evils they suffered were not temporary or occasional; because they could not attribute them to any physical evil, or proud national exertion, but to a silent, wasting, and invisible cause, which had injured the people, without adding strength to the crown. That they therefore performed that indispensable duty of laying their distresses at the foot of the throne, that history might not report them a nation, which in the midst of peace, and under a gracious king, equally ready to warn and relieve, proceeded deliberately to their own ruin, without one appeal to the wisdom, which would have redressed them. And that they did appeal from the temporary expedients of his majesty's ministers, to his own wisdom and virtues, and to that permanent interest, which his majesty had, and ever would have, in the welfare of his people. And if supplication could add force to the pleadings of their common interest, and of their persevering loyalty, they supplicated that his majesty would graciously turn his royal attention to the reduction of their establishments, which they were unable to support, and which they would support if they could. That they did not presume to point out more particularly what his royal wisdom would more properly and effectually distinguish. That after all their efforts, and all their disappointments, they had one sure resource in his majesty's royal justice and wisdom, and they did rest assured, that their gracious sovereign would not suffer the strength of his crown to be impaired, or the glories of his reign to be sullied by the unaccountable and entire ruin of a loyal people."

In order to get rid of this motion, the ministerial party put and carried the question, that the motion should be adjourned to that day se'nnight; and upon its being thus negatived, another motion was made, and also carried, that an humble address of thanks be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, for his prudent, just, and wise administration. The majority of the votes for adjourning the consideration of this motion took off none of the fatal truth and resemblance of the portrait, which it exhibited of the nation at that melancholy juncture. An address* was framed in the committee, and upon the second reading of the fourth paragraph thereof an amendment was proposed to be made by adding thereto the following words.

"At the same time, that we pay your excellency every personal respect, and make you the same acknowledgments, which we have not refused to any of your predecessors, we do not mean, that it should be understood, that the situation of this country is less deplorable now than it was upon your excellency's arrival; a period in which her situation was admitted to be desperate. On the contrary, we must lament, that every proposal, which the wishes or abilities of your administration suggested, supported by the most perfect conformity of parliament, in the course of four years has had no other effect, than to leave this country more exhausted than ever, more incumbered with taxes, more loaded with debt, and more oppressed with unnecessary establishments. That in the first session of your excellency's government, we were induced to grant new taxes in time of profound peace, under a persuasion, that the

* 9 Journ. Com. p. 282.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"We his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, observe with pleasure the harmony, which subsists between our chief governor and the people, the natural result of mutual good wishes. The additional strength which our happy constitution, the envy of foreign nations, has lately received, fills our hearts with gratitude towards his majesty, and must ever reflect honour upon your excellency's administration. Freedom of election seems to be effectually secured by those salutary laws, at length obtained by your excellency's strenuous interposition, which place our constitutional rights upon a firmer basis than ever they stood before. When the liberties of the people are secured, industry prevails, and commerce survives. We acknowledge with gratitude, that in return for the liberality of the commons, new objects of trade, through your excellency's interposition, are presented to us, and new sources of commerce are opened, of which we persuade ourselves, that we shall in time reap the good effects. We depend with the utmost confidence upon the continuance of the same benevolent disposition towards us, and that your excellency will take every opportunity of representing the advantages, which nature has bestowed upon this island, peculiar to it in situation, climate, and soil, which by proper attention and encouragement may prove a fund of wealth and strength to Great Britain, where the riches of this kingdom must ultimately centre. We concur with the wishes of the people, that your excellency may continue our chief governor: their affections are the surest testimony both of your private and your public virtues."

“promised frugality of administration would justify the unusual bounty of parliament, and put an end to the pernicious practice of running in debt. That in the same session we set the example of æconomy to your excellency’s administration, by abridging our own expences; and we provided for the payment of a great arrear, including a fifth half year, a liberality without precedent, but which we adopted to take away all pretence of presenting us with a future arrear. That the failure of those projects of finance proposed under your excellency’s administration, as it was a testimony of the poverty of the kingdom, so it was an additional reason for administration to preserve inviolate the solemn engagements of æconomy. That we cannot but lament, notwithstanding the liberal confidence of parliament, the solemn professions of administration, and the authenticated poverty of the kingdom, our sagacity cannot discover any visible retrenchment. On the contrary, we have been in the course of this session surprised with a new arrear, not less in proportion than that incurred in the two last years of the administration of your predecessor. We behold the old burdeasome establishments, which we know to be unnecessary, and feel to be insupportable, continued, and increased; and we see the old spirit of profusion, which has long wasted us in time of peace, opposing every project of retrenchment, whether conceived in the shape of parliamentary resolution, or humble address to the throne, with fatal success under your excellency’s administration, which has been candid enough to acknowledge public distresses, but not fortunate enough to relieve them. When we state these facts, we do not mean to attribute them to your excellency’s intentions, nor do we attribute to those intentions the alarming and military powers given to the lowest officers in the revenue; as little do we attribute to those intentions the flagrant violations of our constitution in the course of the last four years. We are convinced the alteration of four money bills, that breach of constitution, and insult on the dignity and bounty of this nation; the questioning the validity of the augmentation compact by subtleties as dangerous as unintelligible; the involving this country in a civil and unnatural war, the leaving her exposed to any invasion by sending away her necessary and stipulated defence in prosecution of that civil war; the attack made on her law, and the interruption of her trade in the course of that civil war; the refusal of a militia bill, always eligible, now rendered necessary for our security, and so qualified as not to alarm the arbitrary spirit of the times, were measures adopted not in pursuance of your councils, but in total disregard of them: and we are the more ready to acquit your excellency’s intentions of all those mea-

“sures, because if they did insult this country, they did not
 “less insult and violate the dignity of its chief governor. And
 “when your excellency shall return to the royal presence, and
 “lay before our sovereign the unhappy state of this kingdom,
 “you will please to represent us as a nation unable to exist for
 “ten years under such a system of management as has unfortu-
 “nately been pursued during your excellency’s administration ;
 “as a people not insensible to an earnest of a favourable dispo-
 “sition shewn to us in some late acts respecting our trade, con-
 “sidering that in process of time they may become a national
 “benefit ; but you will please to inform his majesty, that our
 “condition is misunderstood, if it is thought that such acts do
 “atone for the total want of œconomy hitherto, or can support
 “us under future profusion. We entertain no doubt your ex-
 “cellency will make such representation, conceiving the facts
 “to be melancholy truths, and the representation of them in-
 “cumbent upon you as an indispensable duty, because the mea-
 “sures, which have perplexed our revenues, increased our debt,
 “and insulted our country, though we must suppose not agree-
 “able to your sentiments, have all taken place under your ad-
 “ministration.”

So much analogy existed between the cases of Ireland and America, that it became the fashion both in and out of parliament to put them on a parallel, and to argue indifferently from one and the other : the American war never was popular either in Great Britain or Ireland ; but in the latter of those kingdoms, the people assumed the cause of America from sympathy ; in the former they abetted it upon principle. Government was seriously alarmed at the honourable light in which the American rebellion was generally viewed,* and found it incumbent upon

* The American dispute, which so much engaged the attention of every part of the British empire, most naturally attracted the consideration of the citizens of Dublin. In 1775, the Earl of Effingham, finding that the regiment in which he served was destined to act against the colonies, thought it inconsistent with his character and unbecoming of his dignity to enforce measures with his sword, which he had condemned in his legislative capacity. He therefore wrote a letter to the secretary at war, resigning his command in the army, and stating his reasons for it. This conduct rendered that nobleman extremely popular, and the city of Dublin, at the Midsummer quarter assembly, voted public thanks to Lord Effingham, “for having consistently with “the principles of a true Englishman refused to draw his sword against the “lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America.” Soon after an address of thanks, in fuller terms, was presented to him from the guild of merchants of Dublin : the latter also presented an address of thanks to the several peers, who (as they said) “in support of the constitution, and in opposition “to a weak and wicked administration, protested against the American Re- “straining Bills.” This address, with the several answers of the lords to whom it was presented, appeared at that time in the public papers, and produced a very strong sensation throughout the nation. The sheriffs and commons of Dublin had for some time endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of

them to discredit and debase the cause of America to the utmost. Lord Harcourt, in closing the session, assured the parliament, that it must give sincere pleasure to every friend of Ireland to reflect, that whilst a great part of his majesty's dominions in America was torn and convulsed by a most unnatural rebellion, that kingdom wisely and affectionately persevered in its duty, enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity and abundance, and cultivated the arts of peace, and the improvements of commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. This flattering picture of the country, however admired by some, evidently bore no resemblance to the original. The fiscal resources, and financial state of a country's credit, ever weigh heavy in the scale of national prosperity. The expences of the two preceding years ending at Lady-Day, 1775, exceeded the revenue by 247,797*l.* 0*s.* 10½*d.* The national debt then amounted to 931,690*l.* 1*s.* 9½*d.* and the pensions for the same time to 158,685*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* Parliament had again recourse to the ill-judged plan of raising 175,000*l.* by another tontine, although they had already felt the inconveniency and disadvantage of that mode of borrowing. The greatest part of the subscriptions to the first tontine had been made out of the nation, so that not only the expence of agency was incurred for the payment of the annuities in London, but the amount of those annuities being remitted out of the kingdom became an additional drain to its specie, and consequently an increase of the evil arising from absentees.

The first octennial parliament had scarcely lived four years, when the British cabinet found it expedient, that it should be dissolved. This parliament had during the last session in two instances opposed their mandates, and when summoned to attend the House of Peers, the commons through their speaker

the then lord mayor and board of aldermen, in a petition to the throne, against the measures pursued with respect to the colonies, but were answered by the latter, upon their first application, that the matter was of the highest importance, and therefore expedient. Upon a subsequent occasion, however, a committee of six aldermen, with as many of the common council, was appointed to draw up a petition and address; which after several weeks preparation or delay, being at length accomplished, the petition was arrested in its further progress, by a negative from the lord mayor and aldermen. Upon this disappointment, the sheriffs and commons entered into resolutions, which they prefaced as follows: Anxious to preserve our reputations, from the odium, that must remain to all posterity on the names of those, who in any wise promote the acts now carrying on in America; and feeling the most poignant grief, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that country, as on that of our own brave countrymen, sent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow subjects: "Resolved, That it is the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmost abilities to allay the unhappy disputes, that at present disturb the British empire." "Resolved, That whoever would refuse his consent to a datifull petition to the king, tending to undeceive his majesty, and by which it could be hoped that the effusion of one drop of subject-blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the British constitution."

made a just but ungracious and ineffectual representation of the state of the nation. These symptoms of independency alarmed government, and created a diffidence in the steadiness of those, who had enlisted under their banners. They looked to more steady submission in a future parliament, and dissolved the present. Mr. Pery was re-elected speaker by a majority of 141 to 98. The lord lieutenant did not meet the new parliament, which was convened in June, 1776, *pro forma*, and by several prorogations went over to the 14th of October, 1777.

It has been already mentioned, that in the session of 1775 a message from his majesty had been sent to the commons, requiring the use of 4000 men out of the army of Ireland for foreign service, and proposing to replace them by foreign Protestant troops, without any expence to that country. The first part of the proposal was complied with, but the acceptance of foreign troops refused. The engagement for the disposal of the public money, included in the foregoing message, without the consent or knowledge of the British House of Commons, rendered this subject a matter of discussion in that body. On the 15th of February, 1776, Mr. Thomas Townshend (afterwards Lord Sidney), there introduced it as a breach of the privileges of that house, and stated his complaint in the following words: "That the Earl of Harcourt, lord lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland, did, on the 23d of November last, in breach of the privileges, and in derogation of the honour and authority of that house, send a written message to the House of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, signed with his own hand, to the following effect;" having then recited the message, he moved that a committee be appointed to enquire into the matter of the said complaint, and to report the same, as it should appear to them, to the house. This gentleman supported his motion with great ability, and was equally well supported by his friends. They maintained, that the privileges of the house, though applied to themselves individually, or collectively in a more refined sense, were the indubitable right of all the commons of England, who had one general interest in them. That though each of these were an object of consideration, they all sunk to a very inferior degree of importance, when at all placed in opposition to, or compared with that inestimable privilege, the power of granting money, of holding the purse of their constituents, and of guarding it from the hands of violence, art, or fraud. This was a trust of the first magnitude, which, in fact, included every other; for while that was preserved inviolate, the crown would remain under the constitutional control of parliament; but whenever that was wrested by open force, defeated by indirect means, or done away by fraud, the liberties and privileges of the people would be for ever annihilated.

They pointed out the wise, commendable, and well-founded jealousy shewn by the commons, when at any time, even the other house had interfered in the smallest degree with that great privilege; but that when any attempts of this sort were made by the crown, or its ministerial agents, they immediately caught the alarm; and however they were before divided, had, at all times, uniformly united, as if actuated by one soul, in resisting the smallest encroachment upon their power of granting or refusing their own money and that of their constituents. They said, that the message in question presented facts, and contained matters of the most suspicious and alarming nature. That if the conditions it held out had been accepted, the parliament of England would have been pledged to that of Ireland for the payment of 8000 men, only to have the use of 4000; so that Ireland was to be bribed into an acceptance of this insidious bargain, by retaining her usual establishment as to number, while she was to be eased of one third of the burthen. That such a proposition could only have originated from the worst designs, as the absurdity, they said, was too glaring to be charged to any degree of folly. But that the nature of the bargain was a matter of little consequence, when put in competition with that double violation of the constitution, that daring temerity, of engaging for the payment of sums of money, and venturing to propose the introduction of foreign forces, without the consent of parliament. Some gentlemen went as far as to say, that no doubt could be entertained of the designs, from whence these propositions originated. One was an experiment on the Irish parliament, to try if it could be induced to consent to the reception of foreign troops, thereby to establish a precedent, which might be afterwards applied to other purposes. The other had also its fixed object: it was a scheme, they said, however deep, formed on very simple principles, and went directly to vest in the crown a virtual power of taxing, as opportunity might serve, both Great Britain and Ireland. In Ireland, the minister was to be taught to ask some favour; then England was to be pledged. In England again, when such circumstances occurred, as rendered the attempt impracticable, Ireland was to be taxed, to maintain the supremacy of the British legislature. In the mean time, it prepared the minds of the people, and habituated them to such notions, as would by degrees be the means of reducing the parliament of each to be the mere instrumental agents of the crown, without the least degree of will or independency whatever. Administration seemed in an odd situation upon this attack. The matter was serious; the offer of introducing foreign troops without the previous consent of parliament, indeed to introduce them at all as a permanent part of our establishment, could not be a matter of indifference to the constitution and safety of this kingdom. On this occasion,

no small marks of the want of concert and system appeared in the grounds, upon which this measure was explained and defended in the debate. The minister disavowed those specific instructions, upon which it was supposed the message must have been founded; but acknowledged his general co-operation, in matters relative to the government of Ireland. Both he, and another lord, then lately come into administration, disclaimed all responsibility whatever, for the conduct of his majesty's servants in that kingdom. They said in general or separately, that the viceroy might have mistaken, or exceeded his instructions; that he might not have conveyed his meaning in the clearest terms; but that there was no relation between the British ministry and the king's servants in that country, which rendered the former in any degree accountable for these matters, and consequently they could not be affected by any censure grounded upon them. Some of the gentlemen in opposition considered the business as of somewhat a less dangerous nature, from the schemes not being carried into execution. They held, that the spirit and magnanimity of Ireland, in rejecting the foreign troops, and in refusing to accept the offer for lessening her own burthen by throwing a part of it upon Great Britain, had already obviated the mischievous tendency of that measure; so that the only object of censure now remaining, was the evil intention from which it originated. They also held, that the whole weight of the censure would fall upon the lord lieutenant, who was merely ministerial in the business, while those who were really culpable would not only pass untouched, but very possibly, from some crooked motive of policy, might rejoice in the ill-placed effect. After very considerable debates, the question being put, near twelve at night, the motion for a committee was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 224 to 106. A motion was then made for laying the votes of the Irish commons, of some specified dates, and relative to this business, before the house, which passed in the negative without a division. This was succeeded by the following motion, "That it is highly derogatory to the honour, and a violent breach of the privileges of this house, and a dangerous infringement of the constitution, for any person whatever to presume to pledge his majesty's royal word to the house of the parliament of Ireland: that any part of the troops upon the establishment of that kingdom shall, upon being sent out of that kingdom, become a charge upon Great Britain, without the consent of this house, or for any person to presume to offer to the House of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, without the consent of this house, that such national troops, so sent out of Ireland, shall be replaced by foreign troops, at the expence of Great Britain."

The motion for this resolution was lost, by putting the previous question, without a division.*

The British cabinet was little satisfied with the administration of Lord Harcourt: the easy and delicate turn of his mind ill qualified him to support, much less to improve upon the system of his predecessor: but by which alone, to the infamy and misfortune of Ireland, the legislators of that kingdom were to be kept steady in their ranks to the *fiat* of the castle. Although government upon the whole still retained a considerable majority, yet several of their adherents had occasionally, during the last session, proved recreant from their instructions; some had deserted their ranks, many amongst them wavered, menaced, and complained of the terms of their engagements. It was therefore resolved to invigorate the new system by the election of a new parliament. For this purpose an unusual, and till that time unprecedented, number of promotions in the peerage took place in one day.† Many other engines were in the mean time put in motion for the same purpose. Shortly before this general promotion took place, Mr. Sawbridge, then lord mayor of London, moved in the British House of Commons,‡ that his majesty's colonies in America be continued upon the same footing of giving and granting their money, as his majesty's subjects in Ireland were, by their own representatives: on which occasion, the Honourable Temple Luttrell§ observed, that such esteem had he for the right honourable magistrate's disposition and talents, that if he were to form a constitution for the colonies to satisfy his own mind, he would have their interests and happiness better provided for, than by giving them a constitution on the model of that of Ireland. A people so wretched, so oppressed were scarcely to be found in any civilized part of the globe.|| Too many and too crying were the proofs of the national

* The violence of party spirit will often render it difficult for the historian to extract the impartial spirit of a debate: to avoid therefore any imputation of partiality or bias, the candid reader is referred to the whole debate on this subject in the Appendix, No. LXIV.

† It far exceeded the famous promotion of twelve in the days of Queen Anne. Five viscounts were advanced to Earldoms, seven barons to be viscounts, and eighteen new barons were created in the same day. The usual terms of such modern peerages are well understood to be an engagement to support the cause of their promoters by their individual votes in the House of Peers, and by those of their substitutes in the House of Commons, whose seats are usually settled and arranged before they vacate them upon their promotions.

‡ Viz. on the 10th of May, 1776.

§ 3 Parliamentary Debates, p. 392.

|| Then with allusion to the intended creation of Baron Macdonald he observed: "Nor could a more substantial injury, or a more humiliating insult be offered by a paramount nation to one of its dependences, than what Ireland would experience at the hands of a British ministry within forty-eight hours, if his information proved authentic. An English minister had abused the confidence of his royal master so far, as to prevail with him, in his character

calamity and distress of the Irish, to place this saying of Mr. Temple Luttrell to the account of declamation or the heat of party.

The English ministers became daily more embarrassed and perplexed by the encreasing difficulties of carrying on the American war, which hourly became more unpopular at home, and less successful abroad. The analogy of the cases of America and Ireland necessarily drew their attention to this latter country, and forced them to smooth the way for a new viceroy, implicitly devoted to their whole system. Lord Buckinghamshire went over the sworn servant of the British cabinet; and lest there should be a knot in the thread of subserviency, he took over his attorney, Mr. Heron, for his secretary. The critical, alarming, and embarrassed situation of Ireland at that juncture certainly called for a larger share of political knowledge, experience, and address, than either that lord lieutenant or his secretary carried over. And we must not dissemble, that a modest consciousness of his own inadequacy to fill the arduous situation appeared in his speech to the new parliament in October, 1777.* “His majesty,” said he, “has been graciously “pleased to honour me with a most distinguished mark of his “confidence in appointing me to the government of Ireland;

“of king of Ireland, to create hereditary legislators for that island from the “clans of the mountains of Scotland. Men, who in their private characters, “he believed to be not only irreproachable but amiable and praise-worthy, “of authority and high descent amidst their own thaneships, yet whose public “pretensions in the year 1715 and 1745 (for he never heard of any other) now “construed loyalty, were still in the eye of our constitution, acts of infamy and “rebellion. He should be told, perhaps, that this power was a part of the “rightful prerogative of the crown; an idea, to which he could never subscribe, “while he remembered the wise and sterling definition of prerogative given “us by Mr. Locke, who says, “’tis a discretionary power of acting for the “public good, where the positive laws are silent; if that discretionary power “be abused to the public detriment, such prerogative is exerted in an uncon- “stitutional manner.” Was this acting for the public good? To bestow those “privileges and pre-eminences, which are attached to a peerage of a kingdom, “on persons whose names and families are utterly unknown to the natives of “such kingdom, and without any ties of property, of local services or affec- “tion? Barons whose blood has been tainted by an open violation of the laws “of their own country, are, in preference to the best gentlemen of Ireland, “sent over to possess the most honourable seats in the senate, to enact public “statutes, and judge upon personal inheritances in the dernier resort.” Mr. Rigby, who had advised the right honourable magistrate to define the constitution of Ireland, before he proposed it to be adopted by the colonists: remarked, that with respect to the Scotch peers, the mountaineer lords, as they were called, he believed the creation would do no harm, if it did no good: what good it would do them, was best known to themselves: but he must observe, that the case was not without more precedents than one. It must be admitted, that the defence of Mr. Rigby, as the organ of government, against the charge of depreciating the Irish peerage, by lavishing it on persons no way connected with or interested in the welfare of that kingdom, was not very satisfactory at least to the Irish.

* 9 Com. Journ. p. 309.

"with ease he might have found an abler minister, with difficulty one more anxiously solicitous to justify his choice in meriting your approbation. Influenced by that benevolent spirit, which may justly command the affections of all his subjects, his instructions to me are to co-operate with his parliament in every measure, which can promote the improvement, insure the happiness, and cherish the true interests of this kingdom. I decline making any professions relative to my future conduct ; it is by the tenor of my actions, that the character of my administration must be determined."

When the commons addressed to his excellency their thanks for his speech, they very significantly assured him, that they founded their hopes of his administration upon better omens, than those of mere assurances, and they were happy in having a chief governor, who chose rather to rest his character upon his conduct than his professions. Certain it is, that when Lord Buckinghamshire assumed the reins of government, he found the country in a most deplorable state of calamity and distress.* In Dublin, numbers of wretched manufacturers had

* Stronger proofs cannot be adduced of national distress than the petitions of certain bodies of men, who were fallen from opulence and prosperity into the common calamity. Thus a petition was presented to the House of Commons, from the merchants and traders of Cork, setting forth that about the month of November, 1770, an embargo was laid on all ships laden with provisions, and bound from that kingdom to foreign countries, which was still continued by government, and had been very strictly enforced : that in consequence of that long embargo, an extensive beneficial trade, carried on for several years by that kingdom to France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, for the supply of provisions, had been not only interrupted, but was in danger of being entirely lost ; the petitioners being informed, that the merchants of these countries were respectively stocked and provided from Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Hamburg, whereby the usual returns to that kingdom were discontinued, new enemies to our commerce were raised, and our commodities rendered useless and unprofitable. That great quantities of salt beef, not fit for the use of government or the sugar colonies, being made up in that city, and also great quantities of beef and butter being annually brought to that market, these commodities of a perishable nature were there decaying for want of a free export, to the great injury of the proprietors in particular, and of the kingdom in general. That in support of these assertions, there then remained on hand, since the preceding year, a very considerable quantity of provisions, the property of several merchants in that city, not wanted by government, and therefore without opportunity of sale ; and although a considerable part of the season, in which those articles were made up and exported, had already elapsed, no demand whatsoever then existed for them, except for such quantities as were required by government alone. That his majesty's revenue, which before had received large and constant supplies from the Customs of the city of Cork, had decreased in proportion to the decay of their trade. That the embargo, therefore, at that time not being warranted by any great substantial necessity, but on the contrary, restraining and preventing the diffusion of trade, was pregnant with the most ruinous consequences, not only to the commercial, but also to the landed interests of that nation ; and therefore the petitioners prayed redress.

The manufacturers in Dublin also petitioned parliament that session, stating, that being made acquainted with the extreme distress of the working manufac-

been reduced to extreme indigence, and would have absolutely perished, had they not been supported by public charity: nor was government able to make grants, either to promote industry or to relieve the national calamities. Every branch of the revenue failed, and such was the poverty of the nation, that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay those at home. The parliament was necessitated to raise money at an exorbitant interest; the expences in 1777 having amounted to above 80,000*l.* more than the revenue: 166,000*l.* were therefore borrowed, and attempted to be raised in the old manner upon debentures at 4*l.* per cent.

So truly desperate was the financial state of Ireland, that like desponding bankrupts, the commons undertook to grant, what

turers and their families, consequent to the want of employment, had for some time past associated themselves, in order to advise and administer the most effectual relief in their power; that, aided by the liberal benefactions of many others, they had daily supplied the craving necessities of above twenty thousand persons, numbers of whom must else have actually perished for want of food. That the petitioners, well aware how much more desirable it was in every respect, to enable the poor to earn their own livelihood, than to support them in idleness, early directed their attention to that important object, and resolved to apply as much of the fund, which the public liberality had supplied, as could be spared from the immediate relief of present urgent necessity, to the purpose of bounties on manufactures purchased by wholesale buyers within a short time, hoping that measure might have created a useful demand; but they presently found the cause of the distress to be of too great a magnitude to be affected by their feeble efforts. From the best information that had been obtained, and the most probable calculations that could be formed, the petitioners had reason to believe that there were manufactures in Dublin of wool, worsted, silk, linen, and cotton, to the amount of at least 300,000*l.* lying on the hands of makers, for which there was not any demand, the shopkeepers and retailers being already loaded with very heavy stocks; whereas at that season of the year the usual demand for most of these manufactures had been so great as entirely to take off the goods from the makers. The petitioners, therefore, begged leave to observe, that such unhappy circumstances utterly incapacitated the manufacturers from proceeding in their respective branches of business, and giving employment to the poor. That it would be an indignity to the wisdom and humanity of the house, for the petitioners to attempt to expatiate on the importance and necessity of furnishing employment to the lower orders of the people, or on the present affecting miseries of the poor of the city of Dublin; and it would as ill become them to presume to point out modes of relief. That it was only for the petitioners to bring that great subject to the view of the house, to state the facts, which had come to their knowledge, and when required to support them by evidence; having a most perfect confidence, that such relief as should appear necessary and adequate, would not be less freely granted than it was earnestly wished and prayed for by the petitioners. Another petition was also presented from the manufacturers of silk, wool, linen, and cotton, in the city of Dublin and liberties adjoining; setting forth, that the petitioners from want of trade, were overloaded with goods for which there was no demand, amounting to upwards of 300,000*l.* That having worked up their capitals and credit, and finding no sale for their goods, they had been under the painful necessity of discontinuing employment to the working people, whereby they and their families, to the number of many thousands, were reduced to extreme poverty.

they knew they had not the means of paying. Even the ministerial party could not be blind to their situation. They would not however permit any question to be brought forward upon the state of the country in the commons, lest too strong resolutions upon it should be carried, or their opposition to them should appear even too rank for their own system. They accordingly had again recourse to the half measure of conveying their imperfect sense of the distressful state of the country through their speaker, who in presenting the first four money bills passed in that sessions addressed himself to the lord lieutenant in the following manner :

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“ The same principle of duty, which directed
 “ the proceedings of the last parliament, has eminently distin-
 “ guished the present in this their first session of business, a
 “ certain proof, that it is not confined to any class of men, but
 “ actuates the whole mass of the people in this kingdom. The
 “ commons, however disappointed in their hopes, that the large
 “ sums, which had been raised to discharge debts successively
 “ incurred, and the great addition of taxes, which had been im-
 “ posed to prevent any future deficiency, would have proved
 “ effectual for those purposes, have now made provision for a
 “ new arrear of 166,000*l*. which they could not accomplish with-
 “ out a new loan ; to pay the interest of which, they have been
 “ obliged to engage the scanty remnant of the former loan du-
 “ ties, the only fund now left ; in this they have consulted more
 “ the honour of his majesty’s government than the ability of
 “ the nation. But, however discouraging the present state of
 “ affairs may be to them, it will afford your excellency a favour-
 “ able occasion, which they doubt not you will improve, of do-
 “ ing a signal service to this country, by laying before his ma-
 “ jesty the difficulty, under which it labours, and by explaining
 “ the necessity either of limiting the expence, or of extending
 “ the trade of this kingdom. They place unbounded confidence
 “ in his majesty’s wisdom, justice, and paternal care of all his
 “ subjects, and they rely on your excellency’s candour and hu-
 “ manity to make a faithful representation to his majesty of
 “ their unshaken loyalty, duty, and affection.”

Although the House of Commons had through the organ of their speaker conveyed these sentiments to the lord lieutenant, which it should seem ought to have committed them to follow up the spirit of them with effect ; yet in the division, which took place on the 6th of February, 1778, of 143 against 66, we read the melancholy perversity of a system, which binds the members to vote against, what on any other occasion than that of a division of their house, they individually and collectively admit and

approve of. Thus were the approved principles, spirit, and substance of their speaker's address to the lord lieutenant, when carried into detail and practice, rejected by the very persons, who were supposed to have spoken through the mouth of the approver. The patriots however, although sensible, that no motion from their side of the house would ever be adopted by the majority, who in Lord Clare's phrase were kept steady in their ranks, yet they resolved, that their zealous, though ineffectual exertions to heal the wounds of their expiring country should be handed down to posterity, whose impartial judgment no interest would sway. After the speech of the lord lieutenant to both houses of parliament had been read by order, a motion was made, and the question put (though afterwards negatived by a majority of 77), " *That an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly to lay ourselves at his majesty's feet, to assure him of our unshaken affection to his person and government, to lay before him the state of this nation, declaring our readiness and zeal to support, in the most honourable manner, the necessary expences of his government, and the dignity of his crown; that, however in the present session of parliament we have granted the supplies which were asked for the support of the present establishments, yet we should deceive his majesty if we suffered him from thence to conceive, that the expence of those establishments could meet with the continued support, or entire approbation of his faithful commons. That the expences of his majesty's government have so increased in the course of twenty years, that the charge of the civil list alone has nearly doubled in that period. That one of the many causes of that increase is the rapid and astonishing growth of the pension list, now more than ever an object of universal complaint; a list, which does now greatly exceed the expences of all other charges of the civil list, even in its present state, and does considerably exceed the whole civil list at Lady-day, 1775, and is nearly double the charge of the pension list at that period, when it was so extravagant, that the commons, sensible of its weight, entered unanimously into the following resolution, which, with many others against it, were laid before his late majesty :

" *Resolved*, That the granting of so much of the public revenue in pensions, is an improvident disposition of the revenue, " an injury to the crown, and detrimental to the public." That this increase in the pension list is more severely felt by his majesty's subjects, when they consider that its present extravagance does not appear to have any foundation or excuse in the public service, or private want of those, who principally compose it; and his majesty's faithful subjects have reason to believe,

that in a list so greatly augmented in favour of such persons, and in times of accumulating debt, the real names of some of those pensioners, and the merits of more, have not been truly laid before him. That another cause of this increase is, a number of new, great, and additional salaries in the nature of pensions, annexed to lesser offices, mostly sinecures, or of so insignificant a trust, that the frugality of former times allotted to them small salaries. That another cause is the creation of new employments, or the annexing great salaries to old offices, that became obsolete, because they were useless. That offices so created, or revived, or endowed with great additional salaries, are become a heavy charge upon his majesty's faithful subjects, unnecessary to the dignity of his crown, and under a prince of less virtue, dangerous to the constitution.... That his majesty's predecessors were graciously pleased to confine military contingences and *concordatum* to certain bounds; but in the last two years, during a considerable part of which time a great proportion of the army was not on the establishment, the exceedings on military contingencies were greater by far than in the two former years, and greater than ever was known in Ireland, of which unexampled excess, a very considerable part does not appear to be expended for military purposes, but is an inferior pension list, applied to the use of persons, many of whom, from their occupation or sex, cannot be comprehended within the meaning of a military contingency. That the charge for exceedings on *concordatum*, like that of military contingencies, has greatly exceeded its limit, and in its excess and application is a grievance. That the original establishment was 10,000*l.* that the exceeding of Lady-day, 1777, was above 50,000*l.* an exceeding greater than ever was known before, part of which was for secret service, an expence suspicious from its nature, and alarming from its growth. That the exceedings on military contingencies and *concordatum* are the more an object of our jealousy, as we presume they are the more unbounded, because they do not come under the previous inspection of his majesty, and to this we attribute the abuses which have prevailed in both, and the application of great sums of public money to purposes, which do not seem to belong to said establishments, or to any branch of the expence of government.

That in 1773, his majesty's faithful commons did grant several new duties; that they were induced to such grant by a reliance then had on the faith of his majesty's ministers, plighted by the most solemn assurances publicly made to his commons, that the then expences of government should be greatly retrenched, so that the new grants of the people, and the stipulated retrenchment by the ministry, should unite to establish a system of equalization, and put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt. That his majesty's faithful commons have performed

their part of the engagement, by raising the revenue; but that the expences of this government, instead of being diminished, have been beyond example increased, insomuch that the commons did, in this session of parliament, come unanimously to the following resolutions: “*Resolved*, That the nett produce of the “unappropriated revenue for the two years ending at Lady-day, “1777, as stated in the accomptant-general’s paper, No. 5, “including occasional payments, exceeded the produce of the “said revenue for the two years, ending at Lady-day, 1775, in “the sum of 214,297*l.* 5*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*” “*Resolved*, That the charge “of the military establishment from Lady-day, 1775, to Lady- “day, 1777, was less than the charge of that establishment in “the two former years, in the sum of 98,240*l.* 16*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*” “*Resolved*, That it appears from the accomptant-general’s paper, “No. 3, that the total amount of public charges, exclusive of “appropriated funds, and deducting the charge on account of “Duncannon Fort, for the two years ending Lady-day, 1777, “was 1,629,073*l.* 5*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and exceeded the produce of the reve- “nue applicable thereto, in the sum of 82,130*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*” “That it appears, that the highest revenue ever known in this coun- try does not equal the expences of government, even when a great proportion of the army is not on the establishment. That the bounty of his majesty’s commons has had little effect, other than to encourage new and unnecessary expences, whereby his faithful commons are subject to a still accumulating debt; and likewise to those taxes granted for the sole purpose of putting an end to so ruinous a practice. That as the expences of govern- ment when the army return, will be considerably greater, so the revenue upon an average calculation, will be probably less than in the two last years: that the revenues have already gone back in the half year ending last September, above 100,000*l.* And accordingly his majesty’s ministers, finding themselves unable to support the present charges of government, without increas- ing the debt of the nation, though aided by all the new taxes, and though a great proportion of the army was not upon the establishment, did apply for a loan of 160,000*l.* bringing down the arrear to the 29th of last September, a method which has not been the usual resort of his majesty’s ministers, and which bespeaks their sense of the state of the nation.

That, at the conclusion of the last war, his majesty was gra- ciously pleased to order the then chief governor of Ireland, to recommend to his faithful commons a diminution of the then debt, and a reduction of the then expences of government, that the debt of the nation, as resolved, was then 521,161*l.* 16*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{8}$ *d.*; that the debt of the nation at Lady-day, 1777, was not less than 834,086*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*; and the nation is likewise subject to the pay of certain life annuities, at the rate of 6*l.* per

cent. for the sum of 440,000*l.* besides 166,000*l.* provided for by loan this session of parliament; in all 1,440,086*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* of which the greater part has been accumulated since the peace, and more particularly within these few years last past, notwithstanding the new tax granted to put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt. That the loan duties were the last session of parliament increased; and when the loan of the present session shall be resorted to, will in all probability be exhausted. That the expences, which have out-run the abilities of the people, appear the more alarming, because his majesty's faithful commons cannot be apprized what bounds are intended to be put to them. That even though we could be induced to think that such expences were the objects of support, not of retrenchment, yet an attempt to lay new duties upon import, export, or home consumption, would probably depress the old duty, and hazard or destroy the weakly remains of the trade of Ireland. That we humbly hope his majesty will forgive us for having delayed so long to lay before him the real state of this country, a country labouring under the severest restrictions in trade, and under a heavy weight of taxes, which are yet exceeded by her expence. That we have waited as far as was consistent with our duty to his majesty, or to those whom we represent, confiding in the solemn and repeated assurances of œconomy from time to time received from his majesty's ministers; that at length harassed by a course of unnecessary expence, we can no longer refrain from laying the state of this nation at the foot of the throne; and without presuming to point out any particular method of redress, we do most humbly rely upon his royal virtues, and implore his protection."

It was now currently believed, though not officially known in Ireland, that France was about to abet the cause of the American colonists; upon which, as on all occasions, the Irish were prominently forward in giving proofs of their attachment, duty, and loyalty to their sovereign. The commons therefore prepared an address to his majesty, and sent it up to the lords for their concurrence.* But within four days from their having

* The form of the address was to the following effect: 9 Com. Journ. p. 451.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The humble Address of the
"Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in parliament assembled.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects,
"the and commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, in the
"present critical situation of affairs beg leave humbly to approach your ma-
"jesty with the most unfeigned assurances of loyalty, duty and attachment to
"your majesty's royal person and government; and to declare, that at a time
"when the public tranquillity is in danger of being further disturbed by the
"interposition of a foreign power, we feel ourselves called upon to take the
"earliest opportunity of expressing our zeal for the dignity of your majesty's
"crown, and our earnest wishes and warmest regards for the prosperity of

voted that address, Mr. Secretary Heron informed the House of Commons, that he had in command from his excellency to communicate to them the following message :*

(" BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.)

" I have his majesty's commands to acquaint you, that his majesty, having been informed, by order of the French king, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between the court of France and persons employed by his majesty's revolted subjects in North America, has judged it necessary to direct, that a copy of the declaration delivered by the French ambassador to Lord Viscount Weymouth, be laid before the House of Commons: and at the same time to acquaint them, that his majesty has thought proper, in consequence of this offensive communication on the part of the court of France, to send orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court. That his majesty is persuaded that the justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his majesty trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe. That his majesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdom, which he trusts will be found adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of his dominions."

After this message had been read, it was ordered to be entered on the journals, and a motion was immediately made and carried, that an humble address should be presented to his excellency, to request that he would be pleased to return his majesty their thanks for the important intelligence his majesty had been pleased to communicate to them. That they had read with the utmost indignation and resentment a copy of the

" Great Britain. We think it at this time peculiarly incumbent on us to assure your majesty, that your majesty may rely with the greatest confidence on the entire affection of your faithful subjects of Ireland, and depend on their co-operating cheerfully with your majesty to the utmost of their ability, in asserting the honour of your majesty's government, and establishing the security of your dominions."

* 9 Com. Journ. p. 458.

declaration delivered by the French ambassador to Lord Viscount Weymouth; and that they could not but applaud the measure taken by his majesty, in consequence of that offensive communication on the part of the court of France, in sending orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court: that confiding in his majesty's paternal attachment to the welfare of his people, and his spirited regard for the honour of his crown, they made no doubt, but he would pursue such measures as might effectually preserve and assert those great objects; and, that as they were conscious no part of his majesty's dominions could exceed his faithful subjects of Ireland in the most loyal attachment to his person and government, so were they persuaded, that his majesty would extend his royal care and attention to the effectual protection and defence of that kingdom; and that they entreated his excellency to assure his majesty, that in so doing, he might rely on the most zealous and affectionate support of that house, and that they would cheerfully make good whatever expence should be necessarily incurred thereby; sincerely lamenting that their abilities were not equal to their zeal for the honour of his majesty's crown, and the real interests of Great Britain. That the justice and good faith of his majesty towards foreign powers were too conspicuous, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe too well known, to admit of his being responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if his majesty should find himself obliged to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms. That they made no doubt but his majesty would find abundant resources in the strength of his kingdoms, and above all, in the hearts of his people, to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of his majesty's dominions; and that they could not but rejoice, that his majesty's loyal subjects of Ireland had had an opportunity of anticipating the present occasion, by unanimous and uncalled-for assurances of their affectionate zeal and loyalty to his majesty's person and government.

Although artifice and power combined to varnish the appearances of the political state of the country, and to bolster up a false credit, the delusion did not last even three months.*

* 9 Journ. Com. p. 463. Mr. Foster, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole house, to whom it was referred to take into further consideration the message from his excellency the lord lieutenant, the resolution, which the committee had directed him to report to the house, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same was read, and is as follows:—“*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that “for all and every the sum or sums of money not exceeding the sum of “300,000*l.* to be subscribed in shares of 100*l.* each, that shall be paid by any “person or persons, natural-born subjects or foreigners into his majesty's

Three hundred thousand pounds were ordered to be raised on the 30th of March, 1778, by a tontine at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. And such was the assurance of government upon the proposal of this loan, that when the patriots, upon the conviction of the inability of the country to raise it, moved for reducing it to 150,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ the proposed reduction was immediately negatived upon a division. Such, however, was the depressed state of public credit at that time, that on the 3d of June Mr. Secretary Heron had the mortification to communicate the following message to the House of Commons.

("BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.)

"GENTLEMEN,

"IN pursuance of a resolution of the House of Commons, entered into on the 31st day of March last, for raising upon a scheme of life annuities, in the manner therein mentioned, a sum not exceeding the sum of 300,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ to be paid into his majesty's treasury, to be applied towards the necessary expences of government, in putting and maintaining this kingdom in a state of defence, I have given such directions as appeared to me most proper to carry the same into execution: and I am sorry to inform you, that it is found, after the most diligent endeavours exerted for the purpose, that the sum intended to be raised by that resolution cannot be obtained upon an interest of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with benefit of sur-
 treasury, at the instance of his excellency the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, to be applied towards the necessary expences of government, in putting and maintaining this kingdom in a state of defence, upon one or more tontine or tontines, scheme or schemes of life annuities, this house will make good to the person or persons so paying and advancing such sum or sums respectively, or to any person lawfully authorized to receive the same, annuities of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ by the year for every 100 $\frac{1}{2}$ subscribed and paid, for and during the lives of the persons to be nominated by the persons subscribing and paying the said sum or sums respectively, their executors, administrators or assigns, the said annuities to be made good in the same manner as annuities granted by an act of parliament passed in the session holden on the fifteenth and sixteenth years of his present majesty, intituled, '*An Act for granting Annuities*' in the manner therein provided, to such persons as shall voluntarily subscribe towards the raising a sum not exceeding 175,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ and to be payable at such place or places, and in such manner, with such benefit of survivorship upon each and every such tontine or scheme of life annuities, and with all and every such rights, benefits and advantages, and subject to all and every such regulations and restrictions as in and by the said act were granted, enacted, made, and provided concerning the annuities in the said act mentioned, the said annuities upon the sum or sums so to be advanced, to be payable half yearly in equal proportions, on such days in every year, and to commence on such day or days, and the shares or subscriptions of 100 $\frac{1}{2}$ each, to be paid at such times and in such proportions; and the lives for which such annuities shall be granted, to be nominated within such time or times before the 29th day of Sept. 1779, as his excellency the lord lieutenant, or any other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, for the time being, shall publicly declare and appoint."

“vivorship. I therefore thought it incumbent on me, that this house should be made acquainted therewith, not doubting that the commons of Ireland, attentive to the honour of his majesty’s government, and to the safety of this kingdom, will take such measures as shall be most prudent to carry the intention of that salutary resolution into immediate effect.”

Pressed as was the British ministry with the unpopular and ruinous contest with the American colonists, now backed and openly supported by France ; losing their influence and credit at home ; and greatly embarrassed for the ready and efficient means of raising the supplies, Lord North found it incumbent upon him to devise some public measures, that should at least substitute a share of that popularity, which he was now daily losing, and relieve these fiscal difficulties, by facilitating the means of recruiting the navy and army. He was not ignorant of, though he betrayed no public alarm at the diffusion of the American spirit of liberty through all ranks of people in Ireland. He also too well knew the national grounds of discontent and misery, which stretched over the whole surface of that kingdom. It may have been uniformly remarked throughout this history, that the Irish have been ever profusely grateful for every thing, that had come to them in the form of concession and kindness ; but the reluctant boon wrung out of the grasp of power by extreme distress, can never be received, or returned with fair sensibility. The blame of having long withheld ought not however to efface the whole merit of late or partial concession. To the administration of Lord North must be given the singular and important credit of having first opened the door of liberality to the Irish Roman Catholics, in the face of a very powerful and determined opposition. It fell to his lot, to experience the fatal effects of former emigrations from Ireland to America : it being a fact beyond question, that most of the early successes in America were immediately owing to the vigorous exertions and prowess of the Irish emigrants, (chiefly from the North) who bore arms in that cause. He accordingly adopted the wise policy of engaging the affections and gratitude of the Irish people, by alleviating in some degree the immediate cause of their soreness and discontent.

The progress of the American contest had afforded a strong practical lesson to ministry of the importance of national harmony at home. It was resolved therefore in the cabinet, that some popular measure of toleration should be brought forward in each parliament. But the mind of the public was not yet sobroken in to this liberality, that the minister dared to submit it to parliament as a government measure. He well knew, that the patriots in both parliaments would support the proposition, and that it would be carried by the natural and unbiassed majority, from the moment that the minister’s assent gave freedom of voting to all

his adherents. *The English House of Commons being in a committee to take into consideration the acts of Parliament relating to the Irish trade, the Earl of Nugent observed, that from a long series of unshaken loyalty the Irish were entitled to every encouragement which good and faithful subjects could deserve, and a wise and grateful government could give; oppressive laws had hitherto been their only reward; he did not, however, mean to complain; if he did, his generous countrymen would disavow his complaints: they then saw Great Britain in distress; that silenced their resentment; and, forgetful of their wrongs, unsolicited they now made a tender of their lives and fortunes for the service. If the narrow policy of Great Britain had not kept them low, they would have sent over something more substantial than addresses; their armies would arrive here for our defence. Would the Parliament of Great Britain suffer every sentiment of gratitude and justice to be inactive in their breasts? Would they become deaf to the voice of policy? He trusted, he was sure, they would not; and he had not a doubt but the house would give ample proof, that they were not void of discernment to see, nor of inclination to reward merit. He had taken a view of all the laws, which bore hard on Ireland, and, trusting to the justice and humanity of the house, he had drawn up a few resolutions which he hoped the committee would adopt. His lordship then moved, that the Irish might be permitted to send on board of British vessels, navigated according to law, to the coast of Africa, and our settlements abroad, all sorts of Irish manufactures, woollen and woollen clothes excepted.† Mr. Pelham professed himself a well wisher to Ireland; and said, that no man had a greater respect for that kingdom than he had; he was not, however, without his doubts, that the present measure would be highly detrimental to the manufactures of this country: the taxes in Ireland being low, and labour cheap, the Irish would be able to undersell us, and thereby ruin several of our trading towns.

Lord Beauchamp begged leave to set the honourable gentleman right. The taxes in Ireland were many and high; and, proportionably to the means of paying them, considerably greater than in England. Some gentlemen who had travelled into

* 8 Eng. Deb. p. 206. This committee sat on the 7th of April, 1778.

† 8 Eng. Deb. p. 203. Lord Nugent then made another motion, That the Irish might be permitted to import all sorts of ware and merchandise from the coast of Africa, and plantations abroad, indigo, tobacco, and sugar only excepted. The word sugar was inserted by his lordship, merely to prevent an opposition from the West-India merchants; but on the motion of Lord Newhaven, it was left out, and the motion passed *Nem. Con.* Lord Nugent again moved, that glass manufactured in Ireland might be exported by the Irish, except into Great Britain; and that Irish cotton might be imported duty free into Great Britain. These motions passed unanimously. Mr. Burke then moved, that Irish sail cloth might be imported into this kingdom duty free. This motion likewise passed *Nem. Con.*

Ireland, had, from the opulence of its metropolis, and the unbounded hospitality of the people of fashion, formed very unjust ideas of the real state of the kingdom : it was reduced by oppressive laws to a wretched situation ; their loyalty was, however, superior to every other selfish consideration ; they saw nothing but our danger ; and though our acts had banished into foreign countries numbers of their brethren, and left them in a miserable state, still they were willing to strain every nerve to serve us in the moment of distress : a braver, more generous, and more loyal people was not to be found ; he flattered himself, therefore, that they would be treated by the house according to their high deserts.

Mr. T. Townshend expressed his warm approbation of the motion ; was happy to see the mist of prejudice begin to disperse ; would be happy to give the measure a broader bottom ; though as steadfast a Protestant as any gentleman in the house, he declared he should be glad to see some means adopted to grant such indulgences to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might attach that great body of men to the present government : their affections had been alienated ; he wished to recal them by indulgent behaviour.

Lord North, adverting to what *Mr. Townshend* had said, declared he would with all his heart concur in any measure, that could tend to answer so desirable an end ; but it was not their province ; it was the province of the parliament of Ireland ; the laws which were so severe against the Roman Catholics had originated there, and redress of domestic grievances should of right originate likewise from them ; and he was of opinion, that the Irish parliament would see where the grievance lay, and redress it, for there was not any where a people of more liberal sentiments than the Irish. The penal laws of Ireland were the consequences of apprehension, which, however groundless, always adopts the most cruel and severe policy. The Irish complained, and complained with justice ; but it must be left to the candour of their own parliament to grant such indulgence to the Roman Catholics as their loyalty deserved : he requested the house would agree to that, which was in their power, and their province : to relax the trade laws would benefit the Irish, and ultimately enrich ourselves ; embarked in the same cause with us, they cannot be called our rivals in trade, but their rivals were our rivals. The exceptions of woollen cloth he would say nothing to ; it might not, perhaps, be just ; but it was a point given up by the Irish, and confirmed by an ancient compact : if it should be found in the course of the proceedings on this business that any other exceptions were necessary, the house no doubt would make them. Upon the whole, the motion should meet his hearty concurrence.

Thus did the British minister in the most public manner declare his cordial and unequivocal wishes, that his majesty's Catholic subjects of Ireland should be relieved from what he admitted they complained of with justice: but it was to be effected by the Irish parliament, in which it is lamentable to say, bigotry and prejudice still held a sway, long since banished from the walls of St. Stephen's. The principle of toleration applied both to Great Britain and Ireland; but the political necessity of reducing that principle into action operated upon the two kingdoms in the inverse ratio of the respective dispositions of the two parliaments to effect it. In Great Britain scarcely one hundredth part of the population professed the Roman Catholic religion: and that body had long enjoyed a sort of tacit protection from the rigour of the penal laws. *Yet as Lord Ashburton observed on seconding the motion of Sir George Savile, "the mildness of government had hitherto softened the rigour of the law in the practice, but it was to be considered, that the Roman Catholic priests were still left at the mercy of the lowest and basest of mankind; for on the complaint of any informing constable, the magisterial and judicial powers were bound to enforce all the shameful penalties of the act." On the 14th of May, 1778, Sir George Savile moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities provided in an act of the 10th and 11th of William III. intituled, "An Act to prevent the further growth of popery." In proposing this repeal, the honourable baronet observed, that he meant to vindicate the honour and assert the principles of the Protestant religion, to which all persecution was foreign and adverse: that the penalties in question were disgraceful not only to religion, but to humanity: they were calculated to loosen all the bands of society, to dissolve all social, moral, and religious obligations and duties: to poison the sources of domestic felicity, and to annihilate every principle of honour. Such was the liberality of the house, that the motion was carried without a dissentient voice. Lord Ashburton, then Mr. *Dunning*, seconded the motion with his usual ability, and Mr. *Thurlow*, the attorney general, explained and strongly supported the bill. Lord *Beauchamp*, in expressing his extreme satisfaction at the motion, observed that it gave him the more pleasure at that time, as he thought the commercial advantages, which parliament then meant to bestow on Ireland

* 8 Eng. Deb. p. 228. Speech of Mr. Dunning. Some time before this period the penal laws had been enforced against two priests, a Mr. Malony, and Mr. Talbot, the brother of the Earl of Shrewsbury. But to the humanity of the British nation it must be recorded, that these proceedings had been resorted to by a solitary individual, one *Pain*, a carpenter, who having two daughters, little business, much bigotry, and more covetousness, had formed the singular speculation of acquiring 20,000*l.* apiece for his daughters' fortunes by informations under the penal statutes against the Catholics.

would be of very little use to that country, unless they were accompanied by a repeal of the penal laws, which had long depressed three fourths of the people there; and that bill he hoped would, when passed, be an example to the Irish parliament, in whose power it was to give that relief to their brethren; and he was sorry to say he thought, though their faith were in some degree pledged for the effect of some such measure, nothing had yet been done for that people. They had begged to have a test of loyalty and obedience to the government given them: that test was made, and taken by a large and respectable number of Roman Catholics; yet nothing had been granted them in return. Nay more; when a bill had been brought into the Irish parliament to allow Papists to take building leases in corporate towns, that most reasonable indulgence was ungenerously refused them. Something, he said, might be suggested in excuse with relation to the late disturbances in the south west part of Ireland; but he assured the house, that he never knew a Roman Catholic of property in that country who did not express the greatest abhorrence of those violences; and he was convinced, that it was want of employment, want of industry, and want of reward for labour, that caused them; and he concluded with a declaration, that he did not think the little indulgence, which was then proposed to be given to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, should be accompanied by any test, as he was sure, that any member, who read over the act of King William (which he then held in his hand) would think that in repealing it he was not so much employed in conferring favours on the Catholics as in rescuing the statutes from disgrace.

The real policy of relaxing the penal code of the Irish had universally pervaded not only the British cabinet, but the British senate; not one morose, bigotted, or fanatical voice was heard in discord, to this truism advanced by Mr. Burke on Lord Nugent's first motion for a committee to consider the trade of Ireland, *That Ireland was now the chief dependance of the British crown, and that it particularly behoved this country to admit the Irish nation to the privileges of British citizens.** For although a considerable opposition were afterwards made to the bill for opening the trade, the strongest opposers of that measure admitted the necessity of passing a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.† On the eleventh day after the British House of Commons had given the liberal example

* 8 Eng. Deb. p. 185. viz. 1 April, 1778.

† Thus Sir Cecil Wray, one of the most violent opposers of the extension of Irish trade said, he well knew the grievances of Ireland, and lamented them; amongst which were the Irish Pension Bill...the sinecure offices, *the Roman Catholic Bills*, the Absentees, and various others; and assured the house he would gladly join the house in redressing them.

of universal assent to Sir George Savile's motion in favour of the Roman Catholics of England, Mr. Gardiner on the 25th of May, 1778, made a motion in the Irish House of Commons, and the question being put, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland, and that Mr. Gardiner, the Hon. Barry Barry, and Mr. Yelverton, do prepare and bring in the same, and it was carried in the affirmative.† At the same time the Presbyterians of Ireland bearing in mind, that the sacramental test had been imposed upon their ancestors by their lying by, when new severities were imposed upon their Roman Catholic brethren, came forward on this occasion to partake of the first symptoms of tolerancy in an Irish parliament. In order not to be excluded from the indulgences about to be dispensed to the Catholics, Sir Edward Newnham on the same day moved, that leave might be given to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's subjects the Protestant Dissenters of that kingdom: and Sir Edward Newnham and Sir Boyle Roche were ordered to prepare and bring in the same. But whether from a conviction, that the relief to the Dissenters was not of equal urgency with that proposed to be granted to the Roman Catholics, or that the British cabinet had hitherto expressed no opinion or inclination in their favour, the measure was remitted to another session.

The great object and important consequence, which the Catholics of Ireland obtained by this bill was the legislative avowal contained in the preamble of it, of those facts and assertions, which some few years back, it would have been considered little short of treason to have advanced: namely, that the severities of the act of Anne ought to be relaxed, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were excluded from and ought to be admitted to the blessings of our free constitution, and that it would promote the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that the Catholics should be bounden to the Protestants by mutual interest and affection.‡ The establishment of this principle gave them a footing to stand upon in every future application to

† Journ. Com. p. 475. The division is not given in the Journals.

‡ 17 and 18 Geo. III. c. 49. An act for the relief of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion. "Whereas by an act made in this kingdom in the second year of her late Majesty Queen Anne, intitled, An Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery, and also by another act made in the eighth year of her said reign for explaining and amending the said act, the Roman Catholics of Ireland are made subject to several disabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned: and whereas from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same, and it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that his subjects of all denominations should enjoy the blessings of our free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection:" &c.

the crown or parliament for a full participation of *every blessing of our free constitution*. The advantages granted by this act were, that any Roman Catholic taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance and declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th of Geo. III. c. 35. might take, enjoy, and dispose of a lease for 999 years certain, or determinable on the dropping of five lives, and that the lands then seized by Catholics should in future be descendible, deviseable, or alienable as fully, as if they were in the seizin of any other subject of his majesty: and that it should no longer be in the power of a child to fly in the face of his parent by demanding a present maintenance out of the father's personal estate, or by depriving him totally of the inheritance of his real estate, as he before had been enabled to do by the 2d Anne, c. 6. This was a qualified admission over the threshold of property, and the more welcome to the Catholics, from their conviction, that a breach once made in that penal fortress, it was impossible it should hold out much longer.*

Although less were in fact granted by Mr. Gardener's bill to the Irish, than by Sir George Savile's bill to the English Roman Catholics, yet widely different was the progress of each through the houses. The former was contested in every stage through the Irish House of Commons: on the 5th of June, 1778, five divisions took place upon it, though each were carried in the affirmative: and on the 15th of the same month three divisions in like manner were had.† On the 16th Mr. Dillon, who took a very active part in the bill, reported progress from the committee, where it was warmly debated, and upon the motion for the house's resolving itself into a committee of the whole house to take the said heads of the bill into further consideration, on the 18th of June the house divided, 56 against 47. Mr. Tottenham and Mr. William Handcock were prominent in their opposition to the bill. On the 18th the house in committee sat in debate till three o'clock in the morning, and on the

* Among other warm supporters of this bill was Sir Hercules Langrishe, to whom Mr. Burke thus wrote with reference to it (p. 87) "It is a thing humiliating enough, that we are doubtful of the effect of the medicines we compound. We are sure of our poisons. My opinion ever was (in which I heartily agreed with those, that admired the old code) that it was so constructed, that if there was once a breach in any essential part of it, the ruin of the whole, or nearly of the whole, was, at some time or other, a certainty. For that reason I honour, and shall for ever honour and love you, who first caused it to stagger, crack, and gape. Others may finish, the beginners have the glory; and, take what part you please at this hour, (I think you will take the best) your first service will never be forgotten by a grateful country."

† 9 Com. Journ. p. 423. One of these was upon admitting a clause for requiring that part of the statute of Queen Anne, which requires the sacramental test as a necessary qualification for holding offices and places of trust and profit under the crown. On this day also a petition from the mayor, sheriffs, common council, freemen, freeholders, and other Protestant inhabitants of the city of Cork, was presented against the bill.

19th till four o'clock in the morning upon these heads of a bill; and on the 20th Mr. Gardner was ordered to attend his excellency the lord lieutenant with the said heads of a bill, and desire the same might be transmitted into Great Britain in due form. Thus after the severest contest, with the full and unequivocal approbation of government, the general support of the patriots, and the unanimous accord of the British legislature in a similar indulgence to the Roman Catholics of England, were these heads of a bill carried through the Irish House of Commons by the small majority of nine. Upon the third reading of this bill in the House of Lords, the contents with their proxies were 36, and the not contents were 12. On the 14th of August the lord lieutenant put an end to the session. After having complimented both houses upon their long and faithful attendance, he assured the commons, that their grants should be faithfully applied, and that it should be his endeavour, that the welfare and security of the people might amply compensate for those charges, which the exigency of public affairs had unavoidably occasioned.* He then addressed himself to both houses, and said, he flattered himself that the regulations, which had taken place that session, would prove essentially serviceable to that valuable branch of commerce, the fisheries of Ireland. It was with pleasure, that he saw an act passed for establishing a militia, which by enabling his majesty, when he should think proper, to call forth that part of the national strength, might materially contribute to the protection and defence of the kingdom. The law for relieving the Roman Catholics from some of those disabilities, under which they had hitherto laboured, would, he hoped, attain the desirable end of promoting and establishing good will and mutual confidence among his majesty's subjects, and by rendering them more united at home, make them more formidable to their enemies abroad. He congratulated with them on the late extension of the trade and commerce of that kingdom; it was a circumstance peculiarly fortunate to them, that an event which promised such advantages to Ireland should have taken place during his administration. While they justly enjoyed the approbation and gratitude of their country, for having promoted so many useful laws, he was persuaded, they would not forget what was due to the paternal care of an affectionate sovereign, and the kind disposition of Great Britain towards that country; they would cultivate jointly, as in sound policy they were inseparable, the true interests of both kingdoms.

We have seen, that the alarming distresses of Ireland had roused the British House of Commons to afford them some commercial relief. When the bills to this effect were to be read a second time, several members for trading towns violently opposed them, and the table of the house of commons was covered with petitions against any extension of commercial

* 9 Journ. Com. p. 520.

advantages to Ireland, by which the trade of Great Britain should be in any manner affected. So violent indeed were the towns of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, that they menaced to be no longer loyal, if these bills should pass: and Lord Middleton observed in the debate, "that these towns" "were experienced in rebellion so abundantly, that the transition" "would be an object of easy accomplishment, and the world" "would entertain little surprise, if they threw aside their new-fangled opinion." Lord North was of opinion, that as the expectations of the Irish were raised from what the house had already done, it would be unwise to protract the business to another session. The gentlemen, who opposed the bill, seemed all to agree in one point, that somewhat ought to be done for their relief, though they differed about the nature and extent of what ought to be done. He saw no reason, however, why the present bill should not pass, since the house might, notwithstanding, appoint a committee to enquire into the state of the trade, that from their report a plan might be formed and adopted. He did not see the mighty difficulty, that was said to exist, in calculating the difference necessarily to arise in the annual imports, by the effect of the bill before the house. It would create small difference, comparatively speaking, in the revenue, since the diminution in the imports of one place would give an additional increase to those of another, as the difference of duty on the enumerated articles was very trifling. He held it as the duty of Britain to give Ireland a degree, at least, of recompence for the exertions she had made, were we not inclined by policy, to give her relief from the restrictions she laboured under; and he hoped the house would agree on the present bill, as a test of their intention and inclination to befriend her in future more substantially.* Mr. Burke answered the arguments of the honourable gentleman who opposed the bill. The bills before the house, he said, were no more than restorations of what the wisdom of a British parliament had, on a former occasion, thought proper to invest Ireland with. In the 12th of Charles II. the navigation bills passed, extending to Ireland as well as England. A kind of left-handed policy had, however, deprived her of the freedom she enjoyed under that act, and she had ever since remained under the most cruel, oppressive, and unnatural restriction. Deprived of every incentive to industry, and shut out from every passage to wealth, she had inwardly lamented, but she had never complained of her condition. She had gone the most forward lengths in serving the interest and defending the rights of Great Britain. She had assisted in conquests, from which she was to gain no advantage, and emptied her treasury, and desolated her land, to prove her

* In all the affairs of Ireland Mr. Burke has ever evinced the most accurate historical knowledge, the most unbiassed judgment, and the most constitutional spirit of any member in either parliament. The historian cannot therefore dispense with favouring the reader with the historical views from that masterly hand as they occur.

attachment and loyalty to the government of this country. Such had been her conduct, and her reward had been restriction and bondage of the most cruel nature. He did not mean, by describing her situation, to engage the humanity of the house in her favour. The people of Ireland would not accept favours flowing from the humanity of the house. They called for justice, not for pity. They requested Britain to be wise, not to be generous; to provide for her own good, and secure her own interest; sensible that wisdom and prudence would dictate, that to accomplish these, a contrary conduct towards them was necessary. The honourable gentlemen, who opposed the bill, had drawn into collection the arguments and reasons they maintained to exist against all the bills, meaning, no doubt, thereby to prejudice the house the more by their aggregate effect. Though he detested this iniquitable mode of proceeding, he would not evade the combat even on that ground; nor wish to engage the house in favour of the bills, if he could not, in the fullest manner, answer every objection they had brought to every part. The honourable gentleman, who had moved the amendment, wished to reconcile the people of Ireland to delay, by pledging the honour of parliament, that something effectual should be done in their favour next session. He knew the temper of the Irish too well, to believe, that they would sit down satisfied with such an assertion.

They would conclude within themselves, depending on experience for their guide, that the promise of something to be done next session, would alone produce the repetition of a promise for the session following; and promise, repetition, and promise, from session to session, would be the only benefit they would receive. He did not conclude, that the denial of what even justice demanded of us in their favour, would produce rebellion and disturbance in that country; their loyalty and zeal were superior to complaints; they might despair, but they would not resist. Other places experienced in rebellion, had determined, it seems, to enter or not to enter into it, according as these bills were determined; but Ireland regarded more the welfare of the empire at large, than the interest of itself in particular. They were patient and loyal, and therefore, he supposed, they were crushed; for it was the policy of the present day to forego the excellent and noble maxims of the Romans, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, for the infamous proverb of British growth, "proud to the humble, and humble to the proud." He then went into a particular detail of the arguments of the honourable gentlemen relating to commercial advantage. The annual revenue of the two kingdoms had been exultingly, but most inequitably drawn into comparison, to prove that Ireland paid no proportion of tax. It was not the number of inhabitants, that constituted the different specific in the article of taxation between two countries; but the distinction of internal opulence and external advantage. Compare the two countries by that line, and it will be found that Ireland is taxed in a quadruple proportion more

than England. The internal wealth, and external advantage of trade and commerce, is forty times greater in England than in Ireland. There is, therefore, no *ratio* of proportion preserved in the mode of taxing the latter. She is taxed, without enjoying the means of payment. She is debarred the use of shoes and stockings, and yet she is made to pay for them. Restricted from trading, she enjoys no opportunity of acquiring wealth to discharge the taxes imposed upon her. Enlarge her means of payment, and in proportion to her ability enlarge her taxes. An equality of commercial advantage could not be established between the two countries. The opulence of the one is a barrier insuperable by the other. The great disproportion of capital effectually destroys the possibility of an equality. The one can extend her mart of trade through every different channel of the universe; the other, restrained in her ability, cannot prosecute the same track; and as the ability of the proceeding increases in the same proportion, in the progress of one as well as the other, the same proportion of advantage will still remain. The Irish will be able to follow the English at equal distance, in every stage, both in the outset and in the continuance; but they never will be able to accelerate their motion in order to overtake them. The lowness of labour is a nugatory argument; for until the instant that the price of labour is equal, the superiority of manufacture will remain with the English. The price of labour rises with the growth of manufacture, and is highest when the manufacture is best. The experience of every day tells us, that where the price of labour is highest, the manufacturer is able to sell his commodity at the lowest price. The difference of duty of the imported enumerated articles, is so abundantly overbalanced by the other advantages enjoyed by this country, that without it there could not be the smallest degree of competition in manufacture. Not one, however, of the enumerated articles is less taxed in Ireland than in England, except those already permitted to her. For though the petitions on the table are most, if not all, tending to express their fears of the consequences of granting a free exportation of sail cloth and iron to the Irish; it is a fact, that they already enjoy a free exportation of these articles: and particularly he would remark of manufactured iron and steel, as he did on a similar occasion of sail cloth, that the petition served to shew the foundation on which they all were laid, namely, merely conjecture. They had not felt from the reality what they dreaded from the idea; for an act existed at this time permitting the free exportation of manufactured iron; which, however, had not been prosecuted, because of the advantages enjoyed by the English. The only article imported under that act into England, was a quantity of cork screws, which, though it might be an evidence of their luxury in living, was but a feeble proof of their excellence of manufacture. But, indeed, every other instance, as well as this, served to prove how erroneously they had formed their opi-

nions on the subject. Some years ago, when a bill was brought in for the free importation of woollen yarn into England, petitions were received from every different part of the country, complaining of the injury it would create ; but now that they had experienced its effects, they felt and acknowledged its beneficial tendency. It was absurd to think that a participation of manufacture would be detrimental to this country. Had we not seen the woollen manufacture planted in different parts of this country ; and had we not also seen that the competitions had served to advance both ? He concluded with lamenting, that in one instance he should be directed by his conscience to take a part against his constituents. It had been his invariable aim to protect their rights and interests, and to act at all times as became the senator and representative of the people. In this instance he had dared to act contrary to the wishes, but not, he was sensible, to the interests of his constituents.* He differed in opinion from them on the noblest principle, namely, from his being in the right ; and if, from his conduct in this business, he should be deprived of his seat in that honourable house, it would stand on record an example to future representatives of the commons of England, that one man, at least, had dared to oppose his constituents, when his judgment assured him they were in the wrong.

The national distresses of Ireland were too alarming to the British empire to permit the legislature of either country to sleep over them. During the recess of the Irish parliament, we find that of Great Britain as frequently and as earnestly employed upon its interests, as if that kingdom had been within the jurisdiction of its legislative powers. On the 16th of December, 1778,* Lord Nugent described the inhabitants of his native country as suffering every species of misery and distress human nature was capable of bearing ; a people, nine-tenths of whom laboured for four-pence a day, whose food in summer was potatoes and butter-milk, and in winter potatoes and water ; he gave notice, that in consequence of what passed the last session, it was intended to propose to take off some of the restrictions of the trade of Ireland. He said, the people of Ireland expected some relief : that kingdom was oppressed and ruined ; they would emigrate to America ; they would carry the woollen and linen manufacture thither ; they would soon rival those of this country : in short our restrictions would transfer the trade and manufactures of Ireland to America.

Among the other hardships suffered by the people in general, the landed part of them had their share. There was now an uninterrupted embargo, which still existed, on the exportation of the only staple commodities they had, beef and butter ; the lands were fallen one third in value ; the graziers were become bankrupts, the full proof of which he experienced himself ; for though he possessed a very considerable property, situated in

* The Electors of Bristol.

† 10 Eng. Debates, p. 176.

different parts of that kingdom, he could pledge his honour, that he had not received a shilling rent for the last two years ; and the case was the same with several noble lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance.

It might become a question of a serious and difficult nature, what indulgence ought to be given, supposing this country were inclined to recede. He believed the general ideas, that prevailed last year, would be proper to be again taken up. The woollen manufacture, to be sure, was in some measure sacred ; but, in his present indigested ideas, all he could venture to specify was, a full exportation of all cotton goods, mixed and unmixed. His lordship threw out several other hints ; said that the question would be, whether Ireland should have a little indulgence, or the Irish and the manufactures of linen, woollen, &c. be transferred to America. It is true, Manchester might suffer ; but a nation composed of a loyal, brave, though an oppressed people, was not to be sacrificed to one single town or the monopoly of a particular district. He hoped, however, there would be no cause for rivalry. One thing on the whole was certain, that whatever benefited or enriched Ireland, or tended to give employment to her wretched inhabitants, would be beneficially felt in this kingdom, to whom, as the centre, every advantage Ireland experienced Great Britain must profit by.

Lord Beauchamp confirmed the greater part of the noble lord's arguments, painted the distresses of the Irish in lively colours, and gave the house to understand, that a general exportation, except in the articles of woollens, was expected, or meant to be procured.

Lord Newhaven said, that he would move for a general exportation, woollens excepted ; and an importation of several commodities enumerated in the course of the last session.

* As soon as the British parliament had met after the holidays, the same noble earl, who was ever steadfast to the real welfare of his country, on the 19th of January, 1779, moved in the British House of Commons, that an account be laid before the house of all exports, and their amount ; of merchandise exported from this country to Ireland ; and of all imports from Ireland into this kingdom, from the first of January, 1778, to the 1st of January, 1779 ; which motion was agreed to. His lordship explained his meaning for making this motion, by saying, that it was preparatory to the motion for leave to bring in a bill for granting further relief to the trade of Ireland, notice of which he had given before the holidays. He represented the inhabitants of Ireland as being in a famishing condition, and appealed to two noble lords in administration for the truth of his assertion ; and he said, that a secretary of the viceroy was just come over, expressly to lay before government the deplorable state of Ireland : he referred to a letter he had received from Dr. Woodward, Dean of Clogher, mentioning, that all had been done, that

could be effected by contribution, to relieve the starving poor, but in vain ; employment alone could remedy the evil. He appealed to the noble lord at the head of the treasury for the truth of another observation ; that the revenue of Ireland is so diminished, that it now yields little more than the expences of its civil establishment. These facts pointed out the necessity, as we had lost our trade with our American colonies, of taking care we did not lose Ireland next, by a separation or invasion. If our impolitic restraints were not removed from the trade of that country, we should lose our best customers for many articles of merchandise. He said, good estates in Ireland were offered to sale at sixteen and fourteen years purchase, yet no buyers appeared even at that low price.

He expected to be opposed by those, who had particular interests to support against the national welfare intended by his bill ; but he remembered many similar oppositions to bills, which had, after they had passed, and the good effects had been experienced, been highly applauded ; for instance, the bill for importing bar iron from America, was strongly opposed by the parties concerned in mines and iron-works at home ; yet it was found that Great Britain did not produce a tenth part of the iron wanted for consumption. He declared himself as warm a friend to England as any man in the house ; and if he did not think it was promoting the interest of this country to grant Ireland relief to her trade, he would not move it ; neither did he ever choose to move any thing in that house which he was not sure of carrying. He concluded with a kind of prophecy, that if Ireland were not assisted in her commerce, it might become a question there to vote a sum for the support of that country, from the insufficiency of its own revenue.

The establishment of a cotton manufactory, and leave to export the manufacture to Great Britain ; with leave to export and import to and from America, the West-Indies, and Africa, were the points he had in contemplation ; and he concluded with saying, if all he wished could not be obtained, he must be satisfied with a part.

Colonel Stanley desired Lord Nugent would give as long notice as possible of the day he should bring in his bill, that his constituents might be early apprized of it ; as not only the town of Manchester, but all the manufacturing towns in the country, concerned in the cotton branches, were alarmed.

Sir George Yonge intreated the noble earl not to hurry on a bill of such consequence, but wait for better information. He could not consider the state of Ireland in the melancholy light it had been described ; but if the people really were famishing, it was not owing to the trade laws of this country, but to mismanagement in their own internal police, and desired that might be enquired into.

Mr. T. Townshend reminded the house, that by a narrow policy America had been lost, and bid them beware of losing Ireland. He declared himself impartial, not having any proper-

ty in Ireland; yet he considered his property in England as dependant in a great measure on the prosperity of Ireland; and, as a member of the community, he wished to remove those partial restraints on her trade, which certainly were the cause of her distresses.

* Again on the 19th of March, 1779, did the distressed situation of Ireland come before the British House of Commons, when Lord Newhaven hoped, as a spirit of toleration and liberality had gone forth in the house, that the relief he had proposed for Ireland, would not want for success. His lordship stated, that on an average of the last ten years, the exports from England to Ireland were decreased about six hundred thousand pounds; and in the two last years they had decreased seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds: that the exports from Ireland in the two last years had decreased one hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds; on which decrease seventy-five thousand pounds were on the staple of linen; that the exports from England into Ireland, on an average of ten years, were two millions fifty-seven thousand pounds; that the imports from Ireland into England were but thirteen hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds; so that the balance in favour of England, on an average of ten years, was seven hundred and four thousand pounds sterling per annum, which, multiplied by the ten years, plainly shewed that England gained by the trade of Ireland alone seven millions and forty thousand pounds in that time.

He moved that the house should, on the 19th, resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the acts of parliament relating to the allowing the importation of sugars from the West-Indies into Ireland.

Governor Pownall said, he was not against the motion for relieving Ireland; he did not object to it on that ground; but said, the motion would raise alarms here, and do no good to Ireland; therefore he wished to see the motion extended to something that would give a real and substantial relief to Ireland, and that too upon the ground and principle of system.

Sir George Yonge, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Mr. Cruger, &c. were against the proposition, on the ground, that though Ireland may have suffered in her trade since the American war, yet this nation had suffered infinitely more; if she had lost five thousand pounds a year, England had lost almost as many millions; and, that upon the whole, to give Ireland any further indulgences, than those she at present enjoyed, might very possibly endanger this kingdom or the sovereignty she held over her.

Mr. T. Townshend, Lord Nugent, Lord Beauchamp, General Conway, Mr. Welbore Ellis, &c. contended for the propriety, the expediency, and the policy of the motion, maintaining that it was a specific simple proposition, and could not be of any one disadvantage to Great Britain; besides, that the prosperity of Ireland was too essential to this country, not to give her every encouragement that could possibly be given.

The question was then put: for it, 47....against it, 42.

In melancholy confirmation of the representations of Ireland, so frequently and so warmly made by the Earl of Nugent, and others, on the 18th of March, 1779, Lord North communicated to the commons the following message from his majesty.*
 ("GEORGE R.)

"HIS majesty having received information from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, his lieutenant-general, and general governor of his kingdom of Ireland, that the revenues of that kingdom have of late proved greatly deficient and inadequate to the purposes for which they were granted; and his majesty, moved with concern and compassion for the distresses of his loyal and faithful subjects of that kingdom; and being anxious, that some immediate and effectual relief should be afforded to them, thinks it necessary to recommend to the consideration of this house, whether it may not be proper, in the present circumstances of Ireland, that the whole charge of the regiments on the Irish establishment, now serving out of that kingdom, should be paid by Great Britain. G. R."

Lord North moved, that his majesty's message be referred to the consideration of the committee of supply, which was agreed to: then, upon the order of the day for going into a committee on the importation of sugars into Ireland.

Sir George Yonge objected to the speaker's leaving the chair, because the bill would produce consequences no less fatal to this country, than the total loss of the colony trade. There were annually, he said, imported into Great Britain, 150,000 hogsheads of sugar, valued at 3,759,000*l.* annually. The whole imports from the West-Indies, were 4,500,000*l.* annually; and that the trade employed 500 ships, of 100,000 tons burthen, and 10,000 seamen. The duties arising from the trade were upwards of 400,000*l.* a year; and that this great sum, he said, we were dashing away by the present bill: he objected to it, and therefore would vote against the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Sawbridge was against all the monopolies of trade, and commercial interdictions; he declared there was trade enough for every nation on earth, if all impolitic restrictions were repealed; and asserted, that no nation, nor corporate body, nor individual, had a right to deprive another of the benefit of manufactures, trade, and commerce.

Mr. Burke declared, that if the mover of the bill meant to modify it any degree, he would give his vote against going into a committee, for he would not enter into any composition; it was for the interest of Great Britain to throw open even the woollen trade to Ireland; and if it were not done now voluntarily, the French would soon oblige us to do it.

General Conway and Sir Cecil Wray wished for a full enquiry into the distresses of Ireland, and a mature deliberation on the means of applying general relief.

On the 26th of May Lord Beauchamp moved, that an humble

* 11 Parl. Debates, p. 177.

address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order accounts to be laid before parliament of the state of the trade and commerce of Ireland.

His lordship prefaced his motion with a very sensible speech on the wretched state of Ireland, and the necessity of holding out a promise to the Irish, that the commercial laws, of which they complained, should be revised by parliament, and such redress granted to them as Great Britain was able to bestow.

Lord North declared he would promote every possible enquiry, and obtain all the information in his power; but as to producing a plan for settling matters in a commercial line to the satisfaction of both countries, it was too bold an undertaking for him, since it was hard to say what would satisfy Ireland, and that England could grant, consistent with her own interest. He thought the complaints of Ireland rather ill timed, as more had been done for that kingdom within these three or four years than for thirty years before.

Mr. Conolly was of a different opinion; he attributed the present distresses of Ireland to the wretched system of government carried on by the present ministry, by whose means the debts of that kingdom had been increased from about 600,000*l.* to near a million and a half.

Mr. James Luttrell did not disapprove of the motion, as it had first been made in the other house by his noble friend the Marquis of Rockingham;* but in that house he could not but consider it as a kind of ministerial compromise, a lame apology for doing nothing for the relief of Ireland that session. He asked why the parliament of Ireland had not been called together in time, to deliberate, and send over their state of the nation to the British parliament earlier in the session? Why had not the noble lord moved that address months ago? It was then too late, and the loss of Ireland might probably follow that of America.

Sir George Yonge desired not to be thought inconsistent in voting for the address, as the most likely method of getting at the true state of the matter; but he thought the state of the Irish revenue should have been added: that was incumbent on the noble lord at the head of the treasury; but he doubted if the Irish would have much hopes of a ministry, who had reduced landed estates in England from 33 to 25 years purchase, and funded property from 89 to 60. The address was agreed to.

The warm part and interest, which the British senate took in the concerns of Ireland did credit to her liberal sympathy for her sister kingdom, and justified the claims, which Ireland urged. The opinions of the illustrious characters, which then stood most prominently forward in favour of that kingdom will be handed down to the latest posterity as testimonies of the exem-

* The motion of the Marquis of Rockingham, to which Mr. James Luttrell alluded, was made in the British House of Peers on the 11th of May, 1779, and occasioned the most interesting debates upon the affairs of Ireland till then ever known in that house. It exhibits a most melancholy view of the situation of that country, and is given in the Appendix, No. LXV.

plary loyalty of the Irish nation under the severest trials and provocations. On the 2d of June, 1779, Lord Shelburne (now Marquis of Lansdowne) stated to the British House of Peers the following proposition relative to the state of Ireland: * That an humble address should be presented to his majesty, requesting that his majesty would be graciously pleased to order to be laid before that house, an account of such steps as had been taken in consequence of the address of that house of the 11th of May, and of his majesty's most gracious answer thereto; and humbly to recommend to his majesty, if his royal prerogative, as vested in his majesty by the constitution, be not adequate to the relief of the acknowledged distressed and impoverished state of his majesty's loyal and well-deserving subjects of Ireland, that he would be pleased to continue the parliament of that kingdom, as then assembled, and give immediate orders for calling forthwith his parliament of Ireland, that their just complaints might be fully considered and remedied without delay, that the wanted union of affection might be preserved between both kingdoms, always desirable, but in the present situation of public affairs, absolutely essential and indispensable to the preservation and welfare of both, and that the united strength of Great Britain and Ireland might in due time, and with due effect, be exercised under the blessing of God against the common enemy.

This proposition the noble earl prefaced with a speech of great political information and unusual energy and brilliancy. He was severe upon the ministers, to whose account he laid the distressed situation of his country, and on that ground avowedly was the first part of the proposition opposed; Lord Weymouth† “disapproving of the proposition, because it contained an implied censure on government, which they by no means deserved.” Amongst a great variety of political topics, which the noble earl's speech embraced, not immediately relevant to the state of Ireland, we gather from the mouth of that great statesman several most valuable documents illustrative of the history of that critical period. His financial view of that kingdom was, that in the year 1750 the public debt of Ireland was under half a million, that since that she had contracted 1,000,000*l.* funded, and 600,000*l.* unfunded, besides the 300,000*l.* borrowed upon public faith, for which no taxes had been yet appropriated; so that the whole debt amounted to full three millions in twenty years; fifteen of which contained a period of a peace establishment, and, of course, a peace expenditure: but contrary to every idea of good government, and national œconomy, by much the greater part of the debt was contracted during the latter period, till at length the new taxes were unequal to the annual outgoings, and at that time the receipts at the Irish treasury were short to the amount of 300,000*l.* per annum.

The internal critical state of the country at that moment next drew his attention, which he urged, had been grossly overlooked by the king's ministers, and he expressed his astonishment at

* 13 Parl. Deb. p. 337.

† 13 Parl. Deb. p. 390.

hearing from the noble lord at the head of the council (Gower, now Marquis of Stafford) that nothing could be done for Ireland till the next session. Situated, said his lordship, as affairs were, it would be dangerous to delay the business; that the necessities of Ireland called for immediate relief, and that it would be absurdity in the extreme to let the Irish remain unsatisfied for seven or eight months longer. He considered the matter in a variety of different points of view, and said, that leaving the whole to rest upon a resolution so vague and indeterminate as that, which had been carried in both houses, and which, in fact, prescribed no specific line of procedure, might be construed into an intention to do nothing, but a mere design to get over the summer, to set the war upon its legs, and then to suffer the distresses of Ireland to remain unattended to, and unredressed. When the amendment to the noble marquis's motion was first proposed, he declared he was very far from having this opinion of it himself; on the contrary, he thought that ministry shewed rather more readiness than became them, and seemed willing to do too much; he appealed to their lordships in whose memory he stood, whether he had not on that day been the single peer to cry out, *doucement*, whether he had not stood up alone and said, "Gently, take care what you do, don't promise too much, for fear you should not be able to perform all that you say you'll do; if your performance fall short of your promise, depend upon it you will do more mischief than good, and exasperate Ireland more than ever." The resolution carried on that day had already got over to Ireland, and there would certainly be two opinions upon it, the severe and cautious men, naturally prone to doubt, would say immediately, "This is nothing, this is mere fallacy, government being afraid of us just now, have done this with a view to quiet us for the present, and when they have at all surmounted the difficulties in which their affairs are involved, they will, as usual turn a deaf ear to our complaints, it being evidently their intention to give us no relief, if they can possibly avoid it." Another very different opinion would doubtless prevail with those who were inclined to think better of government and this country: they would say, "Stop, don't go so fast, read the resolution again; good God! was it not carried unanimously in both houses of parliament? Did England ever do so much for us before? Only see the drift of it, see the wording of it, and consider, that the whole has been done in the most kind and flattering manner possible." His lordship placed these two opinions in contrast, and appealed to the house, whether in common policy and prudence it would not be right to encourage and support the latter, and give as little room as possible to warrant and countenance the former? What would prove most faithful to this, he declared, was the language of a noble lord in another place. The premier had said, that no individual could form a plan for the relief of Ireland; that it was out of his power; that next session the proper accounts should be laid before both the English and Irish parliaments, and the business must be done by them; but that the

did not think the complaints of Ireland well timed, for that this country had done more for her within the last three years than had been done for her nine years before. His lordship said he had turned this language again and again in his mind, and he was yet at a loss to divine the meaning of the noble lord. He was sure, however, it would give most serious alarm to the other kingdom, that they would construe it as an indication, that nothing would be done for them; that the two parliaments would be suffered to rub against each other, prejudice and jealousy to meet prejudice and jealousy, and that the minister, whose essential duty it was to reconcile all differences of opinion between the two countries, to smooth the minds of those who were inclined to be ruffled, and to pacify and quiet the uneasy, only took upon himself the office of clearing the stage, and letting them dispute it out among themselves. He called upon the house to recollect, that the American war had commenced upon less provocation than this country had given Ireland. The simple idea of the right of taxation had caused it. Let their lordships reflect, that from the time of the remonstrances of America, to her declaration of independency, was only eleven months: let them look at the language of Ireland at present, they would find it much higher, than that of America had been at the time he mentioned; let them consider, that in every point of view, Ireland stood more forward now than America had done immediately previous to the origin of the war, and let them ask themselves, if it were wise to suffer Ireland to remain in discontent for seven months longer?

True it is, that the Marquis of Lansdowne, as well as the late Earl Nugent, the Marquis of Hertford, and several other great personages, who took a lead in the debates upon the Irish concerns, had considerable interest in that kingdom; a circumstance, which must have drawn their observation the more closely to the real interests of that country, without abandoning those of Great Britain, in which they had as great or larger stakes: but their opinions, however interested they may have been, were in perfect unison with those of the greatest statesmen and most constitutional characters of that day in both our houses of parliament, who had no personal interest in or concerns with Ireland. Thus the late Lord Camden doubted much, whether the learned lord on the woolsack understood the motion he had so fully commented on. Circumstances had altered since the last day; the people of Ireland were in a ferment, he would not say ripe for insurrection. Something had been promised, nothing had been done. The language of ministers, particularly of the noble lord in the other house, at the head of the finances, is, "nothing can be done in time." The learned lord confesses it, though he has not used the very words. What then will be the probable result of such a conduct? The patient dies, while the physicians are consulting what to prescribe: the people, in the last stage of anguish and despair, call for immediate redress. What, on the other hand, does the present motion ultimately end to? That the parliament of Great Britain, instead of empty,

general promises, a hundred times violated, and on which, of course, Ireland cannot depend, call for some substantial proof of British or ministerial sincerity. "Give us some one instance, "to shew that you are sincere and in earnest," say the people of Ireland. "Call the parliament of both kingdoms, to consult "and deliberate in their respective assemblies," echoes the address, "in order to come to some specific proposition, before it "be too late; or if that be thought too much," says the address, "let us make some progress; let the necessary documents on "both sides the water be procured; and let us, at a season of "more leisure, proceed upon some certain specific propositions, "intended as the basis of all future proceedings, by which means "Great Britain may determine on the great line, though not the "detail, of her intended concessions; and Ireland may know "what she will have good reasonable grounds to expect."

The late Duke of Manchester, on this occasion, evinced a most remarkable penetration into the continental politics of that day; and were his speech now read without a date, it would be supposed to have been spoken rather at the close of, than ten years previous to the French revolution. His Grace said, he had the highest opinion of the loyalty of the people of Ireland, in case the French landed as an enemy come to conquer. He had no fears, that the 12,000 men now illegally armed in that country, would join with a foreign invader: by every thing he could learn, they were too brave, too loyal, and too much attached to sentiments of *humanity*, ever to tamely submit to a foreign yoke, much less assist in forging and riveting their own chains. The alarm created in his mind was of a very different nature. It was the new adopted policy of France, not to appear as an invader of the rights and liberties of others, but the protector of them, the friend of human kind and of the public, at least, of municipal liberty. The French creed, respecting the dependances of the British empire, was independency, freedom, no restrictive laws upon trade, an exercise of natural rights, restrained only by law and liberal policy. On this system, the great outline of French politics had been newly modelled: and he had certain information, that French emissaries had been in Ireland for some time past, endeavouring to alienate the minds of the people there, as they had so effectually done in America.

Whatever the real intentions of France might be, if she should effect the landing of a considerable force in that kingdom, he had every reason to be persuaded that it would not act as an enemy, however it might be received; in his opinion, therefore, it was indispensably necessary for that house and parliament to adopt such speedy measures as might promise to defeat impressions, which, if not timely counteracted, might, from circumstances of actual misery, and the despair arising from it, be productive of the most fatal consequences.

Of all the lords who took a part in this debate, Lord Townshend was certainly the best qualified to speak the most pointedly, fairly, and instructively, upon the state of Ireland at that critical period. His lordship spoke in favour of the motion; described

the disposition of the people of Ireland ; the sentiments of the established church, the dissenters, and the Roman Catholics ; the state of the army ; the number of people illegally armed there ; the face of the country ; its rivers, fortresses, &c. : from all which he shewed the imminent danger of the alternative, of the French landing there in a hostile or friendly manner.

He then drew a comparison between our conduct towards Ireland and America. The first, loyal, affectionate, patient under the greatest miseries and oppressions ; the latter, factious, rebellious, ungrateful, and perfidious, in the midst of plenty, and after receiving a series of accumulated favours.

What was our conduct toward them ? They only sue in the most humble and dutiful manner, to loosen the fetters that gall them, and rankle by their intolerable weight, and eat to the very bone. What is our answer ? Break your chains if you can, or perish. What is the answer to the haughty and insolent demands of the traitorous Americans, leagued with an inveterate and ambitious enemy for our total destruction ; who have already drawn so much of our best blood, and have been the cause of our spending so many millions of our treasure, wrung from the very vitals of the people ? You shall be free ; you shall pay no taxes ; we will not interfere with your internal government ; you shall be bound by no restrictions on your trade and commerce.

After contrasting those circumstances in a very pointed manner, he shewed the impolicy and injustice of delaying to grant with a good grace, what, if refused, must be the consequence of even an accommodation with America ; namely, that after the conclusion of the present war, the people of Ireland would migrate to America in pursuit of a free trade, and a milder and happier constitution of government ; that they would carry thither their manufactures which wanted nothing, but the circumstances he had mentioned to bring them to the utmost perfection ; that of course, the only single question was, whether trade and commerce, a fruitful soil, and numerous inhabitants, bound to this country by every motive of affection and interest, were preferable to the same riches, industry, and effective strength, just as much in our power to every good or wise purpose, as if they resided within the island of Great Britain.

His lordship then entered into particulars, and deprecated the consequences which, he foresaw, would immediately follow a refusal on our part. Supposing we were able to spare such a force as might promise to keep the people there in awe, twelve or fifteen thousand men encamped in the southern, centre, or northern part of that kingdom ; if, for instance, the importation of all commodities of British growth or manufacture, should be prohibited ; or suppose, on the other hand, that the people should resolve not to permit the exportation of beef or butter, what would our manufacturers do in one instance ; what would our fleets and distant armies do in the other, if a general defection among the body of the people, even among the very magistrates, should prevail ? Why, while your army in the north may be em-

ployed in quelling insurrections there, your imports and exports would be suspended: or while you are favouring, by a military aid, the export of provisions in the south, your import in the north and centre would be stopped; and so *vice versa*.*

Lord Shelburne, after several of the ministerial party, and particularly Lord Chancellor (Thurlow,) had opposed the proposition on the ground of informality, took it off the table, and moved it regularly, when the question being put, it was negatived by a majority of 61 against 32.

No further debate took place during that session in the British parliament concerning the affairs of Ireland. The ministers of that day were too fatally addicted to their pernicious system of indolence and procrastination. They had before them the example of America, now triumphant in their own successes, and supported by the whole house of Bourbon. These alarming circumstances were constantly brought before their eyes in the warmest colouring, by an opposition of the greatest weight, numbers, and talents, ever combined in the British senate. Ministers, however, remitted the great objects of Irish grievances to the next session, upon the flimsy pretexts of want of information upon the subject matter of them, and a fear of a rebellion in the trading towns of Lancashire, in case the British parliament should pass a law, that might abridge the profits of their trade with Ireland, or the colonies. They passed several unimportant laws† during the session, which had no other effect, than to create contempt or disgust for the government, which they conceived was attempting to play them off with delusive promise and delay. Whilst the British parliament was sitting, the feelings of the Irish nation were suspended by the hopes of relief; but when they found, that the British ministry had abandoned their cause, they were sorely exasperated, and their discontents became formidably alarming. Associations were entered into against the importation of British commodities, and for the encouragement of Irish manufactures. At an assembly holden at the Thobrel of the city of Dublin, the following resolutions were agreed to, viz.

* It is difficult to reconcile this liberal, patriotic, and politic speech of the noble lord, with his conduct towards Ireland, when the office of chief governor of that kingdom afforded the means, and imposed the duty upon him of doing that good to Ireland, which he now warmly recommended to others.

† Such was the 18th of Geo. III. c. 45. For continuing the bounty on the importation of flax-seed.....Such the 18th of Geo. III. c. 55. For permitting the exportation of certain goods directly from Ireland into any British plantation in America, or any British settlement on the coast of Africa, and for further encouraging the fisheries and navigation of Ireland; by which it was also provided, that from the 24th of June, 1778, all ships built in Ireland, and owned by his majesty's European subjects, should be deemed British built. Such the 18th of George III. c. 61. For repealing so much of two acts of Queen Anne, concerning the forfeited estates in Ireland being sold or set to Protestants, as far as they prohibited, disqualified, or disabled Papists from taking or enjoying any right or interest therein, or which inflicted any penalties on persons making or accepting any interest therein. Such the 19th of George III. c. 83. For repealing several acts, that prohibited the growth and produce of tobacco in Ireland; and to permit the importation of it into Great Britain upon the like duties as from America. Such the 19th of George III. c. 37. For granting a bounty on the importation of hemp into Great Britain from Ireland for a limited time.

Resolved, That the unjust, illiberal, and impolitic opposition given by many self-interested people of Great Britain, to the proposed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, originated in avarice and ingratitude.

Resolved, That we will not directly, or indirectly, import or use any goods or wares, the produce or manufactures of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this kingdom, till an enlightened policy, founded on principles of justice, shall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken so active a part in opposing the regulations proposed in favour of the trade of Ireland; and till they appear to entertain sentiments of respect and affection for their fellow subjects of this kingdom.*

Shortly after the assizes at Waterford, the high sheriff, grand jury, and a number of the most respectable inhabitants, assembled for the purpose of taking into consideration the ruinous state of the trade and manufactures, and the alarming decline in the value of the staple commodities of the kingdom; and looking upon it as an indispensable duty that they owed their country and themselves, to restrain, by every means in their power, these growing evils, they came to, and signed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we, our families, and all, whom we can influence, shall from this day, wear and make use of the manufactures of this country, and this country only, until such time as all partial restrictions on our trade, imposed by the illiberal and

* During this century, said the Right Honourable Hely Hutchinson, (Com. Rest. p. 215) Ireland has been, without exaggeration, a mine of wealth to England, far beyond what any calculation has yet made it. When poor and thinly inhabited, she was an expense and a burden to England; when she had acquired some proportion of riches, and grew more numerous, she was one of the principal sources of her wealth. When she becomes poor again, those advantages are greatly diminished. The exports from Great Britain to Ireland, in 1778, were less than the medium value of the four preceding years in a sum of 634,444*l.* 3*s.*; and in the year 1779, Great Britain is obliged, partly at her own expense, to defend this country, and for that purpose has generously bestowed out of her own exchequer a large sum of money. Those facts demonstrate, that the poverty of Ireland ever has been a drain, and her riches an influx of wealth to England, to which the greater part of it will ever flow, and it imports not to that country through what channel: but the source must be cleared from obstructions, or the stream cannot continue to flow.

Such a liberal system would increase the wealth of this kingdom, by means that would strengthen the hands of government, and promote the happiness of the people. Ireland would then be able to contribute largely to the support of the British empire, not only from the increase of her wealth, but from the more equal distribution of it into a greater number of hands among the various orders of the community. The present inability of Ireland arises principally from this circumstance, that her lower and middle classes have little or no property, and are not able, to any considerable amount, either to pay taxes, or to consume those commodities that are the usual subjects of them; and this has been the consequence of the laws which prevent trade, and discourage manufactures.

“contracted policy of our sister kingdom, be removed; but if in consequence of this our resolution, the manufacturers (whose interest we have more immediately under consideration) should act fraudulently, or combine to impose upon the public, we shall hold ourselves no longer bound to countenance and support them.

“*Resolved*, That we will not deal with any merchant or shop-keeper, who shall, at any time hereafter, be detected in imposing any foreign manufacture as the manufacture of this country.”

Resolutions of this kind became general, in consequence of which efforts, the manufactures of Ireland began to revive, and the demand for British goods in a great measure decreased; a circumstance which tended to produce a disposition in Great Britain to attend to the complaints of that country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced.

It is more matter of calculation, than of reasoning, to ascertain the grounds which Ireland had at this period to press Great Britain to support her in her struggle for commercial freedom. The annual balance of exports and imports returned from the entries in the different custom-houses in favour of Ireland, on all her trade with the whole world, in every year from 1768 to 1778, when compared with the remittances made from Ireland to England in each of those years, was as follows: the balance in favour of Ireland on her general trade by those returns was in 1776, 606,190*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*; in 1777, 24,203*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*; in 1778, 386,384*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*; and taken at a medium of eleven years from 1768 to 1778 both inclusive, amounted to the sum of 605,083*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*; the sums remitted from Ireland to Great Britain for rents, interest of money, pensions, salaries, and profits of offices, amounted at the lowest computation from 1768 to 1773, to 100,000*l.* yearly; and from 1773, when the tontines were introduced, from which period large sums were borrowed from England, those remittances were considerably increased, and in 1777 they amounted to no less than between twelve and thirteen thousand pounds yearly. Ireland, therefore, at that period, paid to Great Britain double the sum that she collected from the whole world in all the trade which Great Britain allowed her.

We find no historical document to account for the policy of not convening the parliament of Ireland in the pressure of their national distress: the ministry in Great Britain was frequently called upon by the opposition to account for this extraordinary conduct, but no answer was ever given to the summons. It now appears unquestionable, that the length of the recess, coupled with the peculiar circumstances of Ireland's failing in their expected redress from the refusal of the British parliament, and

the want of an Irish parliament to apply to, gave rise to the exertions of those native energies, to which an oppressed and injured people never fails in extremity to resort. During this recess the system of associating and volunteering took its rise, and had made considerable progress* ere the parliament met on the 12th of October, 1779. On this occasion the lord lieutenant in his speech took notice of the general state of affairs in the following words :† “ At a time when the trade and commerce of “ this kingdom are in a more particular manner the objects of “ public attention, it were to be wished, that the general tranquillity, ever desirable, had been restored, so as to have left “ you entirely at leisure to deliberate on those great and important subjects ; but I am persuaded you will not permit any interests, however dear to you, to impede your efforts, or disturb “ your unanimity at this most important period ; and I have it

* The progress of the volunteers during the recess of the Irish parliament in 1779 is thus described by one of the most prominent of that corps in his *History of Irish Affairs* from the 12th of October, 1779, to the 15th of November, 1782, by *Francis Dobbs, Esq.* p. 56. “ An expedient free trade and “ the fallacy of it was soon understood. The plain and simple doctrine, that “ we could not be free, if any power on earth could make laws to bind us, “ save our king, lords, and commons, quickly prevailed. This became the “ sentiment of almost every man. It could not be openly, but it was insidiously attacked. These attacks raised many powerful advocates for Irish “ liberty. The public mind became enlightened ; and it was in vain, that the “ supporters of administration pressed them to attend to their free trade, and “ relinquish their freedom. With their information, the power of the people “ was also increasing. A variety of causes all tended to add to the volunteers. The gentlemen who had hitherto taken the most active part, were “ mostly of what is called the country party. Government not able to suppress, “ wished its supporters also volunteers. On this principle many new corps “ were raised, differing much in political sentiment, but who were to become “ equally useful to their country. Another cause operated strongly : it became “ highly fashionable. Volunteer rank was an object of ambition, and it was “ considered as the most glorious destination of a gentleman, to be at the “ head of a well-appointed corps. Among the lower orders of men, the “ smartness of those, who had enrolled themselves became an object of envy “ and emulation. The idea of glory, which attended it, also had its weight ; “ and every able young man felt ashamed, that he was not amongst the “ guardians of his country. The fair also, materially served the volunteer “ cause. Countrymen from being slovenly in their dress, and awkward “ in their manners, became neat in their persons, and comparatively polished “ and refined. They were also to be the protectors of their mistresses, and “ obtained from the softer sex in return an envied precedence. In short, these “ various causes operated so powerfully, that almost every man who could, “ became a volunteer. But the volunteers, though powerful, had no fixed object ; no bond of union ; no communication. Detached in separate companies, they as yet wanted that connexion, which alone could make them “ truly beneficial.” This gentleman (he was a barrister) about this time wrote a letter to Lord North, on the crisis of affairs in Ireland, which is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXVI. it was written in the spur of the moment, and is a faithful index of the general spirit, which had then seized the Irish nation.

† 10 Journ. Com. p. 11.

“ expressly in command from his majesty to assure you, that
 “ the cares and solitudes inseparable from a state of hostility
 “ have not prevented him from turning his royal mind to the in-
 “ terests and distresses of this kingdom with the most affection-
 “ ate concern, of which, the money remitted to this country for
 “ its defence, when England had every reason to apprehend a
 “ most formidable and immediate attack, affords a convincing
 “ proof. Anxious for the happiness of his people, his majesty
 “ will most cheerfully co-operate with his parliaments in such
 “ measures as may promote the common interests of all his
 “ people.

“ It is with great concern I have to inform you, that on ac-
 “ count of the extraordinary decline of the revenues, the very
 “ liberal supplies of the last session have proved inadequate to
 “ the exigencies of government, so that, contrary to my most
 “ sanguine expectations and most earnest endeavours, there is a
 “ considerable arrear now to be provided for.

“ The united efforts and great military preparations of the
 “ house of Bourbon seem only to have roused the courage, and
 “ called forth the exertions of his majesty’s brave and loyal sub-
 “ jects of this kingdom ; and I have only to lament, that the ex-
 “ hausted state of the treasury has hitherto put it out of my power
 “ to give those exertions the most extensive and constitutional
 “ operation, by carrying the militia law into execution.”

As soon as the lord lieutenant’s speech had been read in the House of Commons, Sir Robert Tilson Dean arose, and after an exordium in a high strain of panegyric on the lord lieutenant’s administration, and the good dispositions of his majesty and the British ministry toward that kingdom, moved for an address to the throne, expressing in the warmest terms the grateful sense the house entertained of those dispositions, and, in the usual language of these addresses, echoing the speech. The motion was seconded by Mr. R. H. Hutchinson, who said this was a great, critical, and important period, in which the declarations of the king, the best of princes, and the British legislature, left no room to doubt but every good was designed for Ireland ; that his majesty’s speech in the British house, at the close of the last session, was the harbinger of good tidings and great events, which was on that day confirmed by the lord lieutenant’s speech, who said he had it in command to declare his wish to co-operate in such measures, as might best promote their interests, which, in the hands of their administration, must be well managed, as their designs were pure ; that under such an administration, the general benefit of the empire would be attended to, above all partial and selfish considerations ; and the veil of calumny, which had so long traduced them, would disappear, and the factious calum-

niators, touched with truth, as with the spear of Ithuriel, would start into shape. What thanks were due to the chief governor, who so respectfully mentioned the societies of armed patriots throughout the kingdom. What must their opinion be of a chief governor, who spoke so honourably of that great bulwark of constitutional liberty, a national militia? Though their distresses were great, from them prosperous days might spring.

Mr. Grattan said, the speech contained nothing explicit, nothing satisfactory : it meant to quiet the minds of the people, without any declaration whatever. After his majesty had been addressed by his Irish subjects for a free export trade, did such addresses require no answer? Were the people of Ireland undeserving the notice of the British ministers? Was there no respect for the interests of these kingdoms among the servants of the crown on that side of the water? Were not these servants of the crown also representatives of the people? Why not then speak out? Were their distresses of so private a nature, that they must not be mentioned? Here he gave an eloquent and pathetic picture of the miserable condition of the kingdom. It was plain they had nothing to expect, since applications from the people, backed even by the officers of the crown, were not attended to. Ireland then had nothing to depend upon but her own spirit; no redress of grievances, no extension of trade, but from the efforts of her people! and would it be politic, would it be safe, here or elsewhere, to oppose these efforts? Why does not the address also speak out? Why had they less spirit than the people? Should the commons of Ireland shew less spirit than the most insignificant corporation? The distresses of Ireland were twofold, the beggary of the people, and the bankruptcy of the state. The kingdom was ruined by a balance of trade against her for so many years, and the drain of absentees; the prevailing spirit of associations was but a temporary expedient, and something more effectual must be done.

The bankruptcy of the state was the consequence of a system of boundless prodigality, profligacy, and violence. The peace establishment of that poor country amounted to one-sixth of that of England; and what proportion was there in their means? What was that establishment? Infamous pensions to infamous men! (Here he launched into personalities.) And would those men, whom they paid, vote against an extension of their trade? Vote against the means of supporting them? To what pass had administration reduced that kingdom! To be insulted with their poverty in the speech from the throne; to be told of their beggary; that the officers of the crown there had begged 50,000*l.* from England, or the troops could not have marched into camp; when it

was known, that it was that profligacy, that has unnerved the arm of government, and made the sword of defence fall in its hands.

He then moved an amendment to the address, to be inserted in the following words :

“ That we beseech your majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion ; but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade, have caused such calamity, that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our manufactures are dying away for want. Famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness, and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birth-right.” Lord Westport seconded Mr. Grattan's motion for the amendment. Mr. Flood considered the address as inexplicit. Sir Henry Cavendish declared he would vote against the amendment, apprehending that this business would be better effected by opening a committee on purpose, or rather following a precedent in the year 1661, when the lords and commons of Ireland appointed commissioners to attend the king, to supplicate the redress of grievances.

Mr. Ogle reprobated the idea of entering into a committee on the subject of grievances : he was sick, he said, of the mode of trifling with the nation in order to gain time ; if they did not mention something in the address, the ministry might again shelter themselves under the old excuse, that truly they did not know what the Irish wanted, as their parliament was silent on the head ; and so went on with the old system of duplicity.

Sir Edward Newenham conjured the house, by all they held dear, to resume their wonted dignity and power, charged the British ministry with contempt and neglect to the nation, and called on their warmest advocate to deny the assertion ; said he perfectly agreed with Mr. Flood, that the address did not go far enough, and that he thought the original address a servile echo to the speech.

The Provost drew a most pathetic picture of the melancholy situation of his native country, declaring, on that question, that no administration should bias him from the welfare of his country.

The Attorney General delivered a studied eulogium on the sensibility of the king, and the humanity of his minister.

The debate now took a new turn ; several of the ministerial party declared, that though they thought this business might have come more properly otherwise, yet, that there might be an unanimity, they would not oppose the amendment.

The Rt. Hon. Henry Flood declared for the amendment, and entered largely into a justification of his political conduct, which, he said, had unfortunately been much misrepresented; that the office he held was the unsolicited gift of his sovereign, which he had received with gratitude, and held with honour, that when a time came, that he could no longer do it, he would gladly throw the bracelet into the common cauldron.

Mr. Prime Serjeant, (Hussey Burgh) after expatiating on the necessity of immediately laying, in an unequivocal manner, the state of the distresses at the foot of the throne, moved in lieu of the amendment proposed, "that it is not by temporary expedients, "but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved "from impending ruin."

The amendment was carried *Nem. Con.* as was also the address to the lord lieutenant.

So crying were the distresses of Ireland at this period, so impotent was the hand of government to relieve them, that the most important change of disposition, sentiment, and action in the people took place under the eye, in defiance and with the acquiescence of government. By the melancholy consequences of the American war, our fleets had become inferior to the combined forces of the enemy: our own coasts were insulted, those of Ireland wholly unprotected: the military establishment had been so drained to recruit the regiments in America, that there were not 5000 forces in that kingdom to defend the sea-ports even from the crews of single vessels. Hence arose the necessity of volunteers arming in defence of their abandoned country. Government affrighted at the situation, into which they had thrown or permitted the country to be thrown, delivered out to the people 16,000 stand of arms, thereby encouraging and increasing the number of volunteers, without any stipulation, regulation, or authority for organizing or subjecting them to subordination. The commercial face of the country exhibited a still more desponding view: her vessels taken within sight of her ports: her trade shackled in almost every branch by British restrictions: an embargo on the exports of her provision trade: her linens lying upon their merchants' hands: her imports and her absentees swallowing up all her currency: and slight or no returns to supply an exhausted treasury. Wretchedness, desperation, and ruin presented themselves at every point of view, and in the debate upon the speech from the throne, once more dissolved the ministerial phalanx, and imperiously called upon the staunchest supporters of the castle interest to quit their ranks, and vote for a *free trade*. The nation rejoiced at this glorious opening of the session, and poured forth its gratitude to parliament; they in their turn paid their tribute of thanks to the volunteers, who it

appears now amounted to 42,000 men. It is singular, that this formidable body, armed and organized by no other authority or sanction than the great law of self-defence, was neither charged nor questioned by the Irish government or parliament as to the legality of their commission or delegation. Government had so wasted its vigour, that it could not raise its arm in self-defence. Whilst this debate was going forward, the populace assembled round the parliament house, and with full impunity menaced the members, and demanded oaths of them to support the measure, committing several acts of outrage and intimidation. To this juncture did the late Lord Clare refer in his memorable speech on the Union (p. 49) when he said, “The imbecility of Lord Buckinghamshire’s government had arrayed the volunteer army, and the address to his majesty voted in 1779 by the commons, demanding *a free trade as the right of Ireland*,* was followed instantly by a resolution of thanks to that army for their array.”

The rights of Ireland appear to have been more warmly combated in the British, than in the Irish senate. The Irish parliament had been convened about five weeks before that of Great Britain, in order that the objections pressed by the opposition against the long recess of the Irish parliament, might be done away, and some specific demands might be submitted by the Irish to the British parliament, which the most plausible of the ministerialists had frequently called for. On the 1st of December, 1779, Lord Shelburne moved in the British House of Lords, that the address of that house, which passed unanimously on the 11th of May last, recommending to his majesty’s most serious consideration the distressed and impoverished state of the loyal and well deserving people of Ireland, and to direct that there be prepared and laid before parliament such particulars, relative to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland, as to enable the national wisdom to pursue effectual measures for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of his majesty’s subjects in both kingdoms, and his majesty’s answer of the following day, that he would give directions accordingly: and likewise the motion to address his majesty, which he took the liberty to trouble their lordships with on the 2d of June, re-stating

* When the speaker carried up the address to the lord lieutenant, the streets, from the Parliament-house to the Castle, were lined by the Dublin volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, drawn up in their arms and uniform.—The acclamations of the people as he passed along, expressed their wishes and their joy on this very singular occasion: the pulse of the nation beat high. A general expectation of redress was now diffused; at the same time, anxiety and suspicions were entertained, that there was danger of being disappointed, from the same spirit, in which England had hitherto kept that country, in a state of humiliating and oppressive bondage.

the necessity of giving speedy and effectual relief to Ireland, and offering the full co-operation of that house towards giving relief to that kingdom ; and if his royal prerogative, as vested in him by the constitution, were not adequate to administer the wanted relief, that his majesty would be pleased to continue the parliament of this kingdom, and give orders forthwith for calling the parliament of Ireland, that their just complaints might be fully considered, and remedied without delay ; which last, his lordship observed, had been negatived by a considerable majority, no less than by 61 to 32 ; these documents being read at the table, his lordship proceeded to explain the grounds of his intended motion, which would, if carried, amount to a vote of censure upon ministers, whose conduct he most severely reprobated ; he then adverted to the consequences, which that conduct drew after it ; exactly what every thinking man must have clearly foreseen. Ireland disclaimed any connexion with Great Britain ; she instantly put herself into a condition of defence against her foreign enemies ; oppressed at one time by England, and at length reduced to a state of calamity and distress, experienced by no other country that ever existed, unless visited by war or famine ; and perceiving, that all prospect of justice or relief was in a manner finally closed, and that she must perish, or work out her own salvation, she united as one man to rescue herself from that approaching destruction, which seemed to await her. The people instantly armed themselves, and the numbers armed soon increased to upwards of forty thousand men, and were daily augmenting. This most formidable body was not composed of mercenaries who had little or no interest in the issue, but of the nobility, gentry, merchants, citizens, and respectable yeomanry : men able and willing to devote their time, and part of their property, to the defence of the whole, and the protection and security of their country. The government had been abdicated, and the people resumed the powers vested in them ; and in so doing, were fully authorized by every principle of the constitution, and every motive of self-preservation ; and whenever they should again delegate this inherent power, they firmly and wisely determined to have it so regulated, and placed upon so large and liberal a basis, that they should not be liable to suffer under the same oppressions in time to come ; nor feel the fatal effects and complicated evils of maladministration ; of calamity without hopes of redress ; or of iron-handed power without protection.

To prove, that these were the declared and real sentiments of the whole Irish nation, he should not dwell upon this or that particular circumstance ; upon the resolutions of county and town meetings ; upon the language of the associations ; upon the general prevalent spirit of all descriptions of men of all religions : mat-

ters of this kind, however true or manifest, were subject to, or might admit of controversy. He would solely confine himself to a passage contained in a state paper; he meant the address of both houses of the Irish parliament, declaring, that nothing but granting the kingdom "a free trade," could save it from certain ruin. Here was the united voice of the country conveyed through its proper constitutional organs, both houses of parliament, to his majesty, against which there was but one dissenting voice in the houses, and not a second, he believed, in the whole kingdom. Church of England men, and Roman Catholics, Dissenters, and Sectaries of all denominations; Whigs and Tories, if any such were to be found in Ireland; placemen, pensioners, and country gentlemen; Englishmen by birth: in short, every man in and out of the house, except the single instance mentioned, had all united in a single opinion, that nothing would relieve the country short of a free trade.

After stating, in a variety of instances, the misconduct, incapacity, but, above all, the shameful inattention of ministers to the affairs of Ireland, by which we were driven to the melancholy terms of submitting to whatever Ireland might think proper to dictate, or to the loss of Ireland as well as America, his lordship proceeded to point out several existing grievances in that country, as well arising from its particular constitution, as interior government. He observed, that there was one gross defect in the former, and that too of the first magnitude; he meant the power the crown being invested with, or arrogating to itself the disposal of the hereditary revenue, which amounted to full two-thirds of the whole monies raised upon the people. This could be disposed of at the king's pleasure, or its produce in part be anticipated by royal grants, called the king's letters. Such a general grant, he allowed, was not to be supposed or feared; but as long as the claim was contended for, it must continue a dangerous claim, because it invested the whole produce in the king, and with it consequently the power of the sword. It had, however, this immediate effect, that the ministers were at all times at liberty to give pensions, create places; and the salaries and sums granted or annexed to them, being charged upon the hereditary revenue, it in fact amounted to a power to tax; because, if that revenue fell short, other taxes must be laid on the people, and other burdens incurred, in order to make good those eventual deficiencies. This power, and the use made of it, was a source of endless mischief to the people of Ireland, and in its consequences to the people of England; because it afforded ministers on both sides the water, the means of corruption, and rewarding those, who supported them in their views, and gave a sanction to their measures. It was doubly mischievous to Ireland; for while

it impoverished the people there, it at the same time furnished the means of future oppression, and repeated public rapine.

It was a matter of notoriety, when Ireland had applied for some trifling favour in the last session, some few days only before the noble marquis moved the address read that day at the table, that the minister in the other house, (Lord North) understanding, that the house was about to relax, and that the favour was upon the point of being granted, came down, and by his sole influence threw out the bill by a majority of three only; and, not contented with giving a silent vote, spoke with his usual energy and success against it. This act of declared hostility against the people of Ireland, with the subsequent neglect of administration, in not attending to the united sentiments of the British legislature, was, in his opinion, the cause, that Ireland was not now in a perfect state of tranquillity and obedience to the government of this country; and that, instead of ten or twelve thousand associators, there was now, he believed, full four times the number, well armed and accoutred, and daily improving in discipline. The Irish saw what they must trust to, and they took their option. The honor and dignity of the crown were disgraced; the sword was dropped, and the people had taken it up on the double motive of defending themselves against a foreign enemy; and compelling that justice with arms in their hands, that had, as with America, been denied to their humble applications, and the repeated narratives and representations of their calamities and distress.

After disclaiming all personal resentment in the act of duty, he undertook to perform, his lordship then moved the following resolution:

“That it is highly criminal in his majesty’s ministers to have neglected taking effectual measures for the relief of the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the address of this house of the 11th of May, and of his majesty’s most gracious answer: and to have suffered the discontents of that kingdom to rise to such an height, as evidently to endanger the constitutional connexion between the two kingdoms, and to create new embarrassments to the public councils, by disunion and diffidence, in a moment when real unanimity, grounded upon mutual confidence and affection, is confessedly essential to the preservation of what is left of the British empire.”

Earl of Hillsborough arose, and admitted, that he thought Ireland was entitled to a free trade with equal taxes, or, as he had before expressed himself, to an equal trade. So far his opinions went, and on that ground he thought himself well warranted in recommending to his majesty, and proposing to the consideration of parliament the granting Ireland an equal trade. As to the

event of this measure, all he could positively say, was, that it perfectly accorded with his ideas of policy and justice : and from the temper and disposition of the people of both kingdoms, he had good grounds to hope, that an equal trade, with the conditions to be annexed, would give perfect satisfaction and content, as well to the British, as the Irish nation.

The Marquis of Rockingham said, the non-importation agreement in Ireland had not been general, but had been entered into only by some counties and towns, at the time his motion was made ; but as soon as the Irish perceived, that no relief was to be expected from ministers, though every branch of the legislature had promised it, the non-importation agreement became general, and the spirit of military association, which was directed solely to defence against a foreign enemy, soon assumed a different form ; and looked forward to compel that relief, which, with good will and good intentions on our part, had before no existence in the minds of the people of Ireland. Had something been done when he first moved, or if parliament had been kept sitting, according to the propositions of his noble friend, of the 2d of June, neither the associations, nor the non-importation agreement, would have ever existed in their present extent. Could their lordships, then, with such self-evident proof before them, refuse, when it was, perhaps, the only measure which could effect the salvation of their country from the innumerable perils which encompassed it on every side, to pass a censure upon those men, who, by such base neglect, or complicated folly and treachery, had forced the Irish not only to those measures already mentioned, but had driven them to the last necessity, that of taking up arms to redress themselves, and forming into associations, which, however well intended, most clearly amounted to a suspension, if not a subversion, of all the power of legal government ; and which, if speedy measures of conciliation were not adopted, might terminate in a civil war.

Among the grievances complained of by the people of Ireland, his lordship mentioned the expressions of disapprobation, on the shameful abuse and scandalous waste of the public revenues,* and the pension list.

* As an instance of this charge, he mentioned the purchase made of the office of Clerk of the Pells in that kingdom, from the then possessor of that place, an honourable member of the other house, who was an ornament to his country, (Mr. Fox) who held it by virtue of a patent for thirty-one years. In describing the whole of this accommodation, he observed, that the net profit of the place was but 2300*l.* a year ; that the minister gave 30,000*l.* in hand, and a pension of 1700*l.* per annum ; but for what purpose did he make this usurious contract ? Not to oblige or serve that gentleman ; not to relieve that kingdom from an enormous annual charge of a sinecure place, which required no attendance, but to qualify for the place on the spot, a custom long fallen into disuse,

Earl Gower said, he had the good fortune to unite the house last session, upon the terms of the address to the throne. He was in hopes, that something effectual for the relief of Ireland, would have arisen from the unanimous concurrence of their lordships, in the amendment that he had the honour to propose. If, however, nothing had been done for the relief of that country, which he was pretty sure was the case, he assured the house he had done every thing in his power to keep his word, which he had solemnly pledged to their lordships, he was ready to acknowledge; but he must add, in his own justification, that his efforts had proved totally unfruitful. It was not in his power, nor in the power of any individual, to effect any such purpose.

He had presided, he said, for some years at the council table, and had seen such things pass there of late, that no man of honour or conscience could any longer sit there.

The times were such as called upon every man to speak out: the situations of those two kingdoms, particularly at present, required sincerity and activity in council.

Lord Stormont, said he was of opinion with the noble earl who spoke early (Hillsborough) that no part of the charge contained in the motion had been proved; nor were the parties accused, admitted to their defence.

Lord Camden said, the motion was so fully proved and substantiated in all its parts, that there was not a proposition in Euclid, the demonstrative proof of which might not, with equal justice, be controverted or denied. Ministers had been desired, by the first authority in this country, the king, lords, and commons, to give Ireland relief; to inquire into the nature of their distresses and remove the ground of their complaints. The question was, had they done so? If they had, the motion must fall to the ground: if they had not, did not the *onus* lie upon the ministers to state the reasons why they had not, or were unable to perform what they were entrusted to execute?

He spoke highly of the Irish nation; of their loyalty and affection; their wisdom and their public spirit. He hoped and be-

the very form, upon every occasion, having for many years, and upon most occasions, been dispensed with, by the aid of a British act of parliament, but merely to accommodate Mr. Jenkinson, (now Earl of Liverpool) secretary at war, and to load the sinking revenue of that country with a still heavier burden, by increasing the income of this sinecure place from 2300*l.* per annum, which it was when the honourable gentleman held it, to 3500*l.* per annum, on Mr. Jenkinson's appointment; besides 1700*l.* a year given to the former gentleman on the pension list; by which means Ireland was loaded with a burden of 5200*l.* a year, or an addition of 2900*l.* a year, as long as the patentee, the grantee, and the children of the former, included in the patent, should live; and 1900*l.* a year in perpetuity, in addition. Nothing could be more usurious....nothing more ungenerous, than this job of the minister.

lieved, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received ; the cruel burdens imposed upon them by this country ; and the succession of neglects and harsh measures they had felt, which had at length brought on an accumulation of distresses and calamities ; that yet, all circumstances considered, they would still retain their affection and attachment for England.

Nothing should be done by halves ; nothing niggardly, or apparently accompanied with reluctance.

He lamented the state of public affairs, and the baneful consequences of the American war ; yet he did not entirely despair of, at least the friendship and good will, though perhaps, we had no great right to hope for the sovereignty of America. Ireland was still ours, and devoted to us. This island, with the aid of that kingdom, was still equal to make a most respectable figure among the powers of Europe ; and if nothing better could be procured, he was persuaded, that, with Ireland, rendered useful to herself, and of course, to us, we should still be a match for any confederacy which might be formed against us. The question being put, was negatived by a majority of 82 against 37.

The critical and alarming situation of Ireland was debated more diffusely and warmly in the British House of Commons, than in the Peers. * On the 6th of December, 1779, Lord Upper Ossory rose, and prefaced his intended motion with a short speech in its support, which he confessed, when moved, would appear to amount to a vote of censure upon ministry, for their total inattention to the affairs of Ireland, towards the close of the last session, and during the whole of the prorogation of parliament. They had, he said, totally abandoned the government of that kingdom to chance ; they neither felt for its distresses, nor provided against its possible, nay, probable and natural resentments. They turned a deaf ear to its moderate requests ; and had the peculiar merit of transforming the last stages of national misery and public despondency, into vigour, strength, spirit, and every means which could concur to draw forth a most formidable resistance, and all the time stood by unmoved, as unconcerned spectators, or as if giving countenance to the measures taken by Ireland, in order to compel a full and effectual redress of all her real and ideal grievances. He contended, that the spirit of resistance directed towards independency, which had manifested itself in Ireland, was imputable, and solely imputable, to the shameful inattention and criminal neglect of ministers, who might have, in the early stages of the miseries of that kingdom, granted the Irish substantial relief, and prevented the seeds of those disorders, which now threatened a dissolution of all constitutional govern-

* 15 Parl. Debates, p. 99.

ment, from growing up suddenly to their present state of maturity : such relief too, as being founded in justice, and dictated by motives of sound policy, would have operated preventatively. The Irish would have rested content with the compliance of requests, far short of what they were fairly entitled to expect : no man could answer, at that instant, by what bounds their demands would be limited : no man could say on what conditions they would be satisfied ; or upon what basis the interests and respective rights of both countries could be fairly established, without either a total separation, or consenting to throw too great a weight into the scale of Ireland. As, therefore, the unhappy dilemma this country stood in, respecting that kingdom, arose entirely and exclusively from the inattention of administration, he begged leave to make the following motion, to be proposed by way of resolution.

Resolved, “ That it is highly criminal in his majesty’s ministers, “ to have neglected taking effectual measures for the relief of the “ kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the address of this house “ of the 11th of May last, and of his majesty’s most gracious “ answer ; and to have suffered the discontents of that kingdom “ to rise to such an height, as evidently to endanger a dissolution “ of the constitutional connexion between the two kingdoms, and “ to create new embarrassments to the public councils, by division “ and diffidence, in a moment, when real unanimity, grounded “ upon mutual confidence and affection, was confessedly essential “ to the preservation of what was left of the British empire.”

Lord Middleton seconded the motion, and repeated several instances of the inattention of the noble lord in the blue ribbon, and of his having set his face against the desired relief to Ireland ; he spoke of the part he had taken the two preceding sessions respecting Irish affairs ; that the first, they had been put off by mutual consent, to be more fully investigated the succeeding session ; and the last, when he had the honour to preside in the chair of the committee, where some resolutions, for the purpose of granting some small favour to Ireland, passed without any considerable opposition ; he said, the noble lord, when he found the house in a temper to acquiesce, came down professedly to defeat the measure, and threw out the bill on the second reading.

The defence of administration was, on this occasion, ably conducted. It was contended, that the distresses and miseries of Ireland, could not with justice be attributed to the present, or any late ministers ; that her grievances existed many years before, in the general system of trade laws ; that the restrictions then laid on arose from a narrow, short-sighted policy, which, though conceived in prejudice, and founded on ignorance, was yet so strengthened by time, and confirmed by the habits of a century,

that it seemed at length wrought into, and become even a part of the constitution. That the prejudices on that ground were so strong, both within the house and without, that the attempts made in the two preceding sessions, only to obtain a moderate relaxation of the restrictions, with which Ireland was bounden, met with the most determined opposition : the few, who had undertaken that task, found themselves obliged to encounter prejudice without, petitions and counsel at the bar, and to be at last overborne by numbers within the house. Thus ministers were fully exculpated from the charge, that was brought against them ; and it was demonstrable, that they had no share whatever in drawing on the calamities of Ireland : and it was as clearly evident, that it was not in their power to have afforded that timely redress to her grievances, a supposed or imputed neglect in which had been made the ground of so much ingenious, but unfounded, and therefore, unjust invective. It was farther alleged, that it would have been highly unfitting, and might have been attended with obvious ill consequences, for the British parliament to have at all entered upon the affairs of Ireland, until they were properly informed what the nature of her wants, and the extent of her demands were ; as it was from these circumstances only, that any true judgment could be formed as to the measure of relief, which it would be fitting to afford to that country. That now, by having convened the parliament of Ireland first, its sentiments were properly brought forward, and came fairly within the cognizance of the British legislature ; and all they had now to consider was, how far it would be advisable to comply with the requests made by Ireland ; and with what terms and conditions it might be thought proper to charge the favours granted. That the present ministers, instead of being inimical to Ireland or inattentive to her interests, had been her best and warmest friends. That they had done more for her than all their predecessors during a century past. That not only the nation at large, but parliament, were till then adverse from granting any concessions to Ireland, which could afford her either content or redress : and consequently if any blame were due for not affording more early relief to Ireland, it was imputable only to the prejudices and temper of the people and parliament of England, and not by any means to the ministers, who, as they had no share in the causes of her distresses, were equally guiltless as to their continuance.

These arguments were opposed by the supporters of the motion, who reprobated in terms of high indignation the imputation of prejudice laid to that house, by which ministers (they said) according to their established, but daring practice, attempted to father all their blunders and misdemeanors on parliament. They laughed at the pretended weakness and inefficiency with respect

to the transactions of the house, which ministers then affected, in order thereby to shield their own neglect with respect to Ireland. They however absolutely denied, that the minister had been passive, neutral, or inefficacious as to the affairs of that country ; on the contrary, they charged him with having taken a very active part in the business during the preceding session. For a bill having been brought in to afford relief to Ireland by admitting the direct importation of sugars for her own consumption, and he having (as they said) for some time suffered things to take their natural course in that house, the bill was accordingly coolly and deliberately canvassed and debated in all its parts, and by the strength of its own intrinsic merit worked its way through repeated divisions, until it had nearly arrived at the last stage of its progress. But at that inauspicious moment, the minister having by some means been roused from his slumber, most unhappily re-assumed his activity, and departing at once from that neutrality, which he had hitherto professed, came down with all the power, and surrounded with all the instruments of office, in order to defeat the measure, and accordingly succeeded in throwing out the bill. That when the people of Ireland saw, that the minister had thus openly set his face directly against them, and found after, that every effort in their favour was rendered abortive by his influence or management, until they saw themselves at length totally abandoned by the rising of the British parliament, it was no wonder, that they should become desperate, and that they should seek in themselves for the means of that redress, which they found denied both to favour and to justice.

Ministers, they said, boasted, that the distresses of Ireland had not originated with them ; it could be readily admitted, that she was not without grievances previous to the fatal period of their administration ; but her immediate calamities sprung principally from the same grand source of all those general evils and dangers, from the American war. By that Ireland, like England, lost a valuable part of her commerce, with less ability to support the loss, and the corrupt expenses of a feeble government increased, as all the means of supplying them diminished.

In this severe manner was the minister's defence treated by his opponents ; but no part was handled with more spirit than the plea for not affording timely relief to Ireland, because the parliament of that country was not then sitting. The debates on this occasion were long, various, and interesting ; but the question being at last put, at a very late hour, the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 173 to 100.

In the course of this debate most of the leading men in the commons delivered their sentiments very fully ; none more so

than Mr. Burke. The people of Ireland, said he,* have reasoned fairly and justly: the colonies, they knew, had been offered the most, that their own most sanguine expectations could aspire to, a free trade with all the world. America, for her revolt, has had a choice of favours holden out to her. That was the reward of rebellion. Ireland, for her loyalty for almost a century, and her forbearance under accumulated oppression and internal distresses, had been refused the mighty indulgence of importing her own sugars. The Irish justly conceived, that their merit ought not to be imputed to them as demerit; and that the first principles of all good government would be departed from, if their deserts were to be weighed in the political scale, as only entitling them to punishment, not reward. At all events, without taking any peculiar merit with the British government, for their loyal, faithful, and peaceable demeanour, they thought they were at least entitled to meet the colonies upon equal terms, and with equal expectations of favour and relief, to those which America had spurned at with contempt.

These were the grounds, on which the people of Ireland proceeded, when all hopes of redress from this side of the water had vanished. What was the first resolution they adopted? Like America, to consume no more British manufactures. The next? To enforce this resolution, by rendering it operative and extensive, and for that purpose, entering into a non-importation agreement. What next? To arm and array themselves to the number of forty thousand men. What next? A parliamentary declaration, that nothing short of a free trade could afford them effectual relief; and as the last act, in order to secure a due and faithful performance of what they claim, they pass a money bill for six months. Ministers have but six months credit with the parliament of Ireland. What then was the true state of both kingdoms? Ireland insisting on a free trade, or determined to break off all political connexion with this country.

The noble lord endeavoured to legalize the associations in Ireland, with remarkable ingenuity, under the sanction of two acts of parliament. One of them was out of the question, he believed, by any possible interpretation that could be put upon it [the bill of rights as not extending to Ireland, we presume] the other was, in fact, not less so. He meant the act passed in the Irish parliament in the year 1745, during the rebellion in Scotland. Did the noble lord mean to say, that by that act men had a right to arm themselves, and elect their own officers? And that those officers were legally commissioned to act without an authority from the crown? If he did, the idea was preposterous, and

* 15 Parl. Deb. p. 11.

to the last degree absurd, and as such, he presumed the noble lord had not expressed himself agreeably to his real intentions : the great dispute, which brought on the civil war, and which had been so often between the king and parliament, and on which their disputes at the commencement chiefly turned, was the very particular point then under consideration, so far as it related to the assertions of the noble lord ; and he believed it was a principle ascertained by the constitution, and confirmed by positive law, that, let men be armed by the state, or by themselves, they cannot act or assemble but under a commission from his majesty. He had a most respectable authority to support him in this opinion, no less than the lord chancellor of Ireland, Lord Lifford ; who, when a vote of thanks was moved and agreed to by the majority of the House of Lords of Ireland, to the associators of that kingdom, refused to give his assent, honestly stating his reasons, that he could never join in a vote of thanks, as a peer of parliament or a lawyer, to any set of men, be their motives ever so laudable or patriotic, who were acting in a military capacity contrary to law.

Not only was Ireland at this time associated in arms,* but united in principle ; and a spirit of patriotism carried the people and their representatives to one and the same object. Colonel Barré had faithfully depicted the real and well founded conviction, under which that people were then acting ; namely,† that it was their loyalty and affection, which encouraged ministers to oppress

* 15 Deb. p. 128.

† The volunteer uncommissioned army of Ireland was so extraordinary a phenomenon in all its relations, that the opinions of the great statesmen of that day upon it must be interesting to every British subject. In the debate on Lord Ossory's motion, Mr. Fox thus expressed himself upon the subject (15 Parl. Deb. p. 129). " The Irish associations had been called illegal ; legal " or illegal, he declared he entirely approved of them. He approved of that " manly determination, which, in the dernier resort, flies to arms in order to " obtain deliverance. When the last particle of good faith in men is exhaust- " ed, they will seek in themselves the means of redress ; they will recur to " first principles, to the spirit as well as letter of the constitution, and they can " never fail in such resources, though the law may literally condemn such a " departure from its general and unqualified rules, truth, justice, and public " virtue, accompanied with prudence and judgment, will ever bear up good " men in a good cause, that of private protection.

" God knew, that he sincerely lamented the cause, which produced this sad, " he could not but say, this perplexing and humiliating alternative. He most " heartily lamented that any cause had been administered, which seemed to " justify violence or resistance ; he dreaded the consequences, however justifi- " fiable in their origin, or moderately or judiciously conducted : but whatever " the effects might be, he was ready to acknowledge, that such a power was " inherent in men ; as men and citizens it was a sacred trust in their hands, " as a defence of the possible or actual abuse of power, political treachery, and " the arts and intrigues of government ; and when all other means failed resist- " ance he should ever hold as perfectly justifiable."

and neglect them, so it was a proper sense of those oppressions and neglects, that produced their present resentments, and had provoked them to arms. In neither house of the British parliament were the desperate distress and calamity of Ireland even doubted; all were of accord as to the existence of the evil: the only differences were, who had created, and who had countenanced or fomented, who had negatively or positively given continuance to it, and how was it then to be remedied.*

In the Irish senate a new scene was opened, and the voice of patriotism re-echoed from each side of the house with equal ardour. Encouragement had been given to them by the gracious answer from the throne to the address of the House of Commons, communicated to the house on the 1st of November, 1779;† in which his majesty assured them of his sincere concern for the distresses of his kingdom of Ireland, of his affectionate attention to their interests, and of his constant readiness to concur in such measures, as should upon mature consideration, appear most conducive to the general welfare of all his subjects. The parliament of Ireland now used serious exertions in behalf of their country; the House of Commons, with a view of obtaining an enlargement of their commerce, spiritedly resolved to grant the supply only for a short period, and accordingly agreed to a six months money bill, which was transmitted to England, where, however mortifying to the minister, it reluctantly passed. The house likewise resolved unanimously, “That the exportation from that kingdom
“of its woollen and other manufactures to all foreign places
“would materially tend to relieve its distresses, increase its
“wealth, promote its prosperity, and thereby advance the welfare
“of Great Britain, and the common strength, wealth, and commerce of the British empire.

“That a liberty for that kingdom to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, in like manner as trade is car-

* Mr. Fox in his speech on the debate upon Lord Ossory's motion pointedly asked, What was it that armed 42,000 men in Ireland with the arguments carried on the points of 42,000 bayonets? The American war (15 P. D. p. 125 and p. 127). “It was the general calamities of the empire, which had made Ireland poor; but it was the incapacity and negligence of government that had rendered her bold and daring. It was therefore incumbent upon parliament, to shew their fullest disapprobation of that indolence and incapacity, and convince Ireland, that they are as ready as themselves to resent and punish the cruel and improper treatment, which she has received from ministers. Ireland would see by such a conduct, that it was not this country, but its ministers, who were blameable; which would, in his opinion, prove the surest means of once more binding both countries in the strongest and most indissoluble ties of friendship and affection. That, in his opinion, was the motive, which ought to operate with Britain at the present minute.”

† Com. Journ. p. 17.

“ried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settle-
 “ments, would be productive of very great commercial benefits,
 “would be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention
 “of Great Britain to our distresses, and would give new vigour
 “to the zeal of his majesty’s brave and loyal people of Ireland,
 “to stand forward in support of his majesty’s person and govern-
 “ment, and the interest, the honour, and the dignity of the
 “British empire.”

So determined was the Irish House of Commons to assert their rights, and bring the British government and parliament into a full recognition of them, that on the 24th day of November the question was put, that it be resolved, that at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes, and it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 170 to 47.* As soon after this disposition of the Irish House of Commons was known in England, as conveniency would permit, Lord Shelburne in the British House of Peers, and Lord Ossory in the British House of Commons, made their motions; on which occasion Mr. Fox afterwards observed,† his friends and he had openly, and without the least degree of reserve, given their thoughts on the subject, alleging, that although that motion had been unfortunate, yet it fully expressed the sentiments of those, with whom he had the honour to act.

On the 13th of November, 1779, the British House of Commons being in a committee on the affairs of Ireland, Lord Drogheda in the chair, Lord North opened his three propositions relative to the allowing Ireland a free export of her wool, woollens, and wool flocks, a free exportation of glass, and all kinds of glass manufactures, and a freedom of trade with the British plantations on certain conditions, the basis of which was to be an equality of taxes and customs upon an equal and unrestrained trade. The minister stated in a speech of considerable length, and with equal ability and knowledge of the subject, the propriety and justice, as well as the necessity, of affording relief to Ireland; and entered fully into her claims, as well with respect to her natural and inherent rights, as to those arising from her particular connexion with Great Britain. He likewise expatiated largely on the mutual and respective interests of both countries, and very happily collected into one point of view, almost all those questions of commerce and policy, that had been before agitated on this subject. He gave the following correct and interesting history of the commercial restrictions of which Ireland so justly complained.

The commerce, import and export, was holden in common by both kingdoms, till the reign of Charles the Second. Even the

* 10 Com. Journ. p. 34.

† Viz. on the 13th of December, when Lord North brought forth his three propositions, 15 Par. Deb. p. 187.

Act of Navigation, the great foundation of our plantation laws, put England and Ireland upon exact terms of equality; nor was it till two years after the first commercial restriction was laid on Ireland, and that not directly, but by a side wind, and by deductive interpretation. When the act first passed, there was a general governing clause, for giving bonds to perform the conditions of the act; but when the act was amended, in the 15th of Charles the Second, the word Ireland was omitted, whence a conclusion was drawn, that the acts of the two preceding parliaments, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of Charles the Second, were thereby repealed, though it were as clearly expressed in those acts, as it was possible for words to convey, that ships built in Ireland, navigated with the people thereof, were deemed British, and qualified to trade to and from the British plantations; and that ships built in Ireland, and navigated with his majesty's subjects of Ireland, were entitled to the same abatement and privileges, to which importers and exporters were entitled by the book of rates. Ireland was, however, omitted in the manner he had mentioned. The giving bond being omitted in the act of the fifteenth of the same king, the very condition, which was to give it a general operation, namely, confining the liberty to trade only with Great Britain and Ireland, and vesting the power in Ireland to trade with the colonies on the same footing as England, having been left out, Ireland was thereby as much excluded from trading with the British colonies as France, Spain, or any other strange nation, in the way of a direct export or import trade, except in a few instances, which were by subsequent acts declared exceptions to the general rule, such as the export of servants, horses, and victuals; and in the reign of King William, of linen, and some few enumerated articles since that period.

There were anecdotes still extant, relative to the real causes of those harsh and restrictive laws. They were supposed to have originated in a dislike or jealousy of the growing power of the then Duke of Ormond, who from his great estate and possessions in Ireland, was supposed to have personal interest in the prosperity of that kingdom. Indeed, so far was this spirit carried, whether from personal enmity to the Duke of Ormond, from narrow prejudices, or a blind policy, that the parliament of England passed a law to prohibit the importation of Irish lean cattle.

The wool export and woollen manufactures still remained in the possession of Ireland, to restore which was the object of this present motion. In 1692, from jealousy, or some other motive, the two houses of the English parliament addressed the crown, recommending a kind of compact between both kingdoms, the terms of which were, that England should enjoy the woollen manufacture exclusively, and Ireland the linen. If, however, solemnly

this compact were observed by the latter kingdom, the truth was, that England carried on the linen manufacture to full as great an extent as Ireland, while the monopoly of the woollens remained totally with England. The first step Ireland took in consequence of this compact, was to lay an export duty upon wool and woollens of all kinds equal to a prohibition; and when the act expired, for it was but a temporary one by way of experiment, the British parliament, without consulting that of Ireland, by the 10th and 11th of William the Third, passed a similar act, and made it perpetual. That was the act, which at once put an end to the woollen trade of Ireland. The next act was a law of the fifth of George the First; the next the fifth and twelfth of the late king, which last went so far even, as to prohibit the export of a kind of woollen manufacture called wadding, and one or two other articles excepted out of the tenth and eleventh of King William; but these three last acts swept every thing before them.

His lordship next proceeded to state some facts relative to the trade of that country. He said, upon an average of the six years from 1766 to 1772, the export of Ireland was somewhat more than two millions; and in the succeeding six years, ending in 1778, about as much more, one half nearly British manufacture or produce, the other half certificated articles, of which this country was the medium of conveyance, out of the native produce, which was something more than 900,000*l.* per annum, on the average, only 200,000*l.* were woollens; so that in this light, supposing every thing, that any man could wish to conclude from the fact, he submitted to the house, whether it would be sound policy to risque a million export of native produce for a woollen export of 200,000*l.*

He then turned to reconsider the state of the linen trade, which, however prosperous it might appear, was still capable of great improvement. It was a pamphlet written by the celebrated Sir William Temple, that first suggested the idea of extending and improving the manufacture of Ireland, and gave rise to the compact, which he had alluded to. It was an opinion, which prevailed with many, he believed, that as the compact was now to be dissolved, should the Irish be permitted to enjoy a free export of woollens, that the bounties paid on the importation into England of certain species of fabrics of Irish linens, ought to be discontinued. In this he should differ greatly from gentlemen, who might reason in that manner, and he would support his difference of opinion by the following authentic documents, which he had in his hand.

From those it appeared, the number of yards of linen manufactured for foreign consumption, or exported in the year 1751, was twelve millions; the next year the British bounty was discontinued, and it fell to ten millions; in 1756 it was no higher than

eleven millions; and in the next year, 1757, when the bounties were again granted, the number of yards entered for exportation, suddenly rose to fifteen millions, and so continued to increase for several years so high, he believed, within a period of fifteen years, (1771) as to amount to twenty-five millions of yards.

This was sufficient ground for him to conclude, that the British bounty operated as a great encouragement. It was not a large sum that was appropriated for this purpose, the whole not being, in the highest year, above 13,000*l.* or thereabouts. He said that a trade with our colonies, of any kind or of any extent, from Ireland, must be considered as a matter of favour to that kingdom. Considering her even as an independent state, she could set up no claim to a commercial intercourse with the British colonies. These colonies had been settled, established, and raised to the present strength and opulence, by the blood, treasure, and industry of Great Britain. By every principle of justice, of the law of nations, and the custom of the other powers of Europe who had settlements and distant dependencies, the mother country had an exclusive right to trade with, and to forbid all others from having any intercourse with them. Such an exclusive right was of the very essence of colonization; for what nation under the sun would spend their blood and treasure in establishing a colony, and protecting and defending it in its infant state, if, after, other nations were to reap the advantages derivable from their labour, hazard, and expense?

The colony trade laws, so far as they related to Ireland, were full of restrictions, though, as he had more than once observed, the colony trade was open before the 15th, 22d, and 23d of Charles II. in which the word Ireland was omitted; after that period, several statutes were passed, some general, others particular, to restrain, and in many cases to prohibit, the trade of Ireland with America and the West Indies. By the act last mentioned of Charles II. 7th and 8th William III. 3d and 4th Ann, chap. 5 and 10; 2th Geo. I. 4th Geo. II. and 4th Geo. III.

By these several acts, the following articles, being the growth, product or manufacture of any British plantation in Africa, Asia, or America, cannot be imported into or landed in Ireland, except they are first landed in Great Britain, viz. sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic or other dying woods, speele or Jamaica wood, rice, molasses, tar, pitch, turpentine, masts, yards and bowsprits, beaver skins and other furs, copper ore, coffee, pimento, cocoa-nuts, whale-fins, raw silk, hides and skins, pot and pearl ashes, and gum Senegal. But by the acts of the 4th of Geo. II. and 7th of Geo. III. all other goods (except hops) of the growth, product, or manufacture of the British plantations, may be import-

ed from thence into Ireland, in British shipping, whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners are British.

By the 15th of Charles II. and 7th of William III. his lordship observed, that goods, the product of Europe, cannot be imported into any British plantation, unless shipped in Great Britain, and carried directly from thence in British-built shipping, except salt for the fisheries, horses, and victual and linen cloth from Ireland, provisions and implements for the fisheries, clothing and accoutrements for the army, and other articles of manufacture permitted to be exported from thence into the British plantations, by the 3d and 4th of Ann, 3d of Geo. I. 15th and 18th of Geo. III.

His lordship enumerated several other acts, of the same tenor, directed to particular articles of import and export, not necessary to be particularly mentioned, but all framed upon the same principle. Having laid down these premises, as the foundation on which he was to rest his intended proposition, he declared that in his opinion, it was the interest, and consequently the duty of Great Britain, to do every thing in her power, which might promise to advance, promote, and extend, the interest and commerce of Ireland, upon the broadest and most extensive ground and firmest basis; and as one of the most certain means of rendering that country useful to herself, and truly valuable to this, would be to open new sources of commerce to her, and such as it would be impossible for Ireland to obtain without the liberality and indulgence of this country, though she had been totally an independent nation. This he said would prove the only wise and prudent means to afford our sister kingdom relief, and that species of relief, too, that would serve more to convince her of the sincere and affectionate desire we have to render her happy, contented, rich, and prosperous. It would be an unequivocal proof of the candour and sincerity of Great Britain, and he made no doubt but Ireland would receive it as such, and that the whole would have a happy termination.

He condemned local prejudices and national partialities, very warmly; though under different legislatures, he maintained that Great Britain and Ireland had but one conjugal interest, and were in the genuine sense of the phrase but one people. He acknowledged that Great Britain ought to be no sufferer by her bounty to Ireland. The latter would, it was certain, gain much, but this country would be no loser. But even if the sister kingdom should be enabled to rival us at foreign markets, in a few commodities of native growth, cheapness of labour, and other incidental circumstances, we should not forget that Ireland formed a part of the British empire, and the only part too out of this island to which we could look for assistance in the moment of

peril or distress. He wished every person out of it, who turned his thoughts to the subject, would look at it fairly, and consider it without partiality or prejudice, not upon a narrow or contracted, but upon a liberal and extensive scale. It was a duty every man owed his country, to look attentively and gravely to our present situation, and to reflect, that as the superlucration of all the commerce of Ireland, let it arise from the profit of which branch of trade it might, would necessarily centre in the seat of empire; if not the whole, at least much the greatest part, and might be well estimated as forming a part of the accumulating wealth of Great Britain.

Such was the happy temper now prevailing, that no opposition was given to these resolutions, the firm measure of a six months money bill; the non-importation agreement and the armed associations had produced a wonderful change in the public mind throughout Great Britain with reference to the affairs of Ireland. Bills founded on the two first propositions were accordingly brought in, passed both houses with the utmost facility, and received the royal assent before the recess. The third being more complex in its nature, requiring a variety of enquiry, and being subject to several limitations and conditions, was suffered to lie over during the ensuing holidays in its state of an open proposition, not only to afford time for consideration in England, but for acquiring a knowledge of the effect, which the measure was likely to produce in Ireland.

To such an alarming crisis was the political state of Ireland now brought, that the people began to look up to the armed association for redress, rather than to their representatives in parliament. But hitherto, these bodies having acted only in detached companies, knew not their own strength. They found it necessary for their grand project, to form themselves into regular battalions, and establish a system of communication with each other. Long had the original cause, or occasion of the volunteers arming in self defence against a foreign enemy, been sunk into the more interesting object of asserting their constitutional independent rights, and procuring a free and open trade for their country. As far back as at the close of the year 1778, the armed associations in Ireland were computed to amount to 30,000 men: and they had been increasing from that period: they clad and armed themselves voluntarily; they cheerfully learned the use of arms, and freely submitted to the most exemplary discipline: but their transcendent attention was to instil into each other an uniformity of political sentiment and determination not to quit their arms, till they should have accomplished the complete liberation of their country from the sovereignty of the British parliament. In the beginning of the year 1780, they entered

upon the plan of general organization: they appointed reviews for the ensuing summer; and chose their exercising officers and reviewing generals; and thus the foundation of Irish union was laid. They now openly declared their opinions upon the state of public affairs; and the newspapers teemed with resolutions of the different corps, all in unison declaring, that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and fully entitled to all the uncontroled rights, privileges, and immunities of a free constitution: that no power on earth but the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, could make laws to bind them: and that they were ready with their lives and fortunes to resist the usurpations and encroachments of any foreign legislature. Such were at this period the universal sentiments of the Irish people, if the will of a people can be known. The government, and their parliamentary majority, were alarmed at, and consequently inimical to the propositions. Mr. Grattan, however, on the 19th of April, 1780, after a most animated speech, moved, that the house should resolve and enter on its journals, "*That no power on earth, save the king, lords and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland.*" After a most interesting debate, that lasted till six o'clock in the morning, in which every man but one, acknowledged its truth, either expressly, or by not opposing it, Mr. Flood, who well knew that the ministerial members were committed to negative the motion, if it came to a division, recommended, that no question should be put, and no appearance of the business entered on the journals; to which Mr. Grattan consented.

Upon the appearance of some active sincerity in the British cabinet and parliament, the Irish House of Commons proceeded to take into serious consideration, the regulations necessary to place the commerce of that kingdom on a footing of stability and advantage. It is characteristic to that nation, to be prodigally grateful for benefits even intended. The supplies were granted for a year and a half longer; and 260,000*l.* were ordered to be raised by treasury bills, or by a lottery, as the lord lieutenant should direct.* On presenting the money bills, to which his excellency gave the royal assent, Mr. Pery, the speaker of the

* This was the first time that the expedient of a lottery, to aid the raising of the loan, was resorted to in Ireland. Two hundred thousand pounds being wanted, a lottery, consisting of 42,000 tickets, was proposed, 40,000 of those were paid for at five pounds each; and one ticket given as a *douceur*, to every subscriber for twenty. Debentures, bearing interest at four per cent. for 210,000*l.* were ordered to be made out for the payment of the prizes; and it being necessary to borrow 140,000*l.* more, treasury bills, for the first time, were ordered to be issued, at an interest of three-pence per day for each 100*l.* being 4*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* per cent. per annum.

House of Commons,* made a speech to the lord lieutenant, which was highly satisfactory to all parties, for which the house thanked him, and desired him to print it.

Notwithstanding the general elation of the Irish upon the flattering prospect of a free trade, their joy was but of short duration: upon maturer consideration, the generality of the commercial interest in Ireland was dissatisfied with the proposed system of equalizing the duties between the sister kingdoms, and the British ministry was so imprudent at that time, as to irritate and inflame the distrust and disaffection, that had so long rankled in the public mind of Ireland, which then, with arms in her hands, had earnestly turned her thoughts to the assertion of her independent

* 10 Journ. Com. p. 142. The speech was to the following effect:

“The Right Honourable Mr. Speaker’s Speech to his Excellency John Earl
“of Buckinghamshire, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor
“of Ireland.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“During the vicissitudes of a foreign, and still
“more dangerous, civil war, which has wasted a great extent of the British
“empire, it has been the peculiar felicity of this nation to preserve the public
“tranquillity: and though long depressed by the narrow policy of former
“times, still to retain such vigor, and at the same time such temper and cau-
“tion, as animated it to claim, with honest confidence, its rights; and yet
“restrained it from transgressing the bounds of its duty, or hazarding the
“loss of that inestimable blessing, the British constitution. To this state of
“union and moderation, unexampled in any age, or in any country, under
“similar circumstances; to your excellency’s judicious conduct and faithful
“representations; to his majesty’s benevolent disposition and tender concern
“for the sufferings of his people; to the wisdom of his minister, however
“questioned in some instances, in this acknowledged by all; to his resolution
“and constancy in combating established habits and rooted prejudices; and
“to the justice and generosity of the British nation, must be ascribed the
“happy restoration of that equitable system of equality in commerce, which
“has silenced, I trust for ever, those pernicious suspicions and jealousies,
“which lately threatened the peace of both kingdoms. But, whatever ad-
“vantages this change in our condition may promise, it will avail us little if it
“inspires false hopes and vain expectations of sudden affluence; the future
“prosperity of this kingdom will depend upon our industry and œconomy,
“public as well as private, the effects of which, though certain and perma-
“nent, are ever gradual and slow; and unless our expenses are regulated by
“our acquisitions, disappointment will be our portion, and poverty and dis-
“tress must be the consequence of our conduct. Notwithstanding these con-
“siderations, and the reduced state of this kingdom, the commons have
“granted to his majesty much larger supplies than in any former session; they
“have borrowed a sum of 610,000*l.* to discharge the arrears of the establish-
“ments; and in order to provide against any future deficiency, they have made
“an addition to the revenue, estimated at above 150,000*l.* a year. Nor have
“they been less attentive to the interests of the people, than to the honour of
“the crown. The public good has been the object to which all their efforts
“have been directed; and their conduct through the whole of this session,
“has alike entitled them to the confidence of their sovereign, and of their
“constituents; and will leave to all future parliaments a memorable and in-
“structive example of fortitude, moderation, and wisdom.”

constitutional rights. The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion in the army for a limited time, had been transmitted, as usual, and was returned with the most alarming alteration from the English privy council: it was made *perpetual*: and very material alterations were also made in one of the commercial bills relating to the article of sugars. Provocation and harshness to Ireland were now peculiarly ill-timed. Discontent and resentment ran through the kingdom. The borough of Newry presented a petition to the House of Commons, stating, that the petitioners had heard with deep concern of alterations then said to have been made in the bill for laying a duty of twelve shillings per hundred weight on imported refined sugars; and also in the bill for the better regulation of the army: that the duty of twelve shillings appeared to be the lowest, that could possibly be admitted, with the appearance of justice to that country; and that a perpetual bill for the regulation of the army, or of any other duration than from session to session, was a daring attack on the constitution of both countries. That they humbly prayed, that, by an equal distribution of justice, the mutual cordiality between Great Britain and Ireland might be ensured; and the necessity for that country to resolve to consume her own manufactures only, might be removed; and that a parliamentary army might be maintained in Ireland, regulated upon principles such as Great Britain could approve of, and Ireland submit to. Several other petitions were also presented to the like purport.

On the 16th of Aug. 1780, the House of Commons resolved itself into a grand committee, to take into consideration the altered mutiny bill. It was contended, in support of that measure, that if parliament had an intention to preserve the peace of Ireland, they must pass the bill in its present state. That as long as parliament held the purse of the nation, they could, by refusing to pay, annihilate the army. That the hereditary revenue never could be applied to the payment of the army, because it would destroy itself in the very ends it should be employed for. That if the king were granted the liberty of raising an army, he should also have the perpetual power of regulating that army.

On the other side it was argued, that the present bill tended to the subversion of all public liberty. That it would not be wise to grant to the crown a dictatorial power over fifteen thousand men for ever. That it was the wish of the kingdom to be governed by its own laws. That they considered the power of originating this very act as a declaration of rights: they were consequently contending with the minister of Great Britain, not for any concession, which might wound the interest or pride of the English, but for a measure, which would bring every man in Britain on their side, as they could not wish to see the power of

the crown rendered so dangerous to the constitution of both kingdoms, with a perpetual army, which might invest his majesty with too great an influence over the laws; and that any articles of war, which the king might hereafter make, would be articles of war for that kingdom; for the act extended a power over all his majesty's forces, by which means Ireland would be under the controul of an English statute, and the kingdom would become a place of arms.

The debates on this subject continued till near midnight. Sir Henry Flood took a principal part on the side of government, who carried the question by a majority of 69 against 25, and the bill was passed. This, together with the circumstances respecting the sugar bill, increased the public discontent; and several resolutions were entered into at different public meetings, that were assembled on this occasion. Amongst others, a meeting of the merchants' corps of volunteers was convened at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, when the following resolutions were passed, and ordered to be printed in the public papers.

Resolved, That the late decisions of the House of Commons, (so destructive, in our opinion, to the constitutional rights, and injurious to the commercial interests of this kingdom) demand the most serious attention of every Irishman.

Resolved, That we consider their consent to the mandate of the British minister, by which the bill for the regulation of the army is made perpetual, and the controul thereof for ever vested in the hands of the crown, as a subversion of the constitution, and a stab to the liberty of the subject.

Resolved, That considering the army of this kingdom as a body of men embarked in the cause of their country, and equally entitled with ourselves to the protection of its legislature, we cannot but feel for their situation, who, by this law are in danger of being made, at a future day the unwilling instruments of despotism, to violate the liberties of Ireland.

Resolved, That we consider the compliance of that house with the alteration made in the sugar bill by the English privy council reducing the proposed duty on lump sugars, as an overthrow to the refinery of this kingdom, and a total obstruction to the extension of its manufactures, by an export to the British colonies and West-Indies.

Resolved, That we will concur with the volunteer corps of this kingdom, and the rest of our fellow subjects, in every effort which may tend to avert the dangers we are threatened with.

Resolved, That the strenuous, though unsuccessful efforts, of the minority of the House of Commons, in defence of the con-

“stitution, merit the thanks and firm support of every friend of his country.”

Similar resolutions were entered into by other volunteer bodies, particularly the Independent Dublin and Liberty corps; as also by the citizens of Dublin in general.

The language now holden by the popular prints, bespoke at once, as well as increased the general and inveterate discontent of the people. *The Hibernian Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty*, and *The Public Register, or Freeman's Journal*, were peculiarly obnoxious to government. The House of Commons passed a vote of censure against the printers and publishers of these two papers,* and addressed the lord lieutenant to give orders for effectually prosecuting the printers and publishers, and also the authors and contrivers of certain articles in those papers. The former contained the resolutions of several corps of volunteers, and others: the latter gave peculiar offence, by the publication of the following paragraphs:

“We are happy to find, that a general meeting of the independent merchants and volunteers of this city is fixed for Tuesday evening next, at the Music Hall. It is hoped, that their spirit and example may animate the kingdom to rise in support of the violated rights of Ireland; and that the nation may be restored by their means to those inherent privileges, which their treacherous representatives have basely sold to the infamous administration of Great Britain.”

“It is thought, that the measures, which will be adopted on Tuesday next, by the merchants and volunteers, will be directed to effect the destruction of the betrayers of our excellent constitution; and as it is feared, that the Music Hall will not be large enough to contain them, it is expected that the next meeting will be in the Park, or in St. Stephen's Green.”

Whereupon it was

Resolved, nem. con. “That the said paragraphs contained matters that are false, scandalous, seditious, and libellous, grossly aspersing the proceedings of parliament, and most manifestly tending to create discontents amongst his majesty's subjects, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of this realm, and to subvert the authority of the legislature of this kingdom.”

This vote of censure was not so much directed against the printers and publishers, as it was aimed by the ministry at the volunteer corps, whose system and influence had become truly alarming to government. Yet such was the ascendancy which the armed associations then commanded over the minds of their

* 10 Journ. Com. p. 195.

countrymen, that it was found more prudent not to cast a direct censure upon, or even shew a disregard to any of those corps.

No nation on earth enters into a cause with more eagerness and cordiality than the Irish: no nation sets a higher value upon works of genius: none delights more in reading, hearing and discoursing upon the political events of their own country. During (what Lord Clare called) the imbecility of Lord Buckinghamshire's administration, the popular mind was worked up to a degree of enthusiasm upon their rights and claims to uncontroled civil freedom and independence: several publications helped to quicken and extend this flame; the letters, under the signatures of *Owen Roe O'Neil*, and *Guatimozin*, were distinguished by their boldness of thought and expression; by a warmth of patriotism, and a cast of original genius, peculiarly adapted to the general, as well as peculiar disposition of the Irish people at that juncture. A pamphlet, attributed to Mr. Grattan, containing great part of the substance of that great orator's speech on the 19th of April, in the House of Commons, against the right of foreign legislation, and the unconstitutional clause of perpetuity in the mutiny bill, was read with avidity, and circulated with astonishing effect. The people were on one hand encouraged by these publications to insist upon their independence; and on the other they were goaded into soariness and irritation, by the determined opposition given in parliament to the different attempts made to bring it to bear: thus were they incensed at Mr. Grattan's resolutions against foreign legislation not finding admission to the journals: they were provoked at Mr. Yelverton's failure in procuring a modification of Poyning's law: and irritated at the ineffectual effort of Mr. Forbes, to procure a bill for the independence of the judges. They were, in a word, desperate in the conviction, that a majority in their own parliament was purchased with the wealth of Ireland, to negative every question or motion, that could tend to promote their independence upon the parliament of Great Britain.

The session had been protracted to an unusual length; on the 2d of September, 1780, Lord Buckinghamshire put an end to it, by a most gracious speech from the throne. He had on the preceding day been addressed in a very adulatory style by the commons; and the return of the incense appears upon the face of his address to both houses of parliament.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I am happy at length to congratulate you on
 "the conclusion of this session of parliament, though the important measures under deliberation must have made your attendance less irksome to you.

“ If your long absence from your several counties has been
 “ productive of any inconvenience, such inconvenience is fully
 “ compensated by permanent and solid benefits, the successful
 “ consequences of your labours.”

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I THANK you in his majesty’s name, for the
 “ liberal supplies you have granted : your cheerfulness in giving,
 “ and your attention to the ease of the subject in the mode of rais-
 “ ing them, must be very acceptable to his majesty : on my part,
 “ I assure you they shall be faithfully applied.”

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ THE satisfaction, with which the heart of
 “ every Irishman must exult, at the fair scene of prosperity now
 “ opening to his country, may equal, it cannot exceed the glow of
 “ my private feelings ; and whilst you applaud the conduct of
 “ Great Britain in removing the restrictions upon the trade of this
 “ kingdom, you cannot but particularly acknowledge the un-
 “ equivocal demonstrations of her sincere affection in admitting
 “ you upon the most liberal plan, to an immediate, free and equal
 “ intercourse with her colonies.

“ The wise and salutary laws, which you have framed, natural-
 “ ly lead to the most beneficial enjoyment of that intercourse :
 “ and when I reflect on those great objects, and on your meri-
 “ torious attention to the trade, agriculture and manufactures of
 “ this kingdom, so conspicuously manifested by the laws passed
 “ for granting ample bounties on the export of your corn, your
 “ linen, and your sail cloth, by the premiums for encouraging
 “ the growth of hemp and flax-seed, and by the judicious provi-
 “ sions for the better regulation of your manufactures, I feel a
 “ conscious satisfaction, that the commerce of this kingdom has
 “ been established upon an extended, firm, and lasting basis ; and
 “ that Ireland must, in the course of her future prosperity, look
 “ back to this era, the labours of the present parliament, and the
 “ diffusive indulgence of his majesty, with a most grateful veneration.

“ Your own discreet judgment will naturally suggest the ex-
 “ pediency, when you return to your several counties, of impress-
 “ ing upon the minds of all ranks of men the various blessings of
 “ their present situation. Demonstrate to them, that every effec-
 “ tual source of commercial wealth is now their own, and invites
 “ that industry, without which the wisest commercial regulations
 “ remain a dead letter, and the bounties of nature are lavished in
 “ vain. Cherish such a spirit of industry, and convince them of
 “ the essential advantages they derive from their free and excel-
 “ lent constitution, the maintenance of every branch of which in

“its just vigour and authority, can alone secure their liberties, “and preserve their happiness.”

Thus ended a session, that had vainly promised in its opening the brightest prospects to Ireland. The disappointed people felt, and expressed their resentment.

At many of the different reviews, which afterwards took place, the volunteers expressed their political sentiments, and freely condemned the conduct of parliament. They were, however, far from being unanimous. They were not yet as completely united in sentiment, as they were drilled to the use of arms. It was Lord Buckinghamshire's fate to be disapproved of by the ministers of England, as well as to have dissatisfied the people of Ireland. The power of the volunteers had infused real fear into the British administration: they trembled, and condemned Lord Buckinghamshire for effects, which it was not in his power to prevent; and which, in fact, were to be immediately traced up to their dilatory, irresolute, and pernicious councils. Lord Buckinghamshire was recalled, and Lord Carlisle* was appointed in his stead on the 23d of December, 1780.

In the dearth of historical documents of the affairs of Ireland during the latter end of Lord Buckinghamshire's administration, there is an advantage in being able to resort to a very interesting and delicate representation made by the most eminent statesmen in the British parliament, of the early spirit, conduct, and consequences of the Irish volunteers, before they had formed themselves into that compact and formidable body under Lord Charlemont, by means of which was brought about the Irish revolution of 1782, which according to Mr. Burke† *most intrinsically and substantially resembled the English revolution of 1688.*

‡ On February 23d, 1781, Mr. Jenkinson, (now Earl of Liverpool) secretary at war, moved in the British House of Commons, that the order of the day for the further consideration of the report on the Mutiny Bill be read; when Mr. Fox rose agreeably to his intimation to the house, to move for the recommitment of that bill,§ for the purpose of correcting a very material and im-

* Lord Carlisle took over with him as secretary, his protégé and friend Mr. Eden, (now Lord Auckland) who had published several letters upon political subjects to his patron; and amongst others, one on *The Representations of Ireland respecting a free trade*, of which Mr. Dobbs, in his *History of Irish Affairs*, p. 42, writes thus: “From a letter written by Mr. Eden, the secretary to Lord “Carlisle, on the subject of Irish affairs, and which had been answered by “Counsellor Richard Sheridan, we had no great reason to rejoice in this “change.”

† Letter to Lang. p. 46.

‡ 1 Parl. Deb. p. 522.

§ 1 Parl. Deb. p. 433. Mr. Jenkinson, secretary at war, informed the house, that there were some alterations made in the Mutiny Act, two of which being

portant alteration, that had taken place in it. He began his speech with stating, that if he had not been sensible of the difficulty and delicacy of his situation, in the question which he was about to agitate, the observation that had fallen from a gentleman high in office, and an old well-informed member of that house, would have opened his eyes, and convinced him, that he was treading upon ground at once difficult and dangerous. The honourable gentleman had said, that the house ought not to attempt to do that, which it could not fully and perfectly accomplish, and had advised them rather to overlook the attack upon their dignity, by the presentment of a frivolous petition, than attempt a punishment, which they could not enforce. This was his sentiment, it was at all times so, since he constantly was of opinion, that prudence ought at all times to be consulted in measures of dignity, and that they ought not to assert powers of authority at a season when from weakness they were unable to support their claim. To agitate a question therefore, respecting the powers of supremacy and superintendency, which this country asserted over a sister kingdom, at a time when that kingdom was disposed to militate the principle, must certainly be dangerous ground, and particularly so at a moment, when the country was involved in a scene of complicated calamities, and was threatened with the most decisive ruin. He trusted that the house would forgive him, if, in the situation he then stood, he should take up a few minutes of their time in stating his sentiments of the question; since he knew from experience, that pains would be taken to misrepresent what he should say, in order to place him in a light unfavourable to the people of Ireland. The insidious pains, that had been exerted on a former occasion to misrepresent both him and other gentlemen on the same side of the house, had not altogether failed producing the intended effect, of making them odious in

material, he thought it right to state what they were, as no alterations ought to be made in an act of so much importance, without the concurrence of the house. The first alteration was the total omission of the word "Ireland," in the act, an omission, which the learned gentleman appointed to draw up and prepare the bill, had judged proper, because the Irish legislature had last year introduced clauses in their Mutiny Act, tending to govern and regulate the management of the quartering of soldiers, and other matters relative to military discipline, when at a distance from the capital; the continuing to extend the British Mutiny Act to Ireland was therefore no longer necessary.

Sir George Yonge said, that what the secretary at war had dropped concerning the omission of the word "Ireland" in the bill, appeared to him to be of very serious importance, and required very mature consideration before it was agreed to. If it was intended, that this country should give up all claim to legislation over Ireland, he thought it would be better to declare such an intention, and do it at once. He could never approve of the idea of giving it up bit by bit, by incidental acts of parliament. He therefore wished the house would not hastily settle the question, but go into it, examine it with the attention due to its importance, and make a solemn decision upon the subject.

the eyes of a people, whom they loved and honoured. Difficult and dangerous as the situation was, he could not be induced from any apprehensions of personal consequence to permit a matter charged with so much apparent danger to pass unnoticed ; at the same time he was not insensible of the unfavourable opinions of his fellow citizens.

He had many reasons of friendship and affection for wishing to stand well in the eyes of the people of Ireland ; and it was not his purpose to attack the claim, which they had set up to legislative independency. They had not a friend in that house more warmly attached to their interests than himself. He wished to share the dangers and the alarming tendency of this bill both to the liberties of England and of Ireland, and he thought, to be silent on such a subject would be tacitly to assist in taking away from the people, in order to enlarge the prerogative of the crown, in demolishing and subverting the liberties of the subject, in order to give the prince a means of becoming absolute. He had been held out, he was aware, as the enemy of Ireland, and the first lord of the treasury had been declared to be the best friend of that country, though he had uniformly endeavoured to support the rights and liberties of the Irish, and to give them all they requested long ago, and which the noble lord had positively denied them till they had armed themselves, and then by three specific propositions had given more to force, than he had before denied to supplication. In better times than these, Mr. Fox said, he should probably have entered upon the topic in a manner and in language widely different from that he meant to adopt, and to use on the present occasion. In better times than these, he should have talked of the superintending power of the British parliament over Ireland, and over every part of the British monarchy ; but such was the miserable situation, to which the king's servants had reduced this country, that the question was of a very delicate nature indeed, and it was by no means a matter easy to be handled without disturbing what ought not to be disturbed, and without producing consequences, which every man, who wished well to his country, must wish to avoid. In the present question, he wished to speak and act agreeably to the sentiments of some of the first and best men in the parliament of Ireland. The powers of supremacy and superintendency of this country over her distant connexions were topics, which he knew were at that time dangerous to be touched, but which had never been so at any former period of our history. Ten years ago it would not have been considered as improper or dangerous to talk on these topics, because then they were considered as necessary to the liberties and the well-being of the empire. They were not only considered by that house in this light, but by every part of our extended empire they were allowed and acknow-

ledged the same. It was the weakness of administration, that had given rise to different ideas. America had never complained of these powers till her calm and sober requests were refused, and Ireland had not asserted the contrary till relief was denied, when her grievances were manifest. But now the topics were dangerous to be touched. The weakness and the wantonness of ministers had introduced into that house difficulties and embarrassments, new and unprecedented, and he must yield to the disagreeable necessity of submission. But he might say, that if he had been speaking on this subject ten years ago, he would have found no difficulty in saying, that the superintendency and supremacy of this country was necessary to the liberty of the empire, for many great, and, in his opinion, unanswerable reasons, and that in particular they ought to be careful never to give out of their own hands the power of making a mutiny bill. He would have been able to have advanced various reasons for retaining this privilege, the first and most powerful of which would have been, a reason of apprehension, lest at some future moment of negligence or corruption, the parliament of Ireland, the assemblies of any of the colonies of America, or of any other of our foreign connexions, should be tempted or prevailed on to grant a perpetual mutiny bill. If he had advanced this argument, he knew that it would have been immediately said of him, that he pushed speculation to excess, that he was chimerical and libellous in his ideas, for that no house of representatives could be so negligent or corrupt as to grant such a bill, and no people so blind and supine as to bear it. Might he not then now say this when it was not an argument of speculation but experience, and when the parliament of Ireland had actually granted a perpetual mutiny bill to the crown, by which they had invested the sovereign with the power of a standing army, unlimited in point of numbers or duration. There were in the passing of this bill, so granted, also several circumstances of a suspicious nature, which implied in pretty plain language, that it was imposed upon them by the cabinet of England. It originated in the privy council of this country, and was sent over at a time, when Ireland was loud in their claim of independent legislation. The cabinet took advantage of the heat and the inflammation of Ireland, with respect to independence, and granted them the one thing, provided they would purchase it at the price of the other. They applied to the passions of the country; they seized on parliament in the moment of their warmth, and appealing perhaps to other passions than those of patriotic phrenzy, they procured the consent of parliament to this, and received a perpetual standing army, in defiance of the declaration of rights. Many of the first members of the Irish parliament were sensible of the shock,

which that bill gave at once to the liberties of Ireland and England. Mr. Grattan called upon the people of this country to stand forward and protect the liberties of both, by preventing the dangers and effects of a law so violent and contradictory to the constitution. It was therefore a business, in which both nations were equally affected, and in which they ought equally to unite. It was a species of conspiracy between the cabinet and that part of the people of Ireland, who, anxious for independence, were intoxicated with the idea, and inclined to purchase it at any price. A conspiracy to give a mutiny bill of their own to Ireland, in return for a grant from Ireland of a perpetual army to the crown, a thing wholly unwarranted by the constitution. It was curious and alarming, that in the Irish mutiny bill, the preamble was left out, which recited the declaration of rights. What could be the inducement of that omission? It contained no enacting law, and consequently was in no ways an attack on the legislative independence of Ireland. It was merely declaratory, and as the constitution and the rights in both countries were the same, the declaration of those rights was equally applicable to both. But it was found expedient to leave out the preamble, because the words, "*Whereas it is illegal in the crown to keep a standing army in times of peace,*" were in direct contradiction to the bill, which had been granted. The danger of the bill would appear in its full magnitude, when gentlemen reflected that all that was necessary now to the maintenance of a standing army in Ireland, unlimited in number and duration, was the power of the purse. He considered the statute of King William, commonly called the disbanding statute, reducing the number of troops to 12,000, and which by a late act had been raised to 15,000, to be still in force with respect to this country, but it was not so agreeable to the present ideas of the people of Ireland, so that there was no power sufficiently restrictive on ministers against maintaining in that country an army to any extent. But it might be argued, that without the power of the purse, the power of the army was nothing. It had been the policy of Britain to keep them both in her own hands, and had granted them only for one year. As there was no responsibility in the ministers under the existing laws, and as it was not in the power of either kingdom to bring them to a legal parliamentary conviction, the ministers, who advised the perpetual mutiny bill, were guilty of high treason. The act giving the crown a perpetual mutiny bill, in direct violation of the declaration of rights, was high treason against the constitution of the realm. But how could he get at the authors of the treason in the present circumstances? It was perfectly impossible, for there was no responsibility to be established against them. This difficulty had been incurred by a sys-

tem of negligence and incapacity. Any other minister would have softened, when it could have been done with propriety; or resisted, when it could have been done with success: but the noble lord had acted contrary to every expectation. When Ireland, in a decent sober style, applied to parliament for relief from restrictions, which were at once impolitic and illiberal, the noble lord attended more to the representations of individual members, influenced by their constituents, the manufacturers of trading towns, than to the unanimous call of a whole country. The minister was obliged, on account of the American war, to court the votes of individual members, and when the gentlemen on that side of the house had carried a decisive question, he came down two days afterwards, and resisted their anxious endeavours to redress the grievances of the Irish, when they were temperate in their requests. The honourable gentleman then stated the powerful and the rapid effect of the resolution and the spirit of Ireland. Their associations had done more in a moment than all the effects of friendship in their favour. All false reasoning had vanished; all little partial motives of resistance had ceased; local considerations died away instantly, and the noble lord in the blue ribbon, who had shewn himself the last man to listen to supplication, was the first man to give way to force. The noble lord came down to that house, and by three lumping propositions, did more for Ireland than she had ventured to ask: not that he blamed the noble lord for the concessions: he had acted wisely, and had properly told the house, that commercial considerations ought not to be taken up on a narrow illiberal scale, but should be looked at as great objects. All that he blamed in the noble lord was, for having done that meanly, which he might have done with grace and dignity. An army might thereafter be raised and maintained in Ireland under that law, which, though legal in Ireland, would be illegal in England, and not be the less dangerous, from being illegal. Soldiers raised, enlisted, and attested in England, might be sent to Ireland, and placed under the military law, which in one instance at least was different from the law of England, since it gave the king a power over them in every thing short of life and limb. Though an enemy to the dangerous influence of the crown, he was a friend to its just prerogative; and he considered the power vested in his majesty, of sending troops to whatever part of his dominions, that might require their assistance, a most valuable prerogative. It was on this ground, that the Earl of Chatham said, that retrenching the number of troops to be employed in Ireland, was "*tearing the master-feather from the eagle's wing.*" That bill therefore, containing different laws, became dangerous to the prerogative. Many more things he had on his mind to offer on the subject, but he saw the impro-

priety of urging all that had occurred to him. He was restrained by the consciousness, that every thing which he said would be misrepresented in Ireland, and that for the basest of purposes. He reminded the house again, that the Irish mutiny bill had originated in this country, and that it had passed under the most suspicious and alarming circumstances. He concluded with saying, that he should move for the recommitment of the bill, when the present question was settled.

Mr. T. Townshend seconded the motion.

The secretary at war spoke in very guarded terms of the extreme delicacy of the subject. It had been a great object in former reigns to endeavour to induce the legislature in Ireland to pass a mutiny bill, which had not been accomplished till the time of Queen Anne. The objects of that bill were the raising, paying, and due government of the army; the bill of Queen Anne went only to the first two objects, but it was a perpetual bill. In the year 1688 the first mutiny bill was passed in England, at which time an attempt was made to pass a similar bill in Ireland, which failed. In 1692 a bill passed the House of Lords, and was sent thither. The great Lord Somers was then attorney general; and every one knows how much the attorney general has to do with Irish bills in that stage. The great authors of the Revolution were anxious, that Ireland should have a mutiny bill of their own; and though many attempts were made to introduce one, it was not until it was known that they would not admit of one, that the word *Ireland* was inserted in the English mutiny bill. This bill was on the same principles, as that now the subject of debate; like that, it obliged the army to obey certain rules and articles of war, published, or to be published, and authorized by his majesty, and like that, it was perpetual; yet Lord Somers, and all those warm defenders of constitutional liberty, who were then in power, approved the bill. Those who had been deeply concerned in settling the Revolution, in framing the bill of rights, and all the measures of that most respectable period of our history, had concurred in their advice in council to approve their bill. It had been sent over to the Lord Deputy Sydney, with an injunction to endeavour to prevail, that it should be passed in both houses. It failed in the commons. The perpetuity of this bill in Ireland, he considered as necessary for the very reasons, that had been urged against it. It was certainly proper to prevent the great inconveniencies, that would arise from the army's being subject to different mutiny acts in different situations of service; yet it would be impossible to avoid it, if the mutiny bill were considered as annual, and subject to alterations in both countries.

Lord Mahon said, he was aware of the delicacy of touching upon the question of the superintendency of the British parliament

over Ireland, and of the danger of opposing it in contradistinction to the superintendency of the Irish parliament.

Mr. Burke observed, that in the then divided and distracted state of the empire, when every thing seemed to be falling to pieces, it became men to be firm, and to look on the preservation of what yet remained as their first duty. The question being put, it passed in the affirmative without a division.

Notwithstanding the Earl of Carlisle was sent over on purpose to give firmness and energy to the Irish government, which was considered on this side of the water to have been greatly enfeebled by the administration of his predecessor, he found himself wholly incapable of checking the spirit of volunteering, which now knew no other object, than the attainment of a free and independent constitution. The reviews in 1780 had pointed out the utility of forming regiments: it was clearly perceived, that companies acting separately could never attain military perfection. In the spring of 1781 reviews were again fixed on, and in summer when they assembled, the improved state of the volunteers was obvious to every eye; the reviews were every where more numerous, more military, and more splendid. That of Belfast, which in 1780 was the largest, had in 1781 nearly doubled their number: 5383 men then appeared in review, with a train of thirteen field pieces; other reviews had proportionally increased and improved; the volunteers engaged the affection and commanded the admiration of all their countrymen. The inhabitants of the different places where they were reviewed, behaved with unbounded hospitality, and entertained with emulous profusion their countrymen in arms. Lord Charlemont was again particularly distinguished among the reviewing generals, and reviewed a very considerable part of the volunteer army. The addresses and resolutions after the reviews in 1781, were greatly diversified; some contained politics, and spoke bold truths; others avoided political discussion: all felt that Ireland was not free.

* On the 9th of October, 1781, the Earl of Carlisle met the parliament, when after the common place recommendations of the charter schools, linen trade, tillage, fisheries, and general commerce of the country, his excellency assured them, that his majesty ardently wished the happiness of his people of Ireland, in whose affection and loyalty he placed the firmest reliance. "And although," said his excellency, "I am not directed to call upon you for any extraordinary supplies in this time of general hostility, when these kingdoms are exposed to an unnatural and dangerous combination of enemies, I have not the smallest doubt, but that I shall be enabled to assure his majesty of your

* 10 Journ. Com. p. 210.

“ cordial disposition to give him every assistance compatible
 “ with your means and circumstances.

“ No event could more contribute to the public security than
 “ the general concurrence, with which the late spirited offers of
 “ assistance were presented to me from every part of this king-
 “ dom ; and I am fully convinced, that if necessity had arisen, it
 “ was in my power to have called into action all the strength and
 “ spirit of a brave and loyal people, eager under my direction to
 “ be employed in aid of his majesty’s regular forces, for the pub-
 “ lic defence.

“ I trust that every part of my conduct will demonstrate how
 “ much it is the wish of my heart to engage your confidence : I
 “ shall claim it only in proportion as I shall be found to deserve
 “ it, by an unwearied endeavour to promote the prosperity of Ire-
 “ land ; and I am sensible, that this is the best method of recom-
 “ mending my services to our sovereign, and of obtaining your
 “ concurrence toward the ease and honour of my administration.”

It had now become notorious, that government wished to check and disarm the volunteers ; but they were frightened into acquiescence ; they had before reluctantly distributed amongst them 16,000 stand of arms, and it was now found politic to soothe and court the power they could no longer control.

Mr. O’Neil moved the address to the throne, which was as usual an echo of the speech ; to which no opposition was given. He felt himself called upon to explain, that the words *liberality of the British parliament* were merely confined to the grants of their late extended commerce to America and the West Indies.

Mr. Grattan, after having made some reflections upon the liberality of the last parliament in voting 500,000*l.* and the incompetency of the nation to support Great Britain in the prosecution of the American and French war, took notice of the extreme caution, with which the address avoided mentioning the word *volunteer*, that wholesome and salutary appellation which he wished to familiarize to the royal ear ; he would not, however, insist on having it inserted, as he had reason to believe the right honourable mover did intend to make a proper mention of those protectors of their country.

Mr. O’Neil declared, he was not deceived in this opinion, that the motion to which he had alluded, was intended to thank the volunteers of Ireland for that glorious spirit, unexampled in all history, with which they had so eagerly pressed forward, when the nation was thought to be in danger. He then moved, that the thanks of the house should be given to all the volunteers of Ireland, for their exertions and continuance, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion.

Mr. Conolly seconded the motion.

Mr. Fitzgibbon (afterwards Earl of Clare) thought the vote unnecessary and improper, after the censure which had been passed upon part of that body last session. They were totally incompatible, and could not stand together in the records of one parliament. He therefore moved, that the former censure should be read, before the present motion should receive its decision.

Mr. Bradstreet the recorder observed, that almost at the time the resolution mentioned was passed, parliament relented, and became itself a mediator. He was exceedingly averse from renewing any jealousy between parliament and the volunteers. Error was the common lot of human nature : it was not inconsistent with the tenor of human occurrences, to censure at one time, and give due praise at another ; and therefore requested that Mr. Fitzgibbon would withdraw his opposition.

Mr. Conolly found himself so much interested in that affair, that he could not decline expressing his sentiments. He was the person, who had the honour of first moving the thanks of that house to all the volunteers of Ireland, for taking up arms at a critical period. He was happy to be the harbinger of such a token of national gratitude ; but when the papers alluded to were published, by some few volunteers, he thought it incumbent on him to get up again, for the honour of the whole, and move the vote of censure, which remained upon the journals, against the dangerous resolutions that had been published. The same spirit that prompted him to applaud the virtuous and patriotic conduct of the great body of volunteers, obliged him to condemn whatever appeared derogatory from that character, in a few ; yet, notwithstanding all the misrepresentations, that had been made of his conduct in the public papers, his love and attachment to the volunteers was still the same. The few who had fallen into error, had gloriously repaired the fault ; and he would now, with as much pleasure as ever he felt in his life, support the vote of thanks, and move to expunge the vote of censure.

Mr. Fitzgibbon declared, he did not rise to oppose the motion of thanks to the volunteer corps, for whom no man entertained a higher respect than he did ; but he rose to preserve the dignity of the house, to prevent their proceedings from falling under the charge of inconsistency. He hoped the conduct of the house would ever be marked by a dignified uniformity, which could not be the case, if they entered into a resolution of thanks to all the volunteers, while the journals of the house contained matter of the highest censure against some particular corps. Those resolutions he therefore wished done away, before the house could proceed to a vote of thanks.

Mr. Scott (attorney general, afterwards Lord Clonmel) asserted, that the resolution had been only intended against the printers

and publishers of inflammatory paragraphs, and not aimed at the volunteers ; that if the honourable gentleman, who now made the objection, had been present last session, he would have joined in the resolution. He had as high a veneration as any man in the kingdom for the armed associations, or call them by what name they would, (said he) *a virtuous armed people*. If any blame lay for want of prosecution, it in a great measure lay with him, as the proper officer of the crown. But he could not help thinking that the parliament, last session when the respectable name of volunteer was abused, shewed a peculiar dignity in taking up that affair, and then generously relinquishing every idea of resentment, lest it should be considered as extending to the whole body.

After a long debate, Mr. Fitzgibbon withdrew his objection, (indeed, every member wished it never had been started) and the house passed the resolution of thanks with the most hearty and unanimous good will, at the same time ordering the sheriffs of the different counties to present them.

At this critical juncture, the patriotic body of Ireland may with truth be said to have consisted of the minority in parliament, and the whole mass of the people, high, middle, and low, without. They were determined to go hand in hand ; to act in concert, and never to desist, till they were free and independent, as was Great Britain. On the 10th of October, 1781, Mr. Bradstreet, the recorder, a very staunch patriot, moved in the House of Commons* for leave to bring in heads of an *Habeas Corpus Bill*, prefacing his motion by observing, that the liberty and safety of the subjects of Ireland were insecure until an *Habeas Corpus Act* should take place ; that arbitrary power had made great strides and innovations on public liberty, but was effectually restrained by that law which had its full operation in England, but did not exist in Ireland. It was, he said, the opinion of a great and learned judge, that this law was the grand bulwark of the constitution. Leave was granted ; and Mr. Yelverton and the recorder were ordered to prepare and bring in the same.

Mr. Grattan said, he was willing never to condemn an administration until he thoroughly knew he had sufficient grounds. The ministry of England had offered America the regulation of her own armies ; he could not see any reason, why the loyal people of Ireland should be denied that benefit. He would, he said in due time, bring forward the mutiny act to be agitated upon that subject ; and if it were opposed, it would at least have the constitutional freedom and spirit of the country to contend with. A bill for rendering the judges independent during good behaviour, and some other bills, were spoken of. When Sir

* Parl. Debates, p. 10,

Lucius O'Brien arose, and said, that a matter of the utmost importance to the nation, had too long remained undecided, our freedom of trade with Portugal, where goods of Irish manufacture had been stopped, and were not permitted to be sold.

Mr. Eden arose, and agreed with Sir Lucius, that a great deal of time had been spent about this very embarrassing business ; but assured the house, that the utmost exertions had been used both on this and the other side of the water, to bring it to a happy termination.

Mr. Yelverton thought there had been some design in the speech, to lead their imaginations away from this important object ; it had, indeed, talked of Protestant charter schools, making of roads, digging of canals, and carrying of corn ; and contained half a dozen lines that might be found in every speech for fifty years past ; subjects more proper for the inquiry of a country grand jury, than for the great inquest of the nation ; but not one word of our trade to Portugal ; that had been designedly omitted.

On the subsequent day, after some conversation upon the proper time for adjourning, and a strong recommendation from the speaker to bring in the money bills before the close of the session, Mr. Yelverton declared, that he was determined to profit by the excellent advice the speaker had given the house. He gave notice, that immediately after the recess, he would move the house for leave to bring in heads of a bill to regulate the transmission of bills from that kingdom to England. At the present, their constitution was the constitution of England inverted. Bills originated with the British minister, and with that house it only remained to register, or reject them. Such was the miserable state of Ireland, and in that state it would remain, as long as a monster, unknown to the constitution, a British attorney general, through the influence of a law of Poyning's, had power to alter their bills. So generally had this been admitted by every member of the house, that last session, when he moved for a modification of Poyning's law, gentlemen urged, that though that power lay in the hands of the English attorney general, yet it was never exercised to any bad purpose ; but the declaration was scarcely made, when an altered sugar bill annihilated our trade to the West-Indies : *annihilated* might be thought too strong an expression, but it surely injured it in a very high degree.

After a recess of three weeks, the house met on Monday, October 29, pursuant to adjournment, when the recorder presented a petition from the guild of merchants, stating, that the great advantages, which that nation was promised by a freedom of trade to all the world, were likely to prove merely imaginary, as from the present almost universal war, our commerce was confined to very few nations, and amongst them, the kingdom of Portugal,

from which the greatest hopes had been formed, had refused to receive our manufactures, quantities of which were now actually detained in the custom-house of Lisbon; and praying the house to interfere for redress.

The subject, he said, was nice, and not so proper for the deliberation of a popular assembly, as for the ministerial intervention, which was going forward. He wished, therefore, that the subject might be postponed; and though he were not disposed to pledge himself for a specific measure, or unforeseen circumstances, he would readily promise, at the proper period, to take the lead in the mode which might best vindicate the just expectations of Ireland, if those expectations should be disappointed.

Sir Lucius rose again. From what Mr. Eden had last said, he understood, that if Portugal did not grant the redress demanded, it was intended to lay a further duty on her wines; this he did not think was a mode proper to be adopted; it was for ever cutting off their trade to that kingdom, and increasing taxes upon the subject. But he thought, that granting the supplies for six months only, would be the most likely method of bringing the business to a happy issue. He was sorry to see the business conducted in a timid manner, and in the hands of persons not interested in their welfare, but with a secondary view, who, at most, would only promote it when it did not clash with the convenience of a neighbouring nation. They even doubted whether they were acquainted with the foundation of their right to trade with Portugal. They erred, if they supposed it rested on the treaty between England and that kingdom in 1703; he therefore thought parliament should enter into an immediate investigation of the subject; that if the minister intended to give a strenuous support, he might find himself backed with the whole weight of the Irish nation; but if not, every man would see what was intended, by throwing difficulties in the way of the enquiry, and damping it with cold delay. Mr. Eden appealed to the house, whether he had appeared to throw any difficulty in the way of this important business. With regard to what had been intimated respecting a noble earl, it was a suggestion utterly unmerited, that noble earl being a true and steady friend to Ireland, having shewn himself peculiarly so upon the present occasion, and being in every instance incapable of making a distinction between the interests of his majesty's kingdoms.

The activity of the Castle to ensure a majority in parliament, kept pace with the increase of patriotism out of it. But this system in the new ferment of the public mind, became daily less efficient, and was ill suited to the existing disposition of the country. The people had arms, had power and a determination to be free: they knew the use of their arms, and had imbibed a

uniform and steady resolve not to quit them, till they had attained the object of their wishes, a free and independent constitution. It was obvious, that a parliament marshalled as that was, to resist the demands of the people, might irritate, but could not controul the wishes of their constituents. Administration confiding in their number, set all the patriotic attempts at defiance, and frustrated or negatived all their demands and claims. Had they so far temporized, as to have made some concessions, though they had resisted others with a good grace, they would have divided and thereby destroyed the power of the people. The contrary conduct pitted this factitious majority of the senate against the mass of their armed countrymen, who now beheld them with indignation, and considered them in fact the only enemy they had to encounter in Ireland.

In parliament, there appeared but little cordiality between the leaders of the patriotic party, and Mr. Eden, the secretary, who spoke for, and headed the court party. Mr. Eden was a man of information and talent, and conducted the business of parliament in a manner widely different from his predecessor in that office. Yet such a general prejudice against every thing British at that time pervaded every rank throughout the kingdom, that scarcely a debate occurred, in which some personal reflections were not made on the lord lieutenant and his secretary's partiality and bias for England. During the whole of Lord Carlisle's administration, the numbers of the two parties in the House of Commons continued nearly, as they had been left by his predecessor. Some of the leading men of each party had shifted sides. It has been the melancholy and degrading fate of Ireland, that although there have always been a standard of patriotism erected in their House of Commons, few indeed have been those, who have rallied round it from a pure and disinterested love of their country ; still fewer, who have persevered in their patriotism through their political career of life. Early in the present session,* Mr. Flood declared, that when he had quitted the house last session, he had left them the most dignified and virtuous assembly on earth ; he expected now to find them such. And he said, that the fate of the nation depended on the motion then before the house (for going into the consideration of the Portugal trade): that they should not trust to any minister, that countenanced a perpetual mutiny bill : and that they would be execrated by posterity, if they abandoned that motion.† On the other hand, we find Mr. George Ponsonby declaring, that now he saw the minister acting

* Viz. on the 1st of November, 1781....1 Parl. Debates, p. 30.

† Which was negatived by a majority of 117 against 44. 1 Parl. Debates, p. 30.

obviously for the honour and interest of Ireland, he thought it his duty to support him, and he would ever assist him while he acted upon the same principle. He said, he thought this was the time, that all gentlemen of rank and property in the country, should support government; it was to men of that description that administration applied, and by them he trusted they would be supported.*

The debate, which brought forth Mr. Flood in opposition to the minister, was on the supplies, and it involved the question upon the state of the nation.† It was amazing, how differently that state was represented by the different parties. On one side of the house, it was holden forth as the most flourishing of any country under heaven, and that nothing was wanting to make the people the most happy in the universe, but a contented resignation to the present measures of administration; on the other side, you might have heard it represented as the most injured nation on the earth, despised as an alien, insulted by pensions, oppressed by taxes, and fettered in commerce. Mr. Ogle painted the miseries of the common people in a most affecting manner.

* Sir Frederick Flood severely reprehended the honourable gentleman, for declaring that he would support a ministry, that could be so base, so infamous, so corrupt, as to take away gentlemen's employments, merely because they acted according to the dictates of their conscience. Mr. George Ponsonby had admitted, that nothing but public spirit could induce him to risk the loss of one of the best appointments government could bestow. 1 Parl. Debates, p. 41.

† Dr. Campbell, who was present at the debate, gives this account of it. P. 458, Phil. Surv....The same author favours us with the following observations upon some of the speakers in that debate:....Mr. H. Hutcheson has a mellifluous voice, and pleasing elocution. His exordium gave me hopes of great matters; but his oratory is of that wordy, ostentatious kind, which must sometimes disappoint your expectations. He is here called Prancer, from some similitude they find in him to a horse in the menage, curvetting at the height of his mettle, without making any progress forward.

Mr. Scott, the solicitor general, is one of the most powerful supporters of government. He does not affect making long speeches, though one of the ablest advocates of the bar; his talent lies in promptitude of reply, in dilution of objections, and in turning the arguments of his adversaries against themselves.

Mr. Hussey is a fine speaker; his expression is clear; his language flowing; his action graceful; and his manner persuasive. Mr. Yelverton is vehement and forcible. But the greatest pleasure I received, was from a very young man, a Mr. Denis Daly, whose sentiments were such as became a country gentleman, and whose manner was vastly engaging. He was clear, he was manly, he was copious. His invective against the secretary was so keen, and so poignant, that Demosthenes, at his age, would not have been ashamed of it. He lifted up his voice, he said, in behalf of his oppressed country, which he had just heard represented in such an opulent condition. I, who had so recently seen the scenes he so pathetically bewailed, could not help going along with him in every thing he said, that was not personal. Yet, what was advanced by the friends of administration, was, in some degree true; the kingdom being certainly, upon the whole, in a progressive state of improvement. What must it then have been, if things are so much mended?

Mr. Flood spoke, for the first time, on the opposite side of the question; but he confined himself to calculation, and affected rather to demonstrate than persuade. But there was no spark of that flame remaining, wherewith he is said heretofore to have set the galleries in a blaze. It would, to be sure, have been extremely embarrassing for him, to have played the orator in behalf of measures, which, for a series of years, he had employed every art of rhetoric to stamp with infamy.

It was in this debate, that Mr. George Ponsonby said, that he rejoiced to see the right honourable gentleman, after an eclipse of seven years, burst forth into such a blaze of eloquence; to which Mr. Flood, in rising to answer what the attorney general had said concerning the prosperous state of the kingdom, thus replied: an honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) says, I am emerged from a seven years eclipse; it is true I supported Lord Harcourt's administration; but was I eclipsed, when, on several occasions, I went not with them, and gave my reasons for so doing? I also supported the last administration; but on that great day when a free trade was demanded, was I eclipsed? When a declaration of rights was the subject of debate in this house, did I shrink from the question?

Probably, as the gentleman says, ministerial resentment may deprive me of the place I hold, for I am not near enough to my royal master to take shelter in his virtues. Gentlemen speak of the prosperity of this kingdom from our free trade, as an instantaneous operation; but the growth of a nation, like the oak tree, is slow, though gentlemen think they see it vegetate. They have, indeed, seen wonders, but they were of another kind. They have seen their country defended against France and Spain, when the minister had abdicated its defence; when, after borrowing 1,203,000*l.* he was not able to protect them: the volunteers, 50,000 freemen, at their own expense, armed and disciplined, stood forth; the chosen men of the land approved, they gave them an example of firmness and moderation.*

* What Mr. Flood said of himself on the 10th of November, shews how much he took to heart the loss of his appointment; and it justified what Sir Edward Newnham, in the debate on the 8th, had remarked, lamenting, that gentlemen should lose their places for acting conscientiously: but that it ever would be so, until placemen and pensioners were by law excluded from parliament. (1 Parl. Debates, p. 47.) Mr. Flood arose: he recapitulated what he had said on Thursday last, concerning the state of the national finances, and the ruin that must necessarily ensue, if the same destructive mode of running in debt was still continued. Within the last years, the country, says he, has advanced to destruction with unexampled rapidity. The loudest declaimer that ever made your walls re-echo, never ventured to suggest such an accumulation of debt. But if you have outgone example, if you have outgone the boldness of declamation, in your career to ruin, will any man say, that the prosperity of this country has likewise outgone the power of declamation, when

On the 13th of November, 1781, a very warm and important debate took place in the Irish House of Commons respecting the mutiny bill. Mr. Grattan made a motion for bringing in heads of a bill to explain, amend, and limit an act to prevent mutiny and desertion in the army ;* which was seconded by Mr. Flood.

the expense of your military establishment alone is equal to the whole of your revenue ? Do you call this prosperity ? Do you call running in debt prosperity ? I do not now speak to retard your proceeding in business. I do not intend to divide the house upon the question ; nor am I at all ambitious of applause ; but I thought, and still think, that my proposal of going into a committee on the state of the nation, where some mode of retrenchment might be devised before we granted a supply, was a moderate, a reasonable plan ; and I did hope, that after twenty years experience of my conduct, I should not be told in this house, that I was urged on by disappointed ambition. I have been gratified by almost the highest and most lucrative office that my sovereign can bestow ; and the secretary knows whether ever I requested any favour of him. Is this then disappointed ambition ? It cannot be supposed, that I am not satisfied, because I am not invited to take a lead upon the treasury bench, for I do not wish to take a lead upon that bench. There is no man in the kingdom to whom the words of disappointed ambition, are less applicable than to me. 'Tis a hard measure indeed, if, after twenty years service, I meet with such treatment. The house can testify, that before I entered into office, I was uniform in my desire of extricating the nation from debt ; when in office, I attempted to do it even by the disagreeable expedient of proposing new taxes ; and if now I am about to lose my employment, which I regret only as it deprives me of the power of serving my sovereign, shall I be told that I am actuated by disappointed ambition, because I do not wish that the nation should run in debt more ? My ambition has been, when out of office, not to be factious : and when in office, not to be venal.

* This great patriotic orator thus prefaced his motion ; (1 Parl. Deb. p. 51.) he said, that in the 18th century, however astonishing it must appear, he rose to vindicate Magna Charta, sanctified as it was by the authority of 600 years. He called upon gentlemen to teach British privileges to an Irish senate. He quoted the laws of England, first, because they were laws ; secondly, because they were franchises ; and they were the franchises of Irishmen as well as Englishmen. He was not come to say what was expedient, he came to demand a right ; and he hoped he was speaking to men, who knew and felt their rights, and not to corrupt consciences and beggarly capacities. He begged gentlemen to tell him why, and for what reason, the Irish nation was deprived of the British constitution ? He said, that the limitation of the mutiny bill was one of the great hinges of the constitution ; and ought it then to be perpetual in Ireland ?

No man could doubt as to the point of right respecting the army ; he would even resort to the question of necessity. We want not an army as Great Britain does ; for an army is not our protection. Was your army your protection when Sir Richard Heron told you, you must trust to God and your country ? You want it not for defence. You want it not for ambition. You have no foreign dominions to preserve, and your people are amenable to law. Our duties are of a different nature. To watch with incessant vigils the cradle of the constitution, to rear an infant state, to protect a rising trade, to foster a growing people. We are free, we are united. Persecution is dead. The Protestant religion is the child of the constitution ; the Presbyterian is the father. The Roman Catholic is not an enemy to it. We are united in one great national community. What was our situation formerly ? We were a gentry without pride, and a people without privilege. The British constitution lay upon the ground like a giant's armour in a dwarf's custody.

On this occasion some few of the more independent members of the ministerial party sided with the opposition; the division being 77 for and 133 against the motion. Of this circumstance Mr. Eden took notice, by expressing his concern to differ that day in opinion from some gentlemen, with whom he wished and hoped in general to concur; but it was a consolation to differ on a point of mere speculative reasoning, and not of permanent importance. As a servant of the public, and filling a very responsible situation, he was determined, at all times, to guard against the enthusiasm of the day, whatever it might be; and to preserve coolly and respectfully the even tenor of his way, on such principles as seemed to be calculated for the advantage of the

At length the nation asserted itself, and though the declaration of rights was not carried, which I proposed as a measure safe and innoxious; yet our spirit made us a nation. British supremacy fell upon the earth like a spent thunder-bolt. The minister feared to look at it. The people were fond to touch it.

Yet though we have no necessity for an army, and have asserted our freedom, we have followed that assertion by erecting martial law, and a perpetual dictator for ever. I laugh at the argument, that this law is the charter of our freedom. Is the 6th of George I. repealed? Why does not the minister come forward and declare our rights? No, all is mystery, all is silence. Besides, the present mutiny law is defective, no enacting part, and articles of war are become the law of the land; by which there is no safety left either to England or Ireland. We have suffered an armed prerogative to issue out of a claim of right.

Besides, the power of the purse is given up already by the hereditary revenue, that original sin of your ancestors, which visits you from generation to generation. This is the very alarming consideration to those, that love liberty better than the profits of office. Yet we have added the tide of power to the sink of influence, and have bid majesty to govern by either. The power of the purse you have long lost. You have now lost the power of the sword. The question is, will men prefer a biennial to a perpetual mutiny bill? Will men lay their hands upon their hearts and decide the question?

Suppose that a company of British merchants should petition an English parliament to restrain your trade again, and that the requisition should be acceded to; what would you do without any resources to support your rights; without a navy? You could not resist such a mandate; and every idea of coping with such tyranny would be in vain, when you have resigned the sword. When two thirds of your revenue are granted in perpetuity, the power of parliament cannot preserve the free trade of the kingdom. Be assured that England will never grant to your meanness what she refuses to your virtue. In the infancy of this very act, why did not the advocates of its present form come forward, and propose it a perpetual mutiny bill? No, they knew such language would ill suit the ears of parliament, as it then stood disposed in the public service.

He then resorted to the other argument with regard to the unity of discipline, &c. which having stated, he said, if you are competent to regulate your commerce, why not competent to regulate your own army? Commissioners have been sent to America, to offer a branch of the British empire, in arms against the parent state, unconditional terms to tax themselves, and regulate their own army. Two of the commissioners have been sent over to govern this kingdom. Will his excellency, or the right hon. gentleman his secretary, say, that Ireland is not entitled to the terms offered to America? That the loyal and affectionate sister of England is not entitled to the indulgence, holden out to the enemy of England, to the ally of France? It is impossible.

public. He concluded with saying, that having doubts on the foundation of the question, and no doubt of its present unimportance, he would resist the motion. He had found the mutiny law recently established on solemn discussion, and by large majorities; the execution of it had passed immediately through his hands, almost from its commencement, and he had found it full of expediency, and void of mischief. It was the act of a session, of which all within those walls ought to be proud, it was the act of a session, to which all out of those walls ought to feel reverence and gratitude.

The heads of the new mutiny bill were most violently supported by the heads of the patriotic party, and as violently opposed by the ministry. Much intemperate language passed in the house, but the proportion on the division remained nearly the same; on that which took place upon this question on the 29th of November, the numbers were 66 to 146. On which occasion, just as the question was about to be put, Mr. Eden rose, and said that he gave that interruption, not from any anxiety about the decision, which was easy to be foreseen. It had been avowed, he said, that the object of the bill then proposed, was substantially the same as that which had recently been negatived by a large majority: it would therefore be an unmanly and unworthy idea, if it could be supposed, that the house would adopt a bill under one title, which upon the fullest discussion had been rejected under another. His anxiety was on another point; he was anxious for the order of parliament, and especially when that order entrenched on the barriers of the constitution. Where would be the end of parliamentary discussion and debate, if points fully agitated and decided, might be thus resumed in the same session? Where would be the safety of the constitution, if the practice should be established, that a measure rejected to-day upon a fair hearing, might be brought forward again to-morrow, or whenever the disappointed party on either side of the house could frame a majority to carry it either by surprize or by influence? He wished for a decision on the point of order; if however it should not be agreeable to the speaker to give that decision, he would not urge it; but having stated the objection, would give his negative to the question. Upon which Mr. Grattan replied: It is very odd, that the same chorus of voices, which formerly said, this was not a mutiny bill, should now admit that it is; but rest their defence on its not being like to that of England. The right hon. member thinks, that without a flagrant violation of the rules of parliament, he cannot now bring in the heads of a bill proposed; but I desire he will consider, that those heads are only to explain and amend. The right hon. gentleman says, he has no anxiety as to the fate of this question. I am

sorry he has no anxiety. I am sorry he can state this to parliament. But is this security founded in the potency of the arguments that were used on a former night? If it be, it was not even then asserted that a perpetual mutiny bill is better than a limited one; for even then his friends gave up the principle. I have a note, a faithful record of that night's proceeding, and I find, that no man in the house said it was better; but though it may be against established form, yet I think the powerful arguments that have been used should plead for another hearing. If gentlemen be not afraid that the public mind should receive constitutional truths from one side of the house, and perceive the contemptible shifts of the other side, they will not oppose the motion. There is not a man in the house, but knows that it is the wish of, there is not a man but knows, that the nation will be gratified; that the nation will carry this law as it carried the octennial bill; that bill, which was debated session after session, but which at last was conceded to the voice of the people.

Mr. Flood asserted, that the example of parliament in reconsidering the absentee bill was a sufficient precedent, and should be followed. That bill, he said, had been reconsidered, and Mr. Malone, that most experienced senator, though before he came to the house, he had declared against the propriety of reconsideration, yet afterwards made a most animated speech in favour of it; but common sense (says he) tells us we should seldom consider any subject so seldom as once; why, therefore, should we stifle a matter of such importance? Do gentlemen think that suppressing the evidence of truth will give content? Do they think that they are of so much consequence, that their mandate will quiet the people? I would, said he, speak upon this subject till I fell prostrate upon your floor, had I any hope of being successful; but if what has already been offered should fail of its effect, how shall I hope to change your resolution?

Upon the receipt of the melancholy news of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army to the French in America, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Yelverton rose in the House of Commons on the 5th of December, 1781, and thus addressed them:

* "I had determined this day to bring on a motion, which I think it my indispensable duty, at a proper time to pursue; a motion of which I will never lose sight, until a mode of legislation, utterly repugnant to the British constitution shall be done away; but the melancholy intelligence received from America has, for

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 124. This speech of Mr. Yelverton is so fraught with true patriotic and constitutional spirit, and so pointedly appropriate to the union of the two kingdoms, that I cannot forbear calling the attention of the reader to its relevancy to the then as well as since existing circumstances of Ireland.

the present, diverted my attention from that object, and turned my thoughts into another train ; and I think it but decent to defer the consideration of Poyning's law, and for the present devote my whole faculties to the momentous situation of the public affairs of the British empire.

I have always looked upon the true interest of Great Britain and Ireland as inseparable, and I thank Heaven we have now more reason to say so than ever. Great Britain cannot experience a misfortune which we shall not feel. She cannot gain an advantage which we shall not partake. It would then ill become the approved generosity and unshaken loyalty of the Irish people, to remain in silent apathy, or sullen insensibility on so great an occasion, when Britain, surrounded with enemies, and struggling with magnanimity against a warring world, becomes the object of admiration of every generous mind. But when, as Irishmen, we consider our connexions with England, what ought to be our feelings ? We are called upon to testify our affection, and unalterable attachment to that country, and to convince foreign nations that we do not despair of the commonwealth, but that the British empire still has power and resources to render her formidable to her numerous enemies, and to convince them that the dismemberment she has suffered, has only served to draw the remaining parts into closer union and interest.

I will therefore move, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express our unalterable loyalty and attachment to his majesty's royal person, family, and government, and to assure his majesty that in the present critical situation of affairs, when his majesty's dominions are exposed to a powerful and dangerous combination of enemies, we think it peculiarly incumbent on us to declare our warmest zeal for the honour of his majesty's crown, and our most earnest wishes for the British empire.

That conscious that our interests are become inseparably united with those of Great Britain, we feel that the events of war involve both countries in a common calamity ; and to entreat his majesty to believe, that we hold it to be our indispensable duty, as it is our most hearty inclination, cheerfully to support his majesty to the utmost of our abilities, in all such measures as can tend to defeat the confederacy of his majesty's enemies, and to restore the blessings of a lasting and honourable peace."

Several friends of Mr. Yelverton's conceiving, that his motion would commit them into an approbation and support of the American war, on that account alone declined supporting it : the question however being put, the motion was carried by a majority of 167 against 37.

On the 7th of the month Mr. Grattan being called to by the house, rose to state to them the financial situation of the country ;

but previously entreated them not to give a *Rake's* ear to a subject necessary for their consideration, though painful to their patience. Your debt, said he, including annuities, is 2,667,600*l.*; of this debt, in the last fourteen years, you have borrowed above 1,900,000*l.* in the last eight years above 1,500,000*l.* and in the last two years 910,090*l.* I state not only the fact of your debt, but the progress of your accumulation, to shew the rapid mortality of your distemper, the accelerated velocity, with which you advance to ruin; and if the question stood alone on this ground, it would stand firm; for I must further observe, that if this enormous debt be the debt of the peace establishment, not accumulated by directing the artillery of your arms against a foreign enemy, but by directing the artillery of your treasury against your constitution; it is a debt of patronage and prostitution.

The next quantity I shall consider is, the growth of your expenses for the last fourteen years; I will consider all your expenses, that you may see the whole of your situation; I will consider the expenses of collecting the revenue, of bounties, of establishments, of extraordinary charges, and the interest of the public debt; and I say, on a comparative view of expenses of two years, ending Lady-Day, 1781, the increase in the latter was above 550,000*l.* a sum astonishing, if you consider that the whole biennial revenue and estate of the nation is not 2,000,000*l.* and that the whole additional supply is not 520,000*l.* so that the mere increase of national expense, in the course of fourteen years, has exceeded one fourth of the nation's estate, and the whole of her additional duties. Let the right hon. gentleman high in office, who calls these expenses ordinary expenses, who calls the supplying them by new loans the ordinary supply, justify this enormous increase; let him prove, that the scale of the expense of government was too small in 1767; let him shew what exertions we have made by sea or land; let him produce some nobler monument than secretaries provided for by Ireland, or than their creatures satiated by Ireland, or their supporters paid by Ireland, to justify this rapid accumulation. I can produce the record of parliament, to prove that in 1767, you thought your expenses too great, for you refused the first proposition for an augmentation in 1767, and gave as a reason that you were then overburthened, and in 1769, you complied with a second application, upon a promise of reduction, which promise was broken; and in 1771, you resolved, that the then expenses of government ought greatly to be reduced, though incomparably less than at present.

I have considered the growth of your expenses, I will next consider the growth of your revenues; you made since 1767 two efforts to raise them, one in 1773, when you granted in new taxes about 180,000*l.* and another in the last session, when you granted

what was estimated at near 300,000*l.* for the two years, but in our experience has produced something less than 50,000*l.*

The revenues of the two years ending 1781, including loan duties, and aided by new taxes, have produced 1,908,000*l.* In the two years ending 1767, without new taxes, the revenues, including the loan, produced 1,846,000*l.* Increase of revenue in the two years ending 1781, 60,000*l.* Increase of expenses 550,000*l.* a sad disproportion this ! The cause of it is obvious ; we are governed by a succession of ministers, who have no interest in this country, but that of raising themselves from those beggarly difficulties, to which they reduce the king and kingdom. I know not how it is, but at first we are charmed with them, we admire their affected consequence, and easy effrontery. They find in the private indulgence of the gentlemen of the country, public support ; the nation becomes implicit, and from a course of bad and profuse policy, is periodically convulsed ; we were so in 1779, and from distress, the effect of our bad policy, became for that time virtuous. I speak of the session of 1779, with diffidence, because I had some share in its proceedings : I shall therefore only give it negative praise. I will say of the early part of that session, that no man then talked of the public with contempt, nor of liberty as a matter of speculation, nor did gentlemen of property affect to join government in the putting a negative on all constitutional questions. The secretary at that time left parliament to itself, and the people to themselves ; he did not pension a press to write against the liberty of the subject ; he did not connect himself with libellers, nor was he himself a traducer of men ; he could neither corrupt nor answer, nor did he take into his venal hand a lifeless pen to propagate the poison of his prostitute principles ; but such times are over, we are now more aristocratic and abject, and we argue on public subjects, as we did before on the freedom of our trade, with the same confidence and indifference.

I have stated the growth of your expense and your revenues. I will state the excess of the latter, it is 484,000*l.* in the two last years : how will you supply such a deficiency ? Not by borrowing session after session on lotteries and loans, nor by adding to your taxes, for then you must nearly double your additional duties, which are little more than the deficiency. Nor can you wait until the increase of population and manufactures, which certainly will increase, but will not increase with a rapidity sufficient to supply the biennial deficiency of 484,000*l.*

It was said in a former debate, that we were adequate to our present expense ; and we were taught to believe, that the ability of the nation had in the last year greatly increased. I deny the fact : on examining the exports of the manufactures of cotton,

woollen, and linen, we shall find the exports of the two former have been next to nothing, and the export of the latter greatly declined ; and on examining the import of cotton and woollen, we find the increase prodigious ; and on the whole I do say, that the year 1781 was above half a million in these very articles less in your favour, than in the year 1780, so much better was the non-consumption agreement than the free trade hitherto has been. The gentleman, and particularly one right hon. gentleman, has mis-stated our state of commerce, but he has been much more inaccurate in the state of our revenue ; for I remember in the last session he stated the new taxes as adequate to produce 260,000*l.* in the two years, but in the experiment, they have not produced 50,000*l.* He stated the new tax on sugars at 55,000*l.* a-year, which tax has not produced more than 20,000*l.* He stated the tax on wine at double the produce. He stated a saving under the heads of pensions and of exceedings, and also a new revenue by the establishment of a post-office under our own law. This promised saving, and this post-office, would have amounted to 90,000*l.* which is a greater produce than all his taxes ; and to shew how apt the most intelligent man is to be deceived in a ministerial situation, when he speaks on the subject of revenue, I will state a very remarkable transaction which relates to the right hon. gentleman in Lord Buckinghamshire's administration, in 1777. A motion was made to resolve, that in every session of the present reign, we had added to the public debt ; the right hon. gentleman voted for the resolution, and gave this reason, "that Lord Buckinghamshire's administration should be contrasted with his predecessors, who had added to the public debt," inasmuch as under Lord Buckinghamshire the practice of accumulating debt was to cease ; but in the ensuing March we borrowed 300,000*l.* and in the next session 610,000*l.* I state these things, not to reflect on the right honourable member, but to shew his fallibility on the subject of trade and revenue.

I have stated your expenses as exceeding your income, 484,000*l.* and as having increased in fourteen years above half a million. As to the application of your money, I am ashamed to state it : let the minister defend it ; let him defend the scandal of giving pensions, directly or indirectly, to the first of the nobility, with as little honour to them who receive, as to the king who gives. Let him defend the minute corruption, which in small bribes and annuities, leaves honourable gentlemen poor, while it makes them dependent. When you go into the committee, you will find abundance of matter ; the biennial charge of barracks, equal to the lodging money of the army, and you will find the resident army not more than nine thousand, though stated at some thousands more ; you will find waste as well as corruption ; you will find the mere ex-

pense of furnishing the Castle, ridiculously extravagant; but I should be ashamed to enter minutely into these items; let a committee be appointed. He adverted to the late administration, and the promise of Sir Richard Heron, not to add or supply a pension, which promise had been broken. He addressed himself to Mr. Eden and Mr. Foster, to warn them against expensive measures, and from falsely estimating the abilities of the nation; he inveighed strongly against every species of expense and venality, of unaccountable waste, and ill-directed profusion; and moved that a committee should be appointed to examine the expenses of the nation, and to consider of such retrenchments as should seem necessary.

Mr. Foster said, that unprepared as he was, he was able to refute every position the honourable gentleman had adduced: he observed Mr. Grattan had taken a period of profound peace, and compared it with a period of war. From such a comparison no inference could be drawn, which could be fair or conclusive. He said, that asserting they had borrowed 910,000*l.* in two years, was uncandid, for that sum was to answer the expenses of at least four years, and in some measure, of six years. That the manner of stating the expenses in 1767 and in 1781, had been uncandid; for the whole aggregate charge of, including bounties, &c. and loan interest, had been stated as the expense of government; whereas the payment of bounties, &c. (which were granted by parliament) the government could not control, and the interest of the loans the parliament could not diminish. Now, said he, the bounties in two years, ending Lady-day, 1767, amounted to about 34,000*l.* whereas the bounties in two years, ending Lady-day, 1781, produced 200,000*l.*; and if we further deduct from our present expenses, the salaries of the vice-treasurers, and clerk of the pells, amounting to near 30,000*l.* in two years, which were not on the establishment in 1767, and for which they gave up their fees in favour of the public, the increase of our expenses will not appear very enormous, if we consider how much the nation has risen in consequence, and that we are in a state of war. He said, there were other errors in Mr. Grattan's account, and that the increase of our expenses was by no means alarming, or so extraordinary as had been represented. That the expenses of government were not greater in the last two years, than in the two years ending Lady-day, 1777; and that they were less than in the two years ending Lady-day, 1779, by a considerable sum. He said, if Mr. Grattan had been candid, he would have taken two periods of war, but that he had declined; he would therefore state the expenses of government in the two years of the last war, ending Lady-day, 1763: the civil and military list, and extraordinary charges, amounted at that period to 1,679,043*l.*....the civil and military list, and extraordinary charges in the last two

years, amounted to 1,683,162*l.*; the excess in the last two years is therefore only 4119*l.* a sum, which he thought could not justly alarm the nation: 4000*l.* increase in the course of twenty years!

He then adverted to Mr. Grattan's assertions, respecting the taxes he had proposed in 1779. The honourable gentleman had said, he had estimated the taxes at 130,000*l.* a-year, and that they had produced only 50,000*l.* in the two years ending Lady-day, 1781. What kind of argument was this, to say they had produced only 50,000*l.* in two years, when they had been in operation only nine months? He had, as it was fair to do, estimated the taxes on an average produce of the six last years, and in some his calculation had proved true. He could not have divined that the sugar bills would have combined and ceased working, in hopes of monopoly; nor have divined the loss of the West-India fleets, the capture of our islands, the danger of navigation from the war, and the increased price of the commodity. He should have calculated otherwise. Respecting the post-office, he never proposed it as an actual fund: but as an Irish post-office was then in contemplation, he thought it better that the kingdom should rest in the hopes of such a fund, than lay duties in the place of it, which might be unnecessary.

What the honourable gentleman has said respecting the balance of trade, would really alarm him if it were true. (Mr. Grattan said, he confined himself to the articles of linen, cotton, and wool.) Mr. Foster proceeded. The balance of trade must be taken upon the whole of our trade. We never have had such large exports of beef as of late; those of pork had been incredible. If their linen markets were bad last year, the markets of the present year were uncommonly good; and in the first year of our free trade, they had exported woollen goods to the value of 400,000*l.* Who could think, that under these circumstances, the balance of our trade had declined? (Mr. Grattan here interrupted Mr. Foster, and said, I admit that the nation is rising fast to prosperity, if ministers do not oppress her.) Mr. Foster gave other advantageous views of the situation, both of the expenses and revenues; and he concluded by saying, that as he had refuted every position Mr. Grattan had adduced, as reasons for going into a committee; and as he saw no one of any kind, which could induce him to think a committee necessary, he should oppose this motion. In asserting the necessity of economy, he said he had ever been, and ever should be, its warmest advocate.

Mr. Eden observed, that an inquiry into the state of the public expenses, would shew he was using his best industry and exertions to promote an efficient collection of the revenue, and to prevent improper expenditure. He would not however admit a proposition resting upon assertions of public poverty, which was not felt,

upon abuses, which did not exist; and upon charges employed against the late administration, which deserved and possessed the grateful regards of that kingdom. With respect to the biennial accounts of 1767, which had been compared with the biennial accounts for 1781, in order to shew an exceeding in the latter to the amount of 520,000*l.* he said, that when proper deductions were made for the parliamentary bounties, the loan duties, the vice-treasurer's salaries, and the absentee taxes, the exceeding was less than 100,000*l.* which was matter of fact, not of calculation: and it should be also recollected, that the latter being a period of war, must necessarily be attended with various expenses, from which the former period was exempt. With regard to the Portugal business, which had been incidentally mentioned as decided, Mr. Eden said, that it was not yet brought to a conclusion, but had every appearance of ending in the most satisfactory manner. At twelve o'clock the house divided upon Mr. Grattan's motion; when there were 65 for it, and 143 against it.

On the 11th of December, 1781, *Mr. Flood entered upon the important subject of Poynings' law, with great erudition and eloquence. He said, that it was highly unconstitutional for any of the three estates, king, lords, or commons, to intrench upon the privileges of either of the other: that each had its separate and distinct province. The deliberate authority of the state resting with the houses of lords and commons, the executive with the king. That the constitution had invested the two houses with the deliberate authority of propounding and framing laws, by which the people were to be governed; because they themselves were the people's representatives, and had given the king only a negative on the laws when proposed; because he was the executive officer, and had no occasion for any right of interference in the business of legislation, but just so much as was necessary to defend his own prerogative from the encroachments of the other estates, which he was sufficiently enabled to do, from a power of negating any law which he thought might be injurious to that prerogative. But this, which was the beauty and strength of the British constitution, and to which the people of Ireland were fully entitled, as participating in that constitution, had been wrested from them, not by the act of the 10th of Henry the VIIth, commonly called Poynings' law, nor by the explanatory acts of Philip and Mary, but by the corrupt and vicious construction and interpretation given to those acts, by the twelve judges of England, but more especially by the decision of nine judges of Ireland,

* Parl. Debates, p. 153. Mr. Flood's speech on this important law to Ireland, is a most solid and explicit statement of the nature, spirit and operation of it; and the best historical clue to the developement of the many political manœuvres carried on under its sanction.

whose names that decision had consigned to everlasting infamy. Yet corrupt and venal as that decision was, there were two subsequent authorities generally urged in support of this false construction of the law, that went further than even the judges had ventured to go. Here, he observed, that the reigns antecedent to the coming of the family of Stuart, had produced the worst precedents for the English, and the reigns since, the worst for the Irish constitution. The first warp and perversion was given in the reign of James I, who came from the throne of Scotland to that of England and Ireland, filled with Scottish prejudices, and entertaining a very exalted notion, indeed, of royal prerogative. In very early times the Scottish parliaments enjoyed the full power of enacting all laws ; the king only put them in execution, but had not even a negative on their passing. This was much less power than a king ought to have ; and in time the Scottish kings contrived to acquire more ; for at the period that parliament enjoyed this plenitude of power, attendance on public business was thought a very great hardship. There are many instances of boroughs, &c. praying to be eased of the burden of sending representatives. This reluctance and disinclination to attend, gave rise to an alteration in the constitution ; for in order, as much as possible, to ease the members of parliament, that their term of attendance might be shortened, and that they might only have to decide upon such laws as were to be passed, a committee was selected under the name of Lords of Articles. The office of this committee, was to prepare all the laws which the parliament was to pass, consequently it became an object of great importance to the Scottish kings to have the selecting of the persons who were to sit in this committee ; and this object they found means to attain. Then began that favourite doctrine, “ that the parliament “ could not take any matter into consideration till it had been “ propounded on the part of the crown ;” and though in the worst times, it was never fully obeyed, so as to make the king absolute master of the parliament, yet the power acquired by the king in nominating the Lords of Articles, put the parliament down as much below its natural dignity as the king had formerly been. King James attempted to introduce this practice into Ireland, and with but too much success ; for when some opposition was made to it in parliament, he sent over for a committee of the members, whom he ordered to attend him in England ; and having lectured them upon the sublime authority of kings, and the mysterious art of legislation ; and having informed them, that it was a subject above the capacity of parliament, those gentlemen came home much better courtiers than they went, and consented to a resolution soon after proposed, “ that parliaments were but “ humble remembrancers to his majesty.” Another attempt was

made to divest parliament of their authority, which, indeed, had no weight as a precedent, being under the infamous administration of Lord Strafford. The Lords of Ireland he had reduced so low, as to make their own journals the record of their shame; and the Commons, (whom at his first coming he had called together, and from whom he had demanded a supply) pleading the poverty and inability of the nation; he told them, that he stood there in the person of the king, not to supplicate, but demand his right; and if it were refused, he would think himself bound to use the army to enforce it. Mr. Flood then went back to an early period of the English history, and proved the manner of originating laws in parliament, on which the king had only a negative, and that even during the most despotic reigns, till the pernicious principles brought in by the Stuarts, were attempted to be enforced against the people's rights; and the unfortunate Charles fell a victim to his own ambition; as did Lord Strafford to the corrupt and tyrannic disposition which influenced his conduct in Ireland.

He then returned to the law of Poynings itself, part of which he read, to shew that it was never intended to take away the right of the parliament, but merely to prevent the governors of Ireland from giving the royal assent to laws, that might be injurious to the king. That during the civil wars of York and Lancaster, this had frequently happened: that the adherents of the York family were numerous in Ireland, having been planted there chiefly in the reign of Henry VI. who sent the Duke of York, with great power and great revenue, to govern the kingdom for no less than ten years, during which time, and afterwards, it became an asylum to the partizans of that house. That Lord Gormanstown, who preceded Poynings, had given great cause for suspicion; nay, it was even thought, that when Symnel was crowned in Dublin, if there had been a parliament sitting, that parliament would have acknowledged him as rightful king. That voyages between England and Ireland in those days, were much less frequent than between Europe and America at present, consequently many things happened there that were not known till long after in England, for which reason, Henry VII. who derived his right from the house of Lancaster, when he chose that trusty servant, Poynings, to be his deputy in Ireland, though he had the utmost reliance on his fidelity, yet would not entrust even him with the power of giving the royal assent to laws, till they had been notified to the king himself in England, under the sanction of the great seal of Ireland; but, that this was considered only as a restraint on the governor, not on the parliament of Ireland; which, by making authentic records, he proved had been the constant practice of originating such bills as they thought proper, and send-

ing them engrossed on parchment, sometimes through the viceroy, sometimes by special messengers of their own, to receive the royal assent. He also produced the evidence of the parliamentary roll, in the reign of Elizabeth, to confirm this opinion, and to shew the sentiments the parliament then entertained of the law of Poynings', by the reluctance with which they consented to a temporary suspension of its effects in favour of Lord Sydney, and the great compliment they paid that nobleman in the words of that consent. From this he inferred, that parliament had considered this as a popular law, guarding the nation against evil governors, but in no wise restraining the power of either house of parliament. He said, that a very unjust stigma had, therefore, been affixed to the name of Poynings, who was an able and upright governor, and from whose administration that kingdom had derived the greatest advantages, and whose laws were intended for its defence, till perverted by the corrupt opinions of the judges. It was no wonder, that people had received an ill impression of the law of Poynings', as the very text of that law had been falsified, by those who had the charge of its publication: for instead of saying that the imperial crown of Ireland was inseparably annexed, and *appendant* to the imperial crown of England; they had used the words, *dependant on*, the most invidious perversion that could possibly be introduced. Lord Bacon, who wrote the history of the reign of Henry VII. and who particularly mentioned Poynings, would not have let so great a matter, as a total inversion of our constitution, pass by the accuracy of his penetrating genius. He mentions the law of Poynings', indeed, but not this law. He says of Poynings, "But in parliament he did endeavour to make amends for the meagreness of his service in the war, for there was made that memorable act, called Poynings' Act," (not the act they were then debating on) but that "whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland, for before (says Lord Bacon) they were not, neither were any so that had been made in England since."

It was astonishing, that the law of Poynings' should ever have received such a false and vicious interpretation. Its meaning could not be understood at the distance of three hundred years, better than by the people in whose days it was passed, or those who succeeded for an hundred years after. By them it was considered as a boon and a favour; but its operation now destroyed the constitution of Ireland: that constitution, which growing on the same stem with the constitution of Britain, it was formed to protect. The law was not in fault: the vile interpreter only was to blame. An interpreter placed between the king and people: a monster unknown to the constitution, whose office was to stifle

the voice of the people, and to prevent the king from hearing ; to render the people dumb, and the king deaf. He would therefore, in order to restore the constitution to its native vigour, and to obviate the evil effects of misinterpretation, move two resolutions, the first of which he then proposed, viz.....

“ That a committee be appointed to examine the precedents and records that day produced, and such others as might be necessary to explain the law of Poynings’.”

If this were granted, he would follow it with another, to declare from the report of that committee, what the law of Poynings’, and what the constitution of that country actually were.

The Provost answered Mr. Flood in a very learned and temperate speech, but insisted chiefly on the advantages of that law having been so long practised, not only without abuse on the part of England, but infinitely to the benefit of Ireland. He considered it a great blessing to his country, to be united to England by three bands ; the law of Poynings’, as explained by the statute of Philip and Mary, united the constitution of both realms : the statute of Henry VIII. united the regal crowns of both realms : and the practice of appeals, united the jurisprudence of both realms. The attorney general opposed the resolution with more than his usual vehemence. At a late hour Mr. Flood’s resolution was negatived, by a majority of 139 against 67.

It may be observed, that from the time the public mind had expanded itself so largely to the contemplation of civil freedom, little had been attempted to be done for the great mass of the Irish people, who were Roman Catholics. The necessary effect of the Protestants and Catholics uniting in the common pursuit of national freedom and independence, was, that ancient prejudices*

* It may be imagined by some, that religious prejudices had long ere this time been eradicated from Ireland, as well as from most other countries of Europe. The existence of the unnatural and ferocious code of popery laws, at this time almost in their whole extent, proves the reverse : and although the increasing liberality of the higher orders had for some time, particularly under the happy reign of a most mild and indulgent monarch, greatly discountenanced the vigorous execution of those laws : yet the general habits of education, and the still more powerful workings of self-interest, had, for more than a century, sown, fed, and fostered, fear and hatred, rather than unanimity, affection, and charity, amongst the inhabitants of that unfortunate country. The legislative code of laws, religious and civil institutions, annual exhortations from the pulpits, daily catechistical instructions at school and at home, taught Protestants of every denomination from their earliest youth, to understand the terms *Popery* and *Papists*, as terms of enmity, reproach, contempt, guilt, horror and detestation. The wonder is, that these first impressions, inculcated into the pliancy of youth, as civil and religious duties, should, at any period of life, wear out or be laid aside ; more especially in a country where it is painful to avow the slightest elevation above the lower order of the community, has at all times been attended with an unwarrantable spirit of tyrannical domination and despotic rule over their fellow creatures. It is the keenest policy of perverted man, from Mahomet to Machiavel, to render sacred the maxims, that

wore out, familiarity bred confidence, and patriotism diffused a general ardour for the emancipation of every loyal Irishman, that suffered hardship, oppression, or servitude. A spirit of religious toleration pervaded every rank of those who had enlisted under the banners of civil freedom and Irish independence; and as many had engaged in that cause as commanded the means of arming and equipping themselves for the rank of volunteers.

Mr. Luke Gardiner, (afterwards Lord Mountjoy) who had lately returned from his travels on the continent, had often lamented, that Ireland was the most intolerant country in all Europe, which he considered as a high disgrace to the reformed religion.

* On the 13th of December, 1781, a conversation took place on the heads of a bill for giving further relief to his majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion, when Mr. Gardiner said that he was taking the utmost pains to bring it forward in such a shape as he hoped would render it acceptable to every gentleman in the house, as in a case of such great importance unanimity was earnestly to be desired.

Sir Richard Johnson declared he would oppose any bill by which Papists were permitted to carry arms. It was a matter in which the nation was deeply concerned, and it was too late in the session properly to consider it.

The attorney general (Scott) found the subject so connected with religion, with interest, with prejudice, with all the most inflammable passions of the human breast, that it ought to be spoken of with the utmost coolness and moderation; that it was necessary, in the present temper of affairs, to use such means as would conciliate and draw together in closest union, the minds of all

are most congenial with the vicious inclinations of those, on whom they are meant to operate, as meritorious services, or obligatory duties. Through the greatest part of Ireland, the lowest class of the people were Catholics; they were therefore not only subject to the native despotism of their superiors in rank, but the privileges of the Protestant ascendancy bore heavy upon them, from the peer to the squire, and down through every gradation of trade and mechanics to the forty shilling freeholder or common soldier. The national lust for rule was shamefully encouraged by abuse; and impunity, for most misdemeanors and assaults against Papists, was generally and in practice considered as a part of the privilege of the ascendancy. Long after the senate had ceased to call and treat the Catholic as a common enemy, was the term *Popish* retained in the country by the squirearchy and other abusers of their rank and fortune in society as the head of the climax of contempt, contumely, and indignation. This is not said *ad invidiam*, but to convince the most numerous part of the Irish nation, that they receive by the Union the incalculable blessing of seeing that much abused ascendancy removed, and themselves raised to a level with their neighbours in social life. The historian is not entitled to claim credit for general assertion upon long past facts: and to prove modern abuses by particular charges is too ungracious a task for him to attempt. *Experientia docet.*

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 175.

their fellow subjects, and therefore he hoped the house would manifest the greatest unanimity on the subject.

Mr. Fitzgibbon animadverted upon the inconsistency of the laws, and recommended one well-digested law on the subject, adding, that something ought to be done for the relief of so great a part of their fellow subjects, whose dutiful and loyal behaviour had rendered them deserving objects of attention.

Mr. Daly declared the same sentiments, but he thought it in vain to hope for unanimity in any thing for the relief of Roman Catholics; for there was a spirit which actuated some members in that house, and which never would coincide in any thing that could be proposed to their advantage.

Mr. Gardiner said, that he would not offer to the house, in the heads of a bill which he was preparing, any clause permitting Roman Catholics to carry arms. His first intention, he said, was to attach a right of carrying arms to a certain possession in land; but for his own part, if he thought it would tend to produce unanimity, he would relinquish that idea.

Mr. Holmes said, the penal laws of Ireland were a disgrace to the legislature, and a reproach to humanity; that now when the liberal spirit of toleration had spread itself over almost all Europe, was the proper time to transplant it into this country, where he hoped to see it take root and flourish. Every author of great and manly genius who had considered the subject, had reprobated religious persecution as the scourge and bane of the human race. Every enlightened politician had endeavoured to destroy it. The Emperor of Germany, that friend to mankind and father to his people, had set an example of toleration fit for the imitation of the world. Throughout the extent of his vast dominions, Protestants, who through the narrow prejudices of former times, lay under many incapacities (though by no means to be compared with those suffered by Irish Roman Catholics,) were now raised to the enjoyment of every right possessed by their fellow subjects; and it would well become the wisdom and generosity of that house to grant such relief to their fellow subjects, who differed from them only in points of faith, but by no means in loyalty and love of their country, as would be a reward for long suffering merit.

On several other days* did Mr. Flood bring forward the ques-

* On one of these, viz. the 18th of December, he used the following strong language: "As nine tenths of the present inhabitants of this kingdom are allowed to be descendants from those English settlers, and the natives who from time to time were permitted the use of the English laws, it is clear beyond contradiction, that we were as free as the English during 500 years. Our liberties were first infringed by the detestable Strafford, but the cries of this oppressed country had pursued and overtaken him: and he earnestly prayed, that a like vengeance might light upon the head of every future tyrant who should attack the constitution with the high hand of prerogative, or the slower sap of corruption." 1 Parl. Deb. p. 184.

tion of Poynings' law, in which he insisted the very vitals of the constitution were concerned. He expressed his astonishment, that this opinion was combated by the whole bar, though they always professed themselves ready to support the constitution. He complained with some soreness, that this question had been wrested out of his hands, after he had made it his study for twenty years; but as the honourable gentleman (Mr. Yelverton) was erecting a temple to liberty, he hoped at least he should be allowed a niche in the fane. Notwithstanding the extension of trade, and the new additional duties granted in the last session, the expenses of the establishment, &c. for the two years ending at Lady-day, 1781, exceeded the produce of the revenue by above 480,000*l*. It was therefore ordered that 300,000*l*. should be raised as follows: 260,000*l*. at 4*l*. per cent. and the remaing 400,000*l*. upon treasury bills as before. The debt of the nation amounted now to 1,551,704*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*. and the pension list to 183,745*l*. 10*s*. 2½*d*. On presenting the money bills the 22d of December, 1781, the speaker delivered his sentiments as follows:

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“Though no material change in the circumstances of this kingdom has taken place since the conclusion of the last session, it ought to be, and I am persuaded is, a subject of general satisfaction to reflect, that amidst the horrors of war, it has shared none of its calamities; that the public tranquillity has been preserved within, and that the dangers, with which it was threatened from without, have been averted by his majesty's paternal care, by your excellency's vigilance and judicious conduct, and by the voluntary and virtuous exertions of its own loyal and brave inhabitants: nor is the future prospect less pleasing than the view of what is past. Several attempts have been lately made, and with some success, to establish in this kingdom new manufactures, to revive and improve the old and to extend its commerce; the lower orders of the people are recovering from their former indolence and ignorance, and the spirit of enterprize and industry, the great spring of national happiness, begins to diffuse itself through the nation. From these dispositions in the people, and the generous encouragement given to every useful undertaking by those of higher condition, it seems not too much confidence to hope, that the time is not far distant, when this kingdom will emerge from that state of inaction and languor into which it was sunk, and that it will assume that rank in the empire which belongs to it, and become one of its principal pillars. The commons, sensible of the benefits they enjoy under your excellency's just and wise administration, have, with unusual despatch, granted all the supplies which were required, and have also made pro-

“vision for the discharge of an arrear of 300,000*l.* incurred since the last session ; and though they have not imposed on the subject any new or additional tax, except for the purposes of regulation, they are not without hopes, that the revenue will hereafter prove adequate to the public service, and that the augmentation made by such regulation, and the reformation already commenced in the collection and management of it, will prevent any future deficiency.”

The House of Commons met for the last time before their adjournment on Christmas-day, when Mr. Gardiner observing, that many members had expressed their anxiety to know the purport of his intended bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, and as the house had given no orders for printing it, he would have it printed and distributed at his own expense, that gentlemen might have an opportunity of maturely considering it during the recess. On which occasion Mr. Grattan said, he did not rise to oppose the going into a committee, or to promote it, he only intended to observe, that it was granted on all sides that some indulgence should be granted to the Roman Catholics; the only difficulty was, how that indulgence should be granted; for his part, he wished the house to do it handsomely, for the merits and sufferings of the Roman Catholics claimed it from them. They were not to be judged by their creed, as understood by their adversaries, their actions proved them dutiful and loyal. They were for a long time not supposed attached to the constitution, and with good reason, because they were known not to enjoy its benefits; yet that Roman Catholics might be attached to a constitution they could enjoy, was obvious; Catholics had formerly wrested Magna Charta from King John; and recently on two trying occasions, when the country was threatened with invasion, and when last session she was struggling for a free trade and constitution, their behaviour then was in the highest degree praiseworthy; they did not catch the opportunity to make terms, but liberally and unconditionally joined with their Protestant fellow-subjects in every effort to serve their country; by these, and by a continual course of good behaviour, they had merited the favour of parliament. But this favour ought to be granted with some regard to the prejudices of Protestants; for even Protestants (he spoke with respect and reverence of the faith which he professed) had their prejudices. With some regard to the prejudices of Presbyterians, whose political principles he preferred before all others, parliament should endeavour to make the indulgence agreeable to every party, and beneficial not only to the Catholics, but to the nation; it should be the business of parliament to unite every denomination of Irishmen in brotherly affection and regard to the constitution. It had been well observed, by a gentleman

of first-rate understanding, (a member of the British parliament,) that Ireland could never prosper till its inhabitants were a people; and though the assertion might seem strange, that three millions of inhabitants in that island should not be called a people, yet the truth was so, and so would continue till the wisdom of parliament should unite them by all the bonds of social affection. Then, and not till then, the country might hope to prosper.

Immediately after the adjournment of the House of Commons, viz. on the 31st of January, 1782, Mr. Gardiner gave notice of his intention to bring in heads of a bill for the relief of his majesty's subjects in Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion: and as no part of the modern history of Ireland is more interesting or curious, than the progress, variations, shiftings, and conclusions of the public mind upon the rights and franchises of the Roman Catholics of that kingdom, I shall endeavour to trace it as fairly, as the public documents and records of the nation will admit of.* The hon. John Burke said, he would ever oppose the introduction of a bill, that with a single dash of a pen, abolished all the restraints which the wisdom of their ancestors had laid upon that people; that he wished to grant them some indulgence, but that the clause which gave them power to obtain perpetuities in land, was, in his opinion, much too extensive.

Mr. St. George also conceived it necessary, that the Protestants, who were so much inferior to the Papists in numbers, should have some check over them, which would be entirely taken off, if the clause granting perpetuities to Papists were to pass.

Mr. Conolly gave his firmest and most zealous support to the bill, as being founded in justice, good policy, and true religion. God forbid! that after having proved the loyalty of the Irish Catholics for an hundred years, they should fear to emancipate them from the oppression of laws, which the humanity of their countrymen disdained to enforce. No law should stand on the Statute Book, but such as every friend of his country would assist to enforce.

Sir H. Langrishe did not suppose, that the house would for a moment hesitate to receive a bill, whose object was to liberate one million and a half of loyal Irish subjects, suffering under laws, that presented the highest picture of excessive malice. He asked, did the conduct of the Irish Catholics deserve such treatment? If not, said he, in the name of God, let the bill come forward: let us consider what is due to our own dignity, what is due to the merits of our suffering countrymen; they are a people, that deserve our favour, and therefore let us not shew an unwillingness to naturalize such a multitude, who are aliens in their own country.

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 199.

Mr. Ponsonby thought it would be extremely wrong to shew any unwillingness to receive the bill. A people of such exemplary loyalty had his best wishes.

Mr. Brownlow said, that whatever could tend to unite the people of the country, and strengthen their attachment to it, deserved the most serious attention of the legislature. The most free and unrestrained toleration in all religious matters ought to be granted to every man; a good subject should never be questioned as to his articles of faith, but should enjoy the full benefit and protection of the law. There was no other country on the face of the earth, where seven tenths of the whole people were excluded from the benefits of the law, and the privileges of their fellow subjects, merely because they differed in religious opinions; yet, under this oppression, the Roman Catholics had retained their loyalty and love to their country, and it was but justice to grant them relief. Leave was given to bring in the heads of the bill without any opposition.

On the 5th of February, Mr. Gardiner being indisposed, Mr. Dillon presented heads of a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, which brought on a debate, in which several other leading members of the house declared their sentiments and dispositions upon the subject. Sir Hercules Langrishe and the provost were strongly for the measure. Mr. John Burke finding that he could not effectually oppose the bill, moved, that it should be an instruction to the committee, to introduce into the bill a full recital of all the acts or clauses of acts intended to be repealed; in which he was supported by Mr. Mason and Mr. Parnell, and opposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon and the rest of the house. Sir Boyle Roche said, that whenever the subject was mentioned, he was always struck with the greatness of the object, no less than the delivering millions of his fellow subjects, who for a hundred years had groaned in bondage, and restoring them to the enjoyment of liberty in their native country. He said, that no man in the nation denied, that upon every principle of justice, honour, truth, and public good, the Roman Catholics of Ireland ought to be set free, and asked whether they could ever be a great and happy people till it were accomplished. He hoped no man would think himself interested in still fomenting division and dispute; and though allowance must be made for prejudice, yet he hoped no man in the nation was malignant enough to gratify his spleen by the ruin of his country. The poor unhappy Roman Catholics, for a hundred years had laboured under the most cruel hardships that prejudice could impose; yet such was their love of their country, that even oppression could not shake their fidelity; they scarcely uttered their distress, or if a sigh escaped, it was directed to the compassion of their generous countrymen,

whose love of liberty, they hoped, would at last impart that blessing to them.

Mr. Hussey Burgh protested, that when the house was about to repeal all the laws that oppressed Roman Catholics, he should never chuse to look back upon that cruel code which would stand as an impeachment to the Protestant name, whose greatest glory was universal toleration and benevolence.

On the 15th of February, the order of the day for going into the Catholic bill having been called, a conversation took place upon the propriety of its being then committed, when the house, which was uncommonly crowded with strangers, was appalled by Mr. Fitzgibbon's apprizing them,* that till that morning he had never considered the bill as dangerous; but on reading it over carefully, the first clause had struck him as a repeal of the Act of Settlement, the Act of Forfeiture, and the Act of Reassumption; that if so, it must destroy the new titles under the Popery laws, and entangle the whole kingdom in a maze of confusion. He therefore entreated the friends of the bill to agree with him in putting it off, till those doubts, which had arisen from the first clause were done away; or till that clause could be modified, so as to grant relief to the Catholics without injuring the persons holding under the new titles. He declared himself a firm friend to toleration, and he wished to allow the Catholics a power of obtaining perpetuities, but thought that three or four days delay could not injure their prospect of relief; though by allowing time to make the bill more perfect, it might save the nation from much distress.

Mr. Metge expressed the same opinion; upon which Mr. Grattan observed, that though the bill were incomplete, it was no cause for not going into a committee; it was that very cause that rendered a committee necessary. He then went into a detail of the sundry delays and interruptions the bill had met with in its progress to maturity, and finished with declaring, that if it were not ripe then, it never would be so. Mr. Grattan disclaimed every intention of disturbing property, and was willing to alter the clause complained of, in any way that the learned gentlemen of the bar might think would make it safe.

The attorney general, adverting to the importance of the subject before the house, said, that the opinion expressed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, of the dangerous tendency of the sweeping clause, had struck the house with a panic, and if the bill were then to come forward, it would inevitably fail of success. Many liberal and generous sentiments had been expressed on the subject of giving toleration to Roman Catholics. He heartily subscribed to the wisdom and humanity, from whence those sentiments arose.

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 241.

He was particularly happy in hearing those sentiments from gentlemen who represented the northern counties ; on that subject, their opinions should have the greatest weight, and as there were no men who valued liberty higher, there were none would be more forward to bestow it on their countrymen. He had himself been a witness of their wisdom and the spirit of toleration that reigned amongst them. He had seen in Monaghan, at the same moment, three prodigious large congregations flowing out from a meeting-house, a church, and a mass-house ; and as the individuals that composed them had joined in the street, they have blended and united into one body, with every mark of affection and good will : that was true religious toleration ; and the most striking examples of it were to be found in the north. He would not then proceed further than merely to commit the bill, to shew the people that the house was sincere, and fully resolved to give them the utmost that could safely be granted.

The house then went into a committee on the bill, when it was read, and the further consideration of it adjourned to a near day.

On the 18th of the month, Mr. Gardiner, who had been absent on the 16th, stated in the house, that the objection taken by his friend, (Mr. Fitzgibbon) which had prevented the business from going on, had been examined by the most eminent gentlemen at the bar, both in and out of the house, who were unanimously of opinion, that it did not contain any of that mischief announced by Mr. Fitzgibbon, which had spread so much alarm. Mr. Walsh, a barrister, and Messrs. Dillon, Grattan and Mason, expressed their satisfaction, that the objection to the progress of the bill had been happily done away. Even Mr. Fitzgibbon abandoned his own opinion.

The awful and critical situation of the great body of the Irish people with arms in their hands, and freedom in their hearts, calls our attention to what was going forward out of parliament. We have traced the volunteers rising gradually into the use of arms, organized into discipline, and almost united in one common object, which had now resolved itself into the simple determination of attaining an unequivocal legislative independence. In this situation, the officers of the southern battalion of Lord Charlemont's Armagh regiment, took the lead, and gave movement to the important measures of the volunteer army : they met, and came to the following resolutions :

FIRST ULSTER REGIMENT, COMMANDED BY THE EARL OF
CHARLEMONT.

“ At a full meeting, holden at Armagh, on Friday, the 28th
“ day of December, 1781, of the officers and delegates, of the

“ southern battalion of the said regiment, consisting of eleven companies, pursuant to adjournment.

“ Francis Evans, Esq. in the chair. The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in all the newspapers published within the province of Ulster, and in the Volunteer Journal of the city of Dublin.

“ *Resolved*, That with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those, whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same.

“ *Resolved*, That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods, must be pursued, to root out corruption and court influence from the legislative body.

“ *Resolved*, That to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite that a meeting be held in the most central town of the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every volunteer association of the said province is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on, and publish to their country, what may be the result of said meeting.

“ *Resolved*, That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said intended meeting being held before the present session of parliament is much farther advanced, Friday the 15th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for said meeting, at Dungannon as aforesaid.

“ *Resolved*, That as at said meeting it is highly probable the idea of forming brigades will be agitated and considered, the several corps of volunteers who send delegates to said meeting are requested to vest in them a power to associate with some one of such brigades as may be then formed.

“ FRANCIS EVANS, *Chairman.*”

The meeting, in consequence of this requisition, was one of the most important transactions in the modern annals of Ireland. As soon as this bold call appeared, the Castle took the alarm. Captain Evans was the ostensible man, but to take him up might bring things to immediate extremities; to take no notice of it might also be dangerous; a middle course was determined on, and every possible means were used to suppress the meeting; the words of the requisition were animadverted on; and many, even of the best friends of their country, wished no meeting had been called.

As the awful 15th day of February, 1782, approached, doubt and anxiety appeared in every countenance ; men of every description were deeply concerned in the event ; and perhaps there never was a period more critical to a nation.

The administration was considered by them all to have hitherto treated the demands of the people with scorn : and they charged the parliament with having leagued with administration against them : the people with arms in their hands, was bent upon one object, but had no chain of correspondence.

Unanimity among the volunteers could alone give efficacy to their resolves ; and thus circumstanced, a meeting was formed, at which Lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Stewart (member for Tyrone,) and Mr. Dobbs, a barrister, attended, at which the following resolutions were settled and arranged, both as to the order and the persons by whom they should be respectively moved.

ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

“ At a meeting of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers of the province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, on Friday the 15th day of February, 1782, Colonel William Irvine in the chair.

“ Whereas it has been asserted, that volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or public men :

“ 1. *Resolved* unanimously, that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights.

“ 2. *Resolved* unanimously, that a claim of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons, of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ 3. *Resolved*, (with one dissenting voice only) that the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, or under colour, or pretence of the law of Poynings', are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ 4. *Resolved* unanimously, that the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the king ; and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“ 5. *Resolved*, (with one dissenting voice only) that a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ 6. *Resolved* unanimously, that the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in

“ Ireland as in England ; and that the refusal or delay of this
 “ right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no
 “ distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should pre-
 “ vail ; and is in itself unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“ 7. *Resolved*, (with eleven dissenting voices only) that it is
 “ our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of
 “ these grievances ; and we pledge ourselves to each other and
 “ to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of hon-
 “ our ; that we will at every ensuing election, support those only
 “ who have supported and will support us therein ; and that we
 “ will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of
 “ redress speedy and effectual.

“ 8. *Resolved*, (with one dissenting voice only) that the right
 “ honourable and honourable the minority in parliament, who
 “ have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to
 “ our most grateful thanks ; and that the annexed address be
 “ signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions.

“ 9. *Resolved* unanimously, that four members from each coun-
 “ ty of the province of Ulster, (eleven to be a quorum) be, and
 “ are hereby appointed a committee till next general meeting, to
 “ act for the volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion
 “ shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz.

“ Lord Viscount Enniskillen, Colonel Mervyne Archdall,
 “ Colonel William Irvine, Colonel Robert M’Clintock, Colonel
 “ John Ferguson, Colonel John Montgomery, Colonel Charles
 “ Leslie, Colonel Francis Lucas, Colonel Thomas Morris Jones,
 “ Colonel James Hamilton, Colonel Andrew Thompson, Lieut.
 “ Colonel Charles Nesbitt, Lieut. Colonel Alexander Stewart,
 “ Major James Paterson, Major Francis Dobbs, Major James
 “ M’Clintock, Major Charles Duffin, Captain John Harvey, Cap-
 “ tain Robert Campbell, Captain Joseph Pollock, Captain Wad-
 “ dell Cunningham, Captain Francis Evans, Captain John Cope,
 “ Captain James Dawson, Captain James Acheson, Captain
 “ Daniel Eccles, Captain Thomas Dixon, Captain David Bell,
 “ Captain John Coulston, Captain Robert Black, the Rev. Wil-
 “ liam Crawford, Mr. Robert Thompson.

“ 10. *Resolved* unanimously, that said committee do appoint
 “ nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order
 “ to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the
 “ other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolu-
 “ tions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional
 “ means of carrying them into effect.*

* In order to let the reader into the general spirit of the volunteers, and how faithfully the patriots represented it to the parliament, and also how fully aware of what then was the voice of the people, several of the members were, who, notwithstanding, resisted it in the senate ; several addresses and letters from

“ In consequence of the above resolutions, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz.

“ Colonel Mervyne Archdall, Colonel William Irvine, Colonel John Montgomery, Colonel Thomas Morris Jones, Major Francis Dobbs, Captain Francis Evans, Captain James Dawson, Captain Joseph Pollock, Mr. Robert Thompson.

“ 11. *Resolved* unanimously, that the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

“ 12. *Resolved* unanimously, that the court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British empire, in such a manner as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal; and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

“ 13. *Resolved*, (with two dissenting voices only, to this and the following resolution) that we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.

“ 14. *Resolved*, therefore, that as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

“ 15. *Resolved* unanimously, that the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Thomas Reed, having joined a regiment of this province, the First Newry Regiment, or Newry Legion, and petitioning to be received as part of this body, and under its protection, is accordingly hereby received.

“ 16. Whereas a letter has been received by the chairman of this meeting, from the united corps of the county of Cavan, Colonel Ennery in the chair, declaring their readiness to co-

different volunteer corps, to the minority in parliament, and other individual members, with their answers, may be seen in the Appendix, No. LXVII. They are authentic documents of the then prevailing spirit of the Irish nation. A complete collection of the resolutions of the volunteers, grand juries, &c. of Ireland, which followed the celebrated resolves of the first Dungannon Diet, was published at Dublin in 1782, by Mr. C. H. Wilson, a gentleman universally esteemed for his liberality, wit, humour, information, and learning.

“ operate with their brother volunteers in every constitutional
 “ support of their rights :

“ *Resolved* unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be
 “ presented to the said united corps of the county of Cavan, for
 “ their spirited resolution ; and that a copy of the proceedings of
 “ this meeting be inclosed by the chairman to Colonel Ennery, to
 “ be by him communicated to the said united corps ; and that
 “ they shall have a right, if they choose, to associate with the
 “ corps represented at this meeting, to nominate four members
 “ to act with those already appointed as a committee, by the de-
 “ legates at this meeting.

“ 17. *Resolved* unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting
 “ be presented to Captain Richardson, and the Dungannon Light
 “ Company, for their politeness in mounting guard this day.

“ 18. *Resolved* unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting
 “ be presented to the southern battalion of the First Ulster Regi-
 “ ment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, for that patriotic
 “ zeal which we are convinced induced them to call this meet-
 “ ing.

“ 19. *Resolved* unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be
 “ presented to Colonel William Irvine, for his particular propri-
 “ ety and politeness of conduct in the chair.

“ 20. *Resolved* unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting
 “ be presented to Captain James Dawson, for his readiness in
 “ undertaking the office of secretary to this meeting, and for his
 “ particular attention and ability in the laborious duty thereof.

“ 21. *Resolved* unanimously, that these resolutions be pub-
 “ lished.

“ *To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Minority in both*
 “ *Houses of Parliament.*

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ WE thank you for your noble and spirited, though
 “ hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional
 “ and commercial rights of your country. Go on ! the almost
 “ unanimous voice of the people is with you ; and, in a free coun-
 “ try, the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty
 “ to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to our-
 “ selves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights,
 “ and no more than our rights ; and, in so just a pursuit, we
 “ should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of suc-
 “ cess.

“ Signed by order,

“ WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

“ In committee.

“ Resolved unanimously, that the corps of this province, not represented at the meeting held this day, be, and they are hereby invited to join in the resolutions of said meeting, and to become members of the said association on the most equal footing.

“ Resolved unanimously, that such corps as may choose to join the said association, be, and they are hereby requested to communicate their intentions to our secretary, Captain Dawson, Union Lodge, Loughbrickland, who will lay the same before the chairman and committee.

“ WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.”

Thus ended the business of that ever memorable day. The place they met in was the church; and when the account of it reached Dublin, the friends of their country rejoiced at the temper and firmness of the proceedings: their enemies were disappointed in every expectation; none of that violence appeared which distinguishes faction from real public spirit: they were astonished and confounded with that noble benevolence and toleration, which must at once convince the Roman Catholics, that the supposed hatred of the Protestants of the north, existed only in the minds of the malevolent. To divide and conquer, had been too long the odious policy of that country: that of Dungannon, was to unite and be victorious.

As these resolutions made their public appearance, they were admired even by their enemies. The volunteers from every quarter paid their tribute of applause, and erected them as the standard, to which all repaired: from east, west, north, and south, they were re-echoed. Committees of correspondence were formed, and the national committee crowned the business.

Within five days after the passing of the Dungannon resolutions, when the Roman Catholic Bill was in the committee,* Mr. Gardiner said, that he was happy to find that liberal spirit of toleration which had originated in that house, had so universally diffused itself through the whole kingdom; and he rejoiced, that where ill-nature had supposed that prejudice would prevail, benevolence was seen to flourish. The delegates at Dungannon had manifested that the people of the north were as forward to grant toleration as the Catholics could be to receive it. An objection, he said, had been started to the bill, as originally introduced, which had so much weight with the house as induced him to postpone it to that day. He hoped, by an amendment,

* Viz. on the 20th of February, 1782. 1 Parl. Debates, p. 148.

which he now intended to make, to obtain the unanimous approbation of the house; and though he did not in it recite all that multifarious code, through the long and dark labyrinth of which, unenlightened by any ray of mercy, he deemed it impossible to find his way; yet, by simplifying the clause objected to, he conceived that the wishes of every gentleman would be gratified; they would clearly see what was granted to Catholics, and he hoped would think the grant but reasonable.

It was further urged, that if this law should pass, there would be no longer any restraint on Roman Catholics. But was it not a restraint upon a man, that he could hold no trust or office in the state? That he could not be a member of parliament, a justice, or a grand juror of the peace? That he could not serve in the army of his country; have a place in the revenue; be an advocate or attorney; or even become a freeman of the smallest corporation? If gentlemen laboured under these incapacities themselves, would they think them no restraints? He had divided the indulgencies, which he thought ought to be granted to Roman Catholics, into five heads, four of which he intended to move as amendments to the clause. The first, and that which he then intended to propose to the committee, respected their enjoyment of property: the second, the free exercise of religion: the third, education: the fourth, marriage: and the fifth, which, from the disposition of the committee, he did not then think expedient to agitate, regarded self-defence.

Mr. Fitzgibbon exerted himself in supporting the cause; he explained the nature of the privileges which were going to be granted; and concluded, that though it would be improper to allow Papists to become proprietors of boroughs, there was no good reason why they should not possess estates in countries, or why Protestant tenants holding under them, should not enjoy a right of voting for members of parliament. The attorney general, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Sir Henry Cavendish, Mr. Ogle, the Provost, Mr. Walsh, Mr. D. Daly, Sir Boyle Roche, and Mr. Bagnal, spoke warmly for the bill: Mr. St. George, Mr. Wynne, and Colonel Wynne opposed it. Mr. Flood said, that he always wished to embosom the Roman Catholics in the body of the state; yet without courting praise on one hand, or fearing censure on the other, he would deliver his free opinion on this great subject. About five years ago, said he, a law was passed, granting the Roman Catholics infinitely less than was then proposed: the day was celebrated with rejoicing, and it was thought they had reconciled every party. He was sorry to hear gentlemen speak as if nothing had been done for them. In the former laws, leases for years were granted to them upon the avowed principle of restraining them from any influence in elections. This law went

beyond toleration, it gave them a power, and tended to make a change in the state. If they gave them equal power with the Protestants, the present constitution could not survive. Though they wished to extend toleration to Roman Catholics, they did not wish to shake the government; they should allow them to purchase lands, but should carefully guard against their possessing any power in the state.

Mr. Grattan said, "I object to any delay which can be given to this clause; we have already considered the subject on a larger scale, and this is but a part of what the clause originally contained. We have before us the example of England, who four years ago granted Catholics a right of taking land in fee; the question is merely, whether we shall give this right or not, and if we give it, whether it shall be accompanied by all its natural advantages? Three years ago, when this question was debated in this house, there was a majority of three against granting Catholics estates in fee, and they were only allowed to take leases of 999 years. The argument then used against granting them the fee was, that they might influence elections. It has this day been shewn, that they may have as effectual an influence by possessing leases of 999 years, as they can have by possessing the fee; at that time, I do declare I was somewhat prejudiced against granting Roman Catholics estates in fee, but their conduct since that period has fully convinced me of their true attachment to this country. When this country had resolved no longer to crouch beneath the burthen of oppression that England had laid upon her; when she armed in defence of her rights, and a high-spirited people demanded a free trade, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen? No: they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue; they did not endeavour to take advantage of your situation; they did not endeavour to make terms for themselves, but they entered frankly and heartily into the cause of the country; judging by their own virtue, that they might depend upon your generosity for their reward. But now, after you have obtained a free trade, after the voice of the nation has asserted her independence, they approach this house as humble suppliants, and beg to be admitted to the common rights of men. Upon the occasions I have mentioned, I did carefully observe their actions, and did then determine to support their cause whenever it came before this house, and to bear a strong testimony of the constitutional principles of the Catholic body. Nor should it be mentioned as a reproach to them, that they fought under the banner of King James, when we recollect that before they entered the field, they extorted from him a Magna Charta, a British constitution. In 1779, when the

fleets of Bourbon hovered on our coasts, and the Irish nation roused herself to arms, did the Roman Catholics stand aloof? Or did they, as might be expected from their oppressed situation, offer assistance to the enemy? No: they poured in subscriptions for the service of their country, or they pressed into the ranks of her glorious volunteers.

“ It has been shewn that this clause grants the Roman Catholics no new power in the state; every argument, therefore, which goes against this clause goes against their having leases for 999 years: every argument which goes against their having leases for 999 years, goes against their having any leases at all: and every argument which goes against their having property, goes against their having existence in this land. The question is now, whether we shall grant Roman Catholics a power of enjoying estates, or whether we shall be a Protestant settlement or an Irish nation? Whether we shall throw open the gates of the temple of liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we shall confine them in bondage by penal laws? So long as the penal code remains, we never can be a great nation; the penal code is the shell in which the Protestant power has been hatched, and now it is become a bird, it must burst the shell asunder, or perish in it. I give my consent to the clause in its principle, extent, and boldness, and give my consent to it as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the prejudices of Catholics, and over our own. I give my consent to it, because I would not keep two millions of my fellow subjects in a state of slavery; and because, as the mover of the declaration of rights, I should be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more.”

Fortunately for the Catholics, Mr. Gardiner's bill was not made a government question, or otherwise it would probably have fallen before the same majority that had uniformly opposed every constitutional question that had been brought before them since the commencement of the American war. The nearer that fatal ministry drew to its dissolution, the more violent were its agonizing struggles against the patriotic efforts of Ireland to obtain a free and independent constitution. Within the octave of the great civic festival at Dungannon, Mr. Grattan, as the herald and oracle of his armed countrymen, once more addressed the House of Commons.* “ After the ample discussion,” said he, “ in this house, of the present question of right on the 19th of April, 1780, and the universal reprobation of the assumption of the British parliament, to bind this kingdom, then received, I had been silent on that subject, if that parliament had not since that time conti-

* On the 22d of February, 1782. 1 Parl. Deb. p. 266.

nued its tyrannical and unconstitutional assumption, by enacting several laws to bind Ireland, which I have in my hand, as also a proclamation in the Irish Gazette, where the execution of a British statute is enforced : measures that evidently shew, that the British nation, so far from relinquishing the claim of usurped authority in this kingdom, have still the same spirit of making laws for us, which they keep alive by renewing their claim on every occasion. These fresh instances of British usurpation, added to that disgraceful and unrepealed act of the 6th of Geo. I. which declares Ireland bound at all times by the legislature of Great Britain, makes it necessary at this time for the parliament of Ireland to come to an explanation concerning its privileges, and the injured rights of the nation. And what are the boasted relaxations Britain has granted to us? The first was in 1778, as contemptible in principle as in effect ; for after a bar of lawyers had been brought to plead against Ireland in the English House of Commons, we are permitted to export every thing except our manufactures. Their favour was an insult and aggravation to our misery. The minister sends over to know the causes of our distresses, and he is answered from his agents here, that it was done away, and that we were satisfied, by being permitted to cultivate tobacco. The second period was in 1779, when government abdicated the defence of Ireland, and Ireland appeared in arms ; the minister now changed his tone, he glanced a temporary gleam of hope upon our shields ; he gave us every thing, but kept the power of taking it back ; he retained a mutiny bill and the post-office act. The third period was a ministerial address of thanks, evidently calculated to dissolve the union of the people ; it had its effect in a paroxysm of ease, and when it was known, that the strength of this house was dissolved, and that the glory of 1779 was no more, an order comes over to oppose on every occasion the latent claims of Ireland ; to oppose an Irish mutiny bill, to alter the sugar bill ; and when Lord Hillsborough found you had lost all veneration for yourselves, he lost it for you likewise. The reprobated measure of a perpetual mutiny bill followed ; but you have not done with it yet, you have stabbed your country, and the wound is festering. Emboldened by your dissolution, English acts binding Ireland were passed last winter. Is the claim of the British parliament to legislate for this kingdom given up, as I have heard some gentlemen say in this house? How futile and ridiculous now do these arguments appear, that declared the return of the Irish mutiny bill was a renunciation of legislation on the part of England. How futile and absurd are all the arguments that teemed on that occasion from the government press? I am for tranquillity ; it is for honourable tranquillity ; but when I see an administration, unable to make a

blow against an enemy, tyrannize over Ireland, I am bound to exert every power to oppose it.

“Ireland is in strength; she has acquired that strength by the weakness of Britain, for Ireland was saved when America was lost: when England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved; and when Charleston was taken, the mutiny and sugar bills were altered. Have you not all of you, when you heard of a defeat, at the same instant condoled with England, and congratulated Ireland?”

“If England were for a moment awake to her own interests, she would come forward, and invite us to her arms, by doing away every cause of jealousy. How, but by the strictest domestic union, can Great Britain, with only eight millions of people, oppose the dreadful combination of seven millions in Spain, with twenty-four millions in France, and two in Holland? Will she cast off three millions of brave and loyal subjects in Ireland, at so critical and eventual a time?”

“An Irish army, the wonder of the world, has now existed for three years, where every soldier is a freeman, determined to shed the last drop of blood to defend his country, to support the execution of its laws, and give vigour to its police. The enemy threaten an invasion, the Irish army comes forward, administration is struck dumb with wonder, their deputies in their military dress go up to the Castle, not as a servile crowd of courtiers attending the lord lieutenant’s levee, but as his protectors, while the cringing crowd of sycophants swarm about the treasury, and, after having thrown away their arms, offer nothing but naked servitude.

“You are now losing the British constitution, which by compact you were to possess; two councils, with more than parliamentary power; dependent judges, a mutiny bill lost, and governors like the Roman pro-consuls in distant provinces are sent over to fleece you.

“A general election is shortly to take place; what will be your answer to those who have sent you hither, when you resign your delegated trust, and they ask you, Where are our rights? Where is our sugar bill? Where our mutiny bill?”

“What will be the consequence of your not explaining your rights now? When a peace happens it will then be too late; your island will be drained of its people, the emigrants will say, let us prefer freedom in America to slavery at home, and cease to be his majesty’s subjects here, to become his equals there. Let us not therefore suffer the same men, whose infamous arts were reprobated in America, to succeed here.” He then made his motion for an address to his majesty.

“ To assure his majesty, of their most sincere and unfeigned attachment to his majesty’s person and government.

“ To assure his majesty that the people of Ireland were a free people ; that the crown of Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof.

“ To assure his majesty, that by their fundamental laws and franchises, which they on the part of this nation claimed and challenged as their birth-right, the subjects of that kingdom could not be bound, affected, or obliged, by any legislature, save only the King, Lords, and Commons, of that his majesty’s realm of Ireland ; nor was there any other body of men, who had power or authority to make laws for the same.

“ To assure his majesty, that his majesty’s subjects of Ireland conceived, that in that privilege was contained the very essence of their liberty, and that they tendered it as they did their lives, and accordingly had with one voice declared and protested against the interposition of any other parliament in the legislation of that country.

“ To assure his majesty, that they had seen with concern, the parliament of Great Britain advance a claim to make law for Ireland, and their anxiety was kept alive, when they perceived the same parliament still persist in that claim, as might appear by recent British acts, which affected to bind Ireland, but to which the subjects of Ireland could pay no attention.

“ To assure his majesty, that next to their liberties, they valued their connexion with Great Britain, on which they conceived, at that time most particularly, the happiness of both kingdoms did depend, and which, as it was their most sincere wish, so should it be their principal study to cultivate and render perpetual. That under that impression, they could not suggest any means, whereby such connexion could so much be improved or strengthened, as by a renunciation of the claim of the British parliament, to make law for Ireland, a claim useless to England, cruel to Ireland, and without any foundation in law.

“ That impressed with an high sense of the unanimity and justice of the British character, and in the most entire reliance on his majesty’s paternal care, they had set forth their right and sentiments, and without prescribing any mode to his majesty, throw themselves on his royal wisdom.”

Mr. Brownlow seconded the motion, and said, the people know their rights, and it is needless for government to pretend to oppose what must at last be obtained.

Mr Hussey Burgh spoke also in favour of the address.

The attorney general rose to oppose the address: he observed, that they were desired to address the king, that he would interfere

with his parliament of Britain, to renounce any claim of authority over Ireland. The time was most improperly chosen to agitate that question, and the object of the motion utterly impracticable. He said, he did not mean to agitate the question of right; the act of the 6th of George the First was certainly of little ornament upon the statute book, and of still less use; yet if it gave nothing to England, it certainly took away nothing from Ireland. The question answered itself. Were they to agree to the address, and the British parliament should declare, that they never had any right to bind Ireland, in what a miserable situation would that country be placed. He had looked over the papers of the forfeited estates, and found that there was scarcely a man in the house, that did not enjoy some portion of them, nor a county in Ireland, of which they did not make a considerable part. A worthy representative of the county of Cavan holds a large property, formerly forfeited, and afterwards granted by an English law. Would he doubt the validity of his title? many gentlemen who heard him were in the same situation. Some days ago the observation of a learned friend of his (Mr. Fitzgibbon) electrified the house, when he told them, that they were about to disturb all property derived under the laws of forfeiture, &c. &c. What then must be their feelings, when desired to loose all the bands which unite society, and leave almost the whole property of the kingdom to be grappled for by the descendants of the ancient proprietors.

The honourable gentleman had said, that now when Great Britain was hemmed in by enemies on every side, when sinking under a load of debt, and the repeated strokes of ill fortunes, no resistance could be feared from her, when Ireland was in full vigour, expert in arms, and almost certain of success.....now was the proper time for demanding from Britain the relinquishment of what their ancestors had handed down from age to age; to make the British parliament eat up their words and humble themselves; to make them disclaim a power which they had exercised for the benefit of Ireland, and to plunge the nation into an armed anarchy. If an ambassador from France or Spain, or if the boldest agents for the rebels of America were at the bar to urge the house in language such as that, he should not be much surprised; for it ill accorded with the loyal and liberal feelings of Irishmen, who scorn to take advantage of an enemy in distress, but always remember acts of friendship with gratitude; he was therefore against the address, because it would give the world an opportunity of saying, Ireland had made demands on Great Britain, and was in arms to enforce them. He was against it because it was a challenge, though couched in terms of civility; because it tended to anarchy and misrule; because the thing con-

tended for could never gain strength but by struggle; and because, if obtained, it would shake all the property in the nation. Upon those principles he thought it an honour to oppose the address in any way; but from respect to the honourable mover, he would not give it a direct negative, but move to have it put off to the first of August; upon which motion the house divided, 137 for the attorney general's motion, and 68 against it.

As government affected, that the late division against the address did not involve the question of right in Great Britain to bind Ireland by legislative acts, the patriots resolved to return to the charge, and force, if they possibly could, an acknowledgment from a majority of that house, of the independence of Ireland upon the British legislature. On the 26th of February, 1782, *Mr. Flood, in a short but elegant speech of about fifteen minutes, stated the rights of Ireland, and then moved the two following resolutions :

1st. "That the members of this house are the only representatives of the people of Ireland."

2d. "That the consent of the commons is indispensably necessary to render any statute binding."

The second, he said, he would not move till the first was determined upon.

The solicitor general opposed the motion as unnecessary, and what every man allowed. He moved an amendment after the word resolved, "That it was not now necessary to declare." This brought on a debate, as he declared the amendment was proposed in order to negative the motion if the amendment passed.

The amendment was supported by Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Mason, Sir Boyle Roche, and other gentlemen. The resolution was supported by Mr. Ogle, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Forbes, &c.

Mr. Yelverton openly challenged any man. The attorney general repeated his former opinion. He observed, that he had before declared he would not go into the question of right, and that, therefore, it was unfair and uncandid in any gentleman to extort his expression, or assume for granted positions not under debate. He then rose to deliver his political creed. England had assumed and exercised a power of making laws to bind Ireland; she had repealed some of them that were oppressive, and that house had returned thanks for the repeal; but he should shake all the property of the land by declaring that the laws under which it was holden had no authority; and, therefore, it was best to leave those statutes as they were: yet, as an Irish-

* 1 Parl. Debates, p. 279.

man, and a friend to Great Britain, he would say, that if Great Britain should attempt to make any new laws, they would not be obeyed. He was the depository of the laws of Ireland, not of England; and it is absurd to suppose, that an officer delivering his opinion, could give away any right that did exist: the legislature alone, that made laws, had power to repeal them.

Sir Hercules Langrishe said, that universal coincidence of opinion on this subject, and the universal acknowledgment of the great truth which was the substance of the resolution, made the motion unnecessary, and if it were necessary, it was unadvisable. The honourable member knew there was but one opinion on that subject through the nation: the nation to a man, from the magistrate who was to enforce, to the people who were to obey the laws: they had all declared it; and that conviction impressed on the minds of a spirited people, was a security an hundred times as strong as any parliamentary declaration of their own, which could give no strength to the great charter which they read in their statute book, or the great enforcement they felt in themselves. If they complained of the laws, they seemed to feel them. If they neither acknowledged nor obeyed them, they could not feel them. He concluded that it was not necessary to make that declaration.

Mr. Daly and the Provost spoke in support of the independence of Ireland, but did not see the necessity of making a declaration at that time on a subject which was not contested; so when the house divided there appeared for the declaration only 76, and against it 137.

The heads of the Roman Catholic bill in their progress through the committee occasioned several debates, in which most of the speakers in the house delivered their sentiments: all unexceptionably avowed principles of toleration, but many differed upon particular topics arising out of the general subject. Mr. Flood, professing himself a friend to the bill, and declaring that he loved and admired the Roman Catholics, wished them to have permanent property, but not political power; but conceived that the possession of the fee simple would give political power, by commanding influence in elections. Mr. Montgomery supported Mr. Flood's objection, as did also Mr. Warburton, Mr. Rowley, Mr. John Burke, Mr. Coote, and particularly Mr. St. George. Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Mason, Mr. Bushe, and several others, were strenuous against Catholics receiving foreign education, and were for their being admitted to the University. Several members objected against their being permitted the open and public exercise of their religion, and still more against allowing the same toleration to the regular clergy, as to the secular priests. Mr. Yelverton, the Provost, General Cunningham, Mr. Grattan,

Mr. Forbes, Mr. D. Daly, Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Dillon, Captain Hall, Sir Lucius O'Bryan, and Mr. Mossom, declared themselves warm advocates for removing the whole penal code from the Catholics, and zealously espoused their cause, not only in justice to them, but for the general benefit and welfare of the country. Mr. Gardiner, wishing to avail himself of the general disposition of the house to grant some relief to the Catholics, moulded the matter he had brought before the house into the form of three separate bills, the first of which afterwards passed into an act, entitled *An Act for the further Relief of his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom professing the Roman Catholic Religion*.* The act recites, "that all such subjects as had taken the oath of allegiance prescribed by the 13th and 14th of Geo. III. c. 34. ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects, and that the continuance of several of the Popery laws affecting them, was unnecessary, and injurious to the real welfare and prosperity of Ireland." It then enables Catholics to take, hold, and dispose of, lands and hereditaments in the same manner as Protestants: except advowsons and manors, or boroughs returning members for parliament. It removes several penalties from such of the clergy as shall have taken the oath and been registered; it confines its operation to the regular clergy then within that kingdom, (by which the succession of other regulars from abroad might be prevented) it deprives any clergyman officiating in a church or chapel with a steeple or bell of the benefit of the act, and repeals several of the most noxious parts of the acts of Ann and Geo. I. and Geo. II.†

* 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 24.

† Such as the power given to a magistrate to fine and imprison every Papist refusing to appear and declare upon oath when and where he had last heard mass, who celebrated and assisted at it, and the residence of any Popish ecclesiastic: such as prohibited a Papist to have a horse of the value of 5*l.* under certain penalties, and which enabled the chief governor to seize all their horses upon any invasion or intestine war likely to happen: such as enabled the grand jury to present the reimbursing of all robberies and depredations of privateers in time of war upon the real and personal estate of the Catholics within the county: such as subjected every Catholic to certain penalties, who did not provide a Protestant watchman to watch in his turn: and such as subjected to certain penalties every Catholic, who should take or purchase a house in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs thereof.

In the course of these debates (1 Parl. Deb. p. 511.) Mr. Bushe expressed a desire, that a clause should be inserted in the bill to ease the Roman Catholics from a most oppressive law then in being, which compelled them to make good the depredations committed by robbers in the country in which they resided. He instanced a transaction which happened within his own knowledge, in the county of Kilkenny: a number of villains, under the denomination of White Boys, assembled a few years since, and did considerable mischief; the grand jury, from the affidavits of the sufferers, granted a presentment accordingly; a short time after, one of the offenders was apprehended, who proved to be a Protestant, and was executed for the offence. He said, there was no other

The second bill was for providing for the education of the Catholics, which afterwards passed into a law, entitled* *An Act to allow Persons professing the Popish Religion to teach School in this Kingdom, and for the regulating the Education of Papists, and also to repeal Parts of certain Laws relative to the Guardianship of their Children.* The act repeals as much of the acts of William and Ann as imposed on Catholics teaching school, or privately instructing youth in learning, the same pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any Popish regular convict was subject to; but excepts out of its benefit, any person who should not have taken the late oath of allegiance, who should receive a Protestant scholar, or who should become an usher to a Protestant school-master. The act also enables Catholics (not being ecclesiastics) to be guardians to their own or any Popish child. When Mr. Gardiner proposed his third bill, which was for establishing intermarriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the house divided upon it, and the bill was negatived by a majority of eight †

Mr. Gardiner's bill, which in its original form was one, had been long drawn and considered by men of eminence on both sides of the water, before it was brought forward in the Irish House of Commons. Much previous negociation was requisite ere Mr. Gardiner dared venture to the discretion of the house. The great opposition to it was given from the Archbishop of Cashell's interest: several others, who held places under government, were also adverse. Certain it is, that government gave no direct countenance or support to it, though several supporters of government cordially favoured the measure. These bills were viewed in very opposite lights by different descriptions of persons. Some considered them as ruinous to the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, and therefore opposed them in every stage: others considered them too liberal, although some encouragement ought to be given to the long tried and then much wanted fidelity of the Catholic body: a third was disposed to grant even more than these bills imported; though they still maintained, that the great body of the Irish Catholics were to be kept in a

proof required by this iniquitous act, to obtain a presentment on the Roman Catholic inhabitants, than to swear that the plunderers spoke with the Irish accent.

Another hardship that the people of that persuasion laboured under from that oppressive law, was, that an individual could be compelled to pay the whole sum, notwithstanding he lived in a distant part of the country from the place where the offence was committed.

One of the members instanced a gentleman who resided within a mile of his own house, and near thirty miles from where the offence was committed, on whom they levied the amount, by virtue of an execution taken out of the Crown office, and that he and his family were beggars about the country ever after.

* 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 62.

† 10 Journ. Com. p. 317.

civil subordination to the privileged order of Protestants. And a fourth openly and unequivocally declared, that national justice and national policy demanded the complete emancipation of the Catholics, and a perfect civil amalgamation of the whole Irish people. There is no question, but that the slightest interference of government would have procured at that time much larger concessions than those which the bills imported. The public mind had not as yet shaken off its old trammels of prejudice.*

* The enlightened mind of Mr. Burke saw things as they really were through the mists and clouds of inveterate habit, prejudice and bigotry, which disfigured them to others. In a letter he wrote to a noble peer of Ireland upon this bill (printed in London 1785) he says, "To look at the bill, in the abstract, it is neither more nor less than a renewed act of universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless disqualification. One would imagine that a bill inflicting such a multitude of incapacities, had followed on the heels of a conquest, made by a very fierce enemy, under the impression of recent animosity and resentment. No man, on reading that bill, could imagine he was reading an act of amnesty and indulgence. This I say on memory. It recites the oath, and that Catholics ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown and government: then follows an universal exclusion of those good and loyal subjects from every, even the lowest office of trust and profit, or from any vote at an election; from any privilege in a town corporate; from being even a freeman of such corporations; from serving on grand juries; from a vote at a vestry; from having a gun in his house, from being a barrister, attorney, solicitor, or &c. &c. &c.

"This has surely more of the air of a table of proscriptions, than an act of grace. What must we suppose the laws concerning those good subjects to have been, of which this is a relaxation? When a very great portion of the labour of individuals goes to the state, and is by the state again refunded to individuals through the medium of offices, and in this circuitous progress from the public to the private fund, indemnifies the families from whom it is taken, an equitable balance between the government and the subject is established. But if a great body of the people who contribute to this state lottery, are excluded from all the prizes, the stopping the circulation with regard to them must be a most cruel hardship, amounting in effect to being double and treble taxed, and will be felt as such to the very quick by all the families high and low, of those hundreds of thousands, who are denied their chance in the returned fruits of their own industry. This is the thing meant by those who look on the public revenue only as a spoil; and will naturally wish to have as few as possible concerned in the division of the booty. If a state should be so unhappy as to think it cannot subsist without such a barbarous proscription, the persons so proscribed ought to be indemnified by the remission of a large part of their taxes, by an immunity from the offices of public burden, and by an exemption from being pressed into any military or naval service. Why are Catholics excluded from the law? Do not they expend money in their suits? Why may not they indemnify themselves by profiting in the persons of some for the losses incurred by others? Why may they not have persons of confidence, whom they may if they please, employ in the agency of their affairs? The exclusion from the law, from grand juries, from sheriffships, under-sheriffships, as well as from freedom in any corporation, may subject them to dreadful hardships, as it may exclude them wholly from all that is beneficial, and expose them to all that is mischievous in a trial by jury. This was manifestly within my own observation, for I was three times in Ireland since the year 1760 to the year 1767, where I had sufficient means of information, concerning the inhuman proceedings, among which were many cruel murders, besides an infinity of outrages and

Many cried loudly against persecution, who still voted for the disabilities, pains, penalties, and forfeitures of their fellow subjects. The rejection of the *intermarriage bill, by the commons of that day, evidently demonstrates the wishes and determination of the majority of their house to keep Ireland a divided people, in order to support the oligarchy of a privileged order over the rest of the community, as a vilified and degraded cast.

Although these, and some other bills did not receive the royal assent during the vice-royalty of Lord Carlisle, yet having been brought forward under him, they may be considered as acts of his administration. Such also was the bill† for establishing a

“oppressions unknown before in a civilized age, which prevailed during that period in consequence of a pretended conspiracy among the Roman Catholics against the king’s government. I could dilate upon the mischiefs that may happen, from those which have happened upon this head of disqualification, if it were at all necessary.

“The head of exclusion from votes for members of parliament is closely connected with the former. When you cast your eye on the Statute Book, you will see, that no Catholic, even in the ferocious act of Queen Anne, was disabled from voting on account of his religion; the only conditions required for that privilege were the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, both relative to a civil concern. Parliament has since added another oath of the same kind; and yet an House of Commons adding to the securities of government in proportion as its danger is confessedly lessened, and professing both confidence and indulgence, takes away, in effect, the privilege left by an act full of jealousy, and professing persecution.

“The taking away of a vote is the taking away the shield which the subject has, not only against the oppression of power, but that worst of all oppressions, the persecution of private society and private manners. No candidate for parliamentary influence is obliged to the least attention towards them, either in cities or counties. On the contrary, if they should become obnoxious to any bigotted or malignant people, amongst whom they live, it will become the interest of those who court popular favour, to use the numberless means which always reside in magistracy and influence, to oppress them. The proceedings in a certain county in Munster during the unfortunate period I have mentioned, read a strong lecture on the cruelty of depriving men of that shield, on account of their speculative opinions.”

* Mr. Burke has also spoken strongly of the act prohibiting the intermarriage of Protestants and Catholics, which was passed in the short administration of Lord Chesterfield. “Mr. Gardiner’s humanity (says he, p. 25) was shocked at it, as one of the worst parts of that truly barbarous system, if one could well settle the preference, where almost all the parts were outrageous on the laws of humanity, and the law of nature. This man, (Lord Chesterfield) while he was duping the credulity of Papists with fine words in private, and commending their good behaviour during a rebellion in Great Britain, as it well deserved to be commended and rewarded, was capable of urging penal laws against them in a speech from the throne, and stimulating with provocatives the wearied and half exhausted bigotry of the then parliament of Ireland. They sat to work, but were at a loss what to do; for they had already almost gone through every contrivance, which could waste the vigour of their country: but, after much struggle, they produced a child of their old age, the shocking and unnatural act about marriages, which tended to finish the scheme for making the people not only two distinct parties forever, but keeping them as two distinct species in the same land.”

† 21 & 22 Geo. III. c. xvi.

national bank of Ireland, with some other beneficial bills of regulation. As the Irish administration was but a subordinate part of that of Great Britain, it was natural, that the lord lieutenant and his secretary should carry on matters with a less high hand, when once they perceived the opposition in Great Britain daily gaining ground, and hastening the downfall of that ill-fated* ministry, which had weakened the British empire by the loss of her American colonies, the useless sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, and the accumulation of above a hundred millions of national debt.

* The first unequivocal symptom of the downfall of Lord North's administration, was the resignation of Lord George Germaine (3 Bels. Mem. Geo. III. p. 244). The unpopularity of the American secretary was so great and manifest, that he now thought it expedient, seeing parliamentary censures likely to become again in fashion, to resign the seals of that department, and for his eminent services, he was, by his majesty, raised to the dignity of the peerage. But before the great seal was affixed to the patent, the Marquis of Carmarthen moved in the house of peers, "That it was highly derogatory to the honour of that house, that any person labouring under the sentence of a court-martial, styled in the public orders issued by his late majesty, *a censured much worse than death*, and adjudged unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity, should be recommended to the crown as a proper person to sit in that house."

The motion was evaded by the question of adjournment; but Lord George Germaine having actually taken his seat in the house under the title of Lord Viscount Sackville, the Marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "That the house of peers being a court of honour, it behoved them to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark in the most forcible manner their disapprobation of the introduction of a person into that assembly who was stigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the service."

Lord Abingdon, who seconded the motion, styled the admission of Lord George Germaine to a peerage, "An insufferable indignity to that house, and an outrageous insult to the public."

The motion was powerfully supported by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Southampton, the Earl of Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, and other distinguished peers. On the division, nevertheless, it was rejected by a majority of 93 to 28 voices: a protest, however, was entered on the journals of the house, declaring the promotion of his lordship to be "A measure fatal to the interests of the crown, insulting to the memory of the late sovereign, and highly derogatory to the dignity of the house."

Mr. Fox, on the 20th of February, 1782, again brought forward his motion of censure, somewhat varied, on Lord Sandwich, which was negatived by a majority of 19 voices only, in a house consisting of 453 members; but to the astonishment of the nation, the noble lord still daringly kept possession of his office, although 217 members of the House of Commons had pronounced him "Guilty of a shameful mismanagement of the naval affairs of Great Britain." And on the 22d of February, General Conway moved "For an address to the king earnestly imploring his majesty that he would be graciously pleased to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be pursued, for the impracticable purpose of reducing that country to obedience by force." This was opposed in a long speech by Mr. Welbore Ellis, (now Lord Mendip) the new secretary for the American department; and on the division, the minister had the fearful majority of one voice only. On Mr. W. Ellis Mr. Burke was powerfully severe in his answer. "This war," said he, "had been amazingly

One of the last acts of Mr. Eden's, in the commons, was the communication of his majesty's gracious answer to their address relative to the* affairs of Portugal, on the 5th of March, 1782. Lord Carlisle now foreseeing in the change of ministry a total change of principles and measures with reference to Ireland, and

"fertile in the growth of new statesmen; the right honourable gentleman was indeed an old member, but a young secretary. Having, however, studied at the feet of Gamaliel, he had entered into full possession of all the parliamentary qualifications, by which his predecessor had been so conspicuously distinguished; the same attachments, the same antipathies, the same extravagant delusion, the same wild phantoms of the brain, marked the right honourable gentleman as the true ministerial heir and residuary legatee of the noble viscount: and notwithstanding the metamorphosis he had recently undergone, he was so truly the same thing in the same place, that justly might it be said of him, '*alter et idem nascitur*,' being of the caterpillar species, he had remained the destined time within the soft and silken folds of a lucrative employment, till having burst his ligaments, he fluttered forth, the butterfly minister of the day."

On the 15th of March, 1782, a resolution was made by Sir John (now Lord) Rous, a man once zealously attached to Lord North's administration, that the house, taking into consideration the debt incurred, and the losses sustained in the present war, could place no further confidence in the ministers, who had the direction of public affairs. A violent debate ensued; on the division, the numbers were, 227 for, and 236 against the motion. And on the 19th, the Earl of Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk) had proposed to move a similar resolution; but when his lordship was about to rise, Lord North addressed himself to the speaker, and said, "That as he understood the object of the noble lord's motion to be the removal of ministers, he wished to prevent the necessity of giving the house further trouble, by an explicit declaration, that his majesty had come to a determination, to make an entire change of administration; and he and his colleagues, only retained their official situation till other ministers were appointed to occupy their places."

* The answer was to the following effect :....."His majesty has received the address of the House of Commons with that affectionate satisfaction which their professions of duty, loyalty, and zealous attachment to his person and royal family, never fail to excite in his majesty's breast; and his majesty does not admit a doubt, that those principles will continue to constitute, as they have hitherto invariably done, a most distinguished part of the character of his people of Ireland.

"His majesty gives his faithful commons the strongest assurances, that the confidence they so dutifully repose in his paternal protection, which has been constantly exerted during the course of his reign, in promoting and establishing the prosperity of his kingdom of Ireland, is most justly founded, as no purpose is nearer his majesty's heart than to afford them every solid proof of that protection.

"His majesty is not surprised, that his faithful commons, always attentive to the true interest of this country, should have observed with alarm and concern, the obstruction given in the ports of Portugal to the importation of Irish woollen and printed linen manufactures into that kingdom; and the full satisfaction, which the House of Commons express in his majesty's solicitude upon this important subject, and in his unremitted endeavours to open the eyes of Portugal, not only to the true sense of the treaties between the two crowns, but to a just understanding of her own real interests, is graciously accepted by his majesty.

"His majesty applauds the temper and moderation of his commons upon this occasion; such a conduct is always becoming of their prudence and wis-

having received no fresh instructions or support from the British cabinet, wished only to carry some of the then pending bills up to the lords, on the 14th of March, 1782, adjourned the parliament to the 16th of April. By that time a general change having taken place in the British ministry, Mr. Eden went to London with Lord Carlisle's resignation of the lieutenancy of that kingdom, desiring only time to make some necessary arrangements, and to close the session of parliament. On the 14th of April, his Grace the Duke of Portland arrived in Dublin, and immediately took upon him the chief government of Ireland. Mr. Eden, very speedily after his arrival in England, laid before the British parliament,* a view of the political history of Ireland during the two last years; acquainted the house with the measures which (he said) were then forming for rendering it totally independent of the British legislature; and concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 6th of George I. as asserted a right in the king and parliament of Great Britain to make laws to bind that kingdom. The precipitation, with which a business of such magnitude and importance was thus attempted to be forced on the house, without previous communication from any of his majesty's ministers, or knowledge of their intentions, was severely censured, and the more especially as it appeared, that the right honourable gentleman had refused to give any official information to government relative to the state of the country he had just left. Mr. Eden, though loudly called on to withdraw his motion, persisted in urging its necessity; and in vindication of his own conduct, stated, that the reason of his refusing to have any communication with his majesty's present servants, was the great want of attention to the Earl of Carlisle, which they had shewn in the mode of appointing his successor, and in his removal from the lord lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire. This apology served rather to increase the displeasure of the house; a motion of censure on his conduct was threatened; and it was with great difficulty he was at last brought to comply with the general wish of

“dom, but particularly so in the present instance, as it affords time for further exertions towards bringing this business to a happy conclusion; and the House of Commons may rest assured, that his majesty will persevere in every possible effort for the attainment of that desirable end.”

* The debate on the situation of Ireland on the 8th of April, 1782, in the British House of Commons, is so illustrative of the ancient system of governing Ireland; so explanatory of the views and motives of the different measures imposed upon that kingdom by the British cabinet; so demonstrative of principles opposite to those of the Union and mutual prosperity of both kingdoms, that the reader will be happy to learn from the mouths of the actors themselves a complete narrative of this great revolution in the kingdom of Ireland: for which, *vide* Appendix, No. LXVIII. where the whole debate is given.

the house in withdrawing his motion. Mr. Fox informed the house in the course of this debate, that the ministers of the crown, during the short time they had been in office, had actually holden three or four councils, solely on the affairs of Ireland: and that he hoped very soon, perhaps within the next four-and-twenty hours, to lay some preparatory measure before them.

On the very next day, viz. April 9th, 1782,* Mr. Secretary Fox communicated the following message to the house:

“GEORGE R.

“His majesty being concerned to find, that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this house, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. G. R.”

Mr. Secretary Fox said, that he hoped the house would give credit to his majesty's ministers on the subject of Ireland, and believed that they had not, during the short interval they had been in office, in any shape neglected to take into their consideration the very serious and alarming condition of that country; nor should they suspect, that the present message from the throne was brought down in consequence of the very singular motion made in that house the day before. His majesty was most earnestly desirous of settling the discontents and jealousies that subsisted in the minds of his subjects of the kingdom of Ireland; and surely they deserved the name of discontents and jealousies, for they had risen to be very dangerous and alarming. The measures, which his majesty's ministers conceived necessary to be taken in the present instance, and which he was to propose to the house, would require a great deal of most serious discussion. He intended to move for an humble address to his majesty, to assure his majesty that they would, without delay, take into their most serious consideration this important subject; and endeavour to assist his majesty's earnest and most gracious wishes to restore confidence and harmony between the two kingdoms. The right honourable gentleman said, that though the words “without delay,” were introduced into the motion for the address, it was by no means his intention to urge the house to any hasty or premature measure, which might heal the differences for a time, without putting a final stay and conclusion to the business. The house would perceive, that in the pretensions of the Irish, expressed by the parliament and people, the matter contained no

* 7 Parl. Debates, p. 24. And on the same day, a message to the same effect was delivered to the lords, the first day of their meeting, and addresses were unanimously voted by both houses.

less than the constitution of the kingdom; that it comprehended not only the commercial rights and privileges of the kingdom, but also the legislative powers and royalty. The most important objects were therefore embraced, and both nations were most materially concerned in the discussion and settlement of the matter. They were topics, upon which the house would see his majesty could not decide, without the assistance of his parliament; nor, indeed, could it be done without the concurrence and operation of both parliaments. To come to the business, therefore, with propriety, and in a manner which would give effect to their proceedings, they must have full and authentic information; and both parliaments must take time in their deliberations, and assist each other in the progress and conclusion of the business. The hasty step promised yesterday by a right honourable gentleman, would have been most unwise and impolitic. It was the duty of government to come to the matter for posterity, as well as for the present day, and in quieting the existing jealousies, to establish such a principle of relation and constitution as should prevent future discontents from arising. He believed it would be easy for the king's ministers to do as their predecessors had done, to patch up a temporary cessation of claims, and leave to those who were to come after them, all the dangers of an unsettled constitution, for the mean advantage of clearing themselves from difficulties which they had not the courage to meet with fairness; but they considered it as their duty to come with determined minds to the main question, and settle the true quality and nature of the relationship which subsisted between the two countries, to ascertain their distinct constitutions, and to establish such an union between them as should endure for ages. He hoped, from what passed yesterday, from the message of his majesty this day, and from the address to the throne in consequence thereof, declaring, that they were determined to enter seriously and without delay into the discussion of this business, it would be clearly understood, that his majesty's ministers, and, what was much more essential, the parliament, were disposed to settle this business. This being carried over to the people of Ireland by the new lord lieutenant, and communicated to that parliament, under the most sacred assurances from the throne, would, as it ought, have its effects upon our sister kingdom, and incline them to meet this country with the same disposition to an amicable settlement of the differences. When the lord lieutenant was settled in his administration, the government of this country would not be denied that information which was essential to the knowledge and discussion of the subject; and he assured the house, that whenever his majesty's ministers should be in possession of that information, they would lay it before parliament, to assist them in

their deliberations on the important point. This was the plan which they intended to pursue in the settlement of this business; and they hoped to have the assistance of all the ability, zeal, affection, and honesty of both kingdoms, in bringing it to a happy, a speedy, and a permanent conclusion. He then moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of that house, for his most gracious message; and to assure his majesty, that the house, feeling with his majesty the deepest concern, that discontents and jealousies should have arisen among his majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland, would, without delay, take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

The honourable Colonel Fitzpatrick begged leave to say a few words upon his leaving this country to take upon himself a most important office, for which, he said, he felt himself very unqualified, that of secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland. He declared, that he had been prevailed upon to accept of that office, in the firm persuasion and confidence, that his majesty's present ministers were sincere in their professions, and that they were earnestly disposed to make such concessions to Ireland as should quiet their jealousies, and give satisfaction to their minds. If he had not had this opinion of the king's ministers, no circumstance upon earth could have induced him to take a situation, which, at any time, he would not have coveted, and which only such opinion and confidence could make him endure. He thought and believed, that it was the wise policy of this country to make those concessions, as from the establishment of a firm and friendly relation, founded upon a clear and known constitution, the most happy consequences would be derived to both countries. He was just on the point, he said, of leaving England, and he thought it incumbent upon him to say thus much, that it might be known upon what ground he was going to Ireland; and it gave him great pleasure to have it in his power, to communicate to the House of Commons of that country, that this house expressed the most zealous desire of coming to an amicable settlement of all differences.

The Duke of Portland, on his arrival in Dublin, was received with demonstrations of the most enraptured joy. When the parliament met according to adjournment, on the 16th of April, the galleries and bar of the House of Commons were crowded, and expectation was raised to enthusiasm. As soon as the speaker had taken the chair, Mr. John Hely Hutchinson, his majesty's principal secretary of state, arose, and announced to the house, that he was charged by the lord lieutenant to communicate to them a message from his majesty, of the same tenour as that

which had been communicated to both houses of the British parliament. He begged to say a few words, not as an officer of the crown, but as a gentleman of the country. As to the right of that kingdom to be bounden by no other laws, but those made by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, he had always asserted it from the seat of judicature as a judge, and in that house as a representative of the people. He should be glad that every man in Great Britain understood, that the claim was not new, it was as old as the invasion of the right; the principal Lords and Commons of Ireland, in the year 1641, complained of it as an innovation unknown to their ancestors. Soon after the restoration, the speaker of the House of Commons, in an address to the lord lieutenant, and in the presence of both houses, stated the right of Ireland to be governed only by laws made by her own parliament; and soon after the revolution, this question was placed out of the reach of controversy, by the work of a great scholar and philosopher.

He then mentioned Mr. Grattan in terms of the highest respect, and said, he must ever live in the hearts of his countrymen; but the present age and posterity would be indebted to him for the greatest of all obligations, and would, but he hoped at a great distance of time, inscribe on his tomb, that he had redeemed the liberties of his country. He said, that whatever mode should be proposed for the declaration of this right, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, whether by vote, address, or bill, should receive his strongest support, provided it contained such sentiments of duty and loyalty to the king, and affection to our fellow-subjects of Great Britain, as every man in that nation felt. When this point was fully established, it would let in new light on other parts of the constitution. He had considered those statutes called Poynings' law, as containing strong arguments in support of the independence of the Irish legislature; but this independence being established, or at the eve of being so, he should agree to a bill for the modification of Poynings' law, so as to prevent the stopping or altering their bills in their privy council, or the alteration of them elsewhere; for he never could agree to give any other privy council a power, which was taken from their own.

He thought it necessary, that the mutiny bill should be made triennial. He voted for it as such on its first introduction. The consequence was, his having been represented very unjustly, as inimical to the government, which he had so long served with zeal and constancy. He voted for the present act to prevent that disturbance of the public tranquillity, which the rejection of it would have immediately and unavoidably occasioned: but had declared, at the same time, his opinion in favour of a limited bill.

He observed, that there were objects of such national concern, as could only be obtained by the spirit of the people; that spirit was now become universal, and it was the duty of the representatives of the people, to repeat the public voice, and to conform their conduct to the determined spirit of the nation. He recommended to proceed with unanimity and firmness, with that duty, loyalty, and attachment, which they owed to their sovereign, and with that regard to the inseparable connexion between the two kingdoms, which the constitution of Ireland and the mutual interest of both kingdoms required.

Mr. George Ponsonby moved, that a dutiful and loyal address should be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious message, and assuring him, that his faithful commons would immediately proceed upon the great objects he had recommended to their consideration.

Mr. Grattan said, he would state to the house his reasons for changing, in some measure, the form of the address proposed by the honourable gentleman, and hoped to induce the house, rather to declare that they had considered the causes of jealousy, and that they were contained in his original motion for a declaration of rights, which he would then move as an amendment to the address. He said he had nothing to add, but to admire by what steady virtue, the people had asserted their own rights. He was not very old, and yet he remembered Ireland a child. He had watched her growth; from infancy she grew to arms; from arms to liberty. She was not now afraid of the French; she was not now afraid of the English; she was not now afraid of herself. Her sons were no longer an arbitrary gentry; a ruined commonalty; Protestants oppressing Catholics; Catholics groaning under oppression: but she was now an united land.

This house agreeing with the voice of the nation, passed the popery bill, and by so doing got more than it gave, yet found advantages from generosity, and grew rich in the very act of charity. Ye gave not, but ye formed an alliance between the Protestant and the Catholic powers, for the security of Ireland. What signifies it, that three hundred men in the House of Commons: what signifies it that one hundred men in the House of Peers assert their country's liberty, if unsupported by the people? But there is not a man in Ireland; there is not a grand jury; there is not an association; there is not a corps of volunteers; there is not a meeting of their delegates, which does not maintain the independence of the Irish constitution, and pledge themselves to support the parliament in fixing that constitution on its rightful basis. Gentlemen will perceive, that I allude to the transaction at Dungannon: not long ago the meeting at Dungannon was considered as a very alarming measure, but I thought otherwise; I

approved of it, and considered the meeting of Dungannon as an original transaction. As such only it was matter of surprise. What more extraordinary transaction than the attainment of Magna Charta? It was not attained in parliament, but by the barons, armed, and in the field. A great original transaction is not founded in precedent, it contains in itself both reason and precedent; the revolution had no precedent.

In this country every man has his share in the government; and in order to act or speak, they must confer. Now, did not necessity compel them to act? Did not necessity compel them to speak? And will not their resolutions tend to restore the rights of their country? They resolve, "that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional and a grievance."

Is there any man who will deny it, for what were volunteer associations formed, but for the maintenance of the law? What is Poynings' law, and the unconstitutional power of the Irish or English privy council, but a grievance? What is a perpetual mutiny bill, but a grievance? Is there any man who will deny it, or say that we have not cause to complain of this execrated statute? And if you feel the injury, the people are ready to support you. They protest against an independent army; against a dependent legislature; against the abomination of a foreign legislature; against the assumed authority of council, they were more constitutional than more formal assemblies; they have protested only against what parliament ought to redress; and pray, sir, have not the constituents a right to inform their representatives? If England wishes well to Ireland, she has nothing to fear from her strength. The volunteers of Ireland would die in support of England. This nation is connected with England, not by allegiance only, but by liberty. The crown is one great point of union, but Magna Charta is a greater. We could get a king any where, but England is the only country from which we could get a constitution. We are not united with England, as Judge Blackstone has foolishly said, by conquest, but by charter. Ireland has British privileges, and is by them connected with Britain: both countries are united in liberty. This being the decided sense of the nation, the men who endeavoured to make our connexion with England quadrate with this sense, are friends to England. We are friends to England on perfect political equality. This house of parliament knows no superior; the men of Ireland acknowledge no superiors; they have claimed laws under the constitution, and the independence of parliament under every law of God and man. He then spoke upon the appellant jurisdiction of the House of Lords; and he thought that in order to eradicate every

cause of jealousy, the final judicature should reside in the peers of Ireland.

He again returned to the mutiny bill and Poynings' law, which he condemned in the most forcible manner. He said, that he wished to become the decided friend of the Duke of Portland, for removing every cause of complaint from Ireland, and that these were the terms on which he was ready to support his government:

A repeal of the 6th of George I. including a restoration of the appellat jurisdiction to the lords of Ireland.

An abolition of the unconstitutional power of privy councils.

And a repeal of the mutiny bill.

A judge's bill he refrained from mentioning, as he had heard it was returned.

"I cannot imagine (continued he) that the present ministers of England will oppose those rights of the Irish nation; they have been for many years advocates for the liberties of England and of the colonies; it was the great rule of their opposition, and it is impossible that men who are ready to grant independence to America, can oppose the independence of Ireland."

Mr. Grattan then moved, which was resolved *Nem. Con.*

"That an humble address should be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of that house for his most gracious message.

"To assure his majesty of their unshaken attachment to his majesty's person and government, and of their lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to his subjects.

"That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, they should beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his majesty the cause of their discontents and jealousies. To assure his majesty, that his subjects of Ireland were a free people; that the crown of Ireland was an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depended: but that the kingdom of Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there was no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament, which had any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in that country, save only the parliament of Ireland. To assure his majesty, that they humbly conceived that in that right the very essence of their liberties existed: a right which, on the part of all the people of Ireland, they claimed as their birth-right, and which they could not yield up but with their lives. To assure his majesty, that they had seen

“ with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of
 “ Great Britain, in an act, entitled *An Act for the better securing*
 “ *the Dependency of Ireland*; an act containing matter entirely
 “ irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of that nation. That
 “ they conceived that act, and the claims it advanced, to be
 “ the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies
 “ in that kingdom. To assure his majesty, that his majesty’s
 “ commons of Ireland did most sincerely wish, that all the bills
 “ which became law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of
 “ his majesty under the great seal of Great Britain ; but that yet
 “ they considered the practice of suppressing their bills in the
 “ council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be ano-
 “ ther just cause of discontent and jealousy. To assure his ma-
 “ jesty, that an act, entitled *An Act for the better Accommodation*
 “ *of his Majesty’s Forces*, being unlimited in duration, and defect-
 “ ive in other instances, but passed in that shape from the parti-
 “ cular circumstances of the times, was another just cause of dis-
 “ content and jealousy in that kingdom. That they had submit-
 “ ted these the principle causes of the present discontent and jea-
 “ lousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.
 “ That they had the greatest reliance on his majesty’s wisdom,
 “ the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a
 “ chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious,
 “ and constitutional councils, which they saw, with satisfaction,
 “ his majesty had adopted. That they had, moreover, a high
 “ sense and veneration for the British character, and did there-
 “ fore conceive, that the proceedings of that country, founded as
 “ they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited
 “ the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of
 “ the British nation. And they begged leave to assure his ma-
 “ jesty, that they were the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch
 “ as the people of that kingdom had never expressed a desire to
 “ share the freedom of England, without declaring a determina-
 “ tion to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the
 “ British nation.”

Although the short space of six weeks had scarcely elapsed
 since the House of Commons had triumphantly boasted of their
 steady adherence to the dictates of the Castle in rejecting every
 effort of the patriots to attain that constitutional liberty which
 they had been labouring at for years ; although no change had
 taken place during that short interval in the internal policy or sit-
 uation of the country, unless the love and desire of liberty were
 increased by resistance ; although the prevalence of example in
 the recognition and successful establishment of American indepen-
 dence had added to the enthusiasm for Irish freedom, the
 ductile and instantaneous versatility of that very majority in sup-

porting the propositions which they had before rejected, is a political phenomenon, worthy of the most serious observation. All the ministerial members of independent fortune started up in rapid succession to purify their past conduct by disclaiming the influence of place or emolument: the chastest motives of patriotism had induced them hitherto to oppose that very system, on which by the magic of new appointments they now discovered the salvation of their country depended: they even professed, that they held and believed those constitutional questions which they had so steadily and uniformly opposed when they were repeatedly brought forward by the patriots. On the delivery of this message, and after Mr. Grattan's speech to the house, Mr. Fitzgibbon defied the house to charge him with ever having asserted *the supremacy of the British parliament*; though he confessed he had voted with ministers against *the declaration of rights*, as judging it then improper to be moved; and more especially as he knew Lord Carlisle was then labouring with his utmost interest and influence to procure the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. This gentleman spoke the language of his friends, and boldly declared in the house,* that *as the nation was then committed to obtain a restoration of their rights, it behoved every man to stand firm*. A congratulatory address to the Duke of Portland was proposed by Mr. O'Neil, and unanimously voted; which had no sooner passed, than Mr. Fitzgibbon observed, that as the suddenness of Lord Carlisle's departure had rendered it impossible to convey to him the opinion entertained of his administration in the way of address, he should move a resolution of that tendency; † which was seconded by Mr. Daly.

* 1 Parl. Debates, p. 342.

† Lord Carlisle returned thanks to the speaker of the House of Commons in the following letter:

" SIR,

Dublin, 17th April, 1782.

" I have received your letter, communicating a vote of the House of Commons, acknowledging in terms highly flattering to me, the uniform and unremitting attention with which I have endeavoured during my administration, to promote the welfare of this kingdom: I request you to offer to that house, where you so worthily preside, my most sincere thanks, for this mark of national approbation. It is with cordial pleasure, that I shall ever reflect on the fortunate combination of circumstances, if by them I have been enabled to encourage the commercial interests of the kingdom, to promote the great improvements of this metropolis, to give a new spring to the public credit, to see the liberty of the subject secured by law, to add weight and dignity to the administration of justice, conciliate to his majesty's government every persuasion; and description of men, and finally to mature the measures of uniting a loyal people in general harmony and happiness. Permit me to offer you my best thanks, for the very obliging expressions with which you have accompanied this communication. I have the honour to be, &c.

" CARLISLE."

Mr. O'Neil said, he was happy in paying his tribute to the late lord lieutenant: he had acted in his support, he admired his character, he approved his government.

Mr. Grattan could not agree to the motion, however Lord Carlisle might be respectable in character. Many of his measures he had disapproved and opposed; and as he could not support the motion without implying an approbation of the government, he felt himself bounden to resist it; as did Mr. Forbes and some other members.

Mr. Toler, Mr. John Beresford, the attorney general, Mr. Clements, the recorder, Mr. Gardiner, the provost, and most of the leading members of the late administration, spoke in the highest strain of panegyric upon Lord Carlisle's administration; and the resolution was carried without a division, there being about five noes.

The first division which took place in the commons under the administration of the Duke of Portland, was on the Roman Catholic bills, when there appeared 57 for and 11 against them.* On the 4th of May, 1782, the house adjourned for three weeks, in order to give time to the determination of the British ministry in respect to the claim made by the parliament of that kingdom for a declaration of rights. The length of adjournment was rather opposed by Mr. Martin, which brought on an interesting conversation, in which Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Scott, the attorney general, spoke on the independent rights of Ireland with as much enthusiasm as the highest flying patriot under the late administration. They both pointedly reprobated the appellat jurisdiction to the House of Lords in Great Britain, and followed Mr. Grattan in calling upon their countrymen to renounce it for ever. It is but justice to those noble patriots, by whose persevering and undaunted efforts Ireland regained her rights, to hand down to posterity some of the avowals and honourable testimonials of those very persons who marshalled the ranks, who stimulated the spirit, who led on the charge of their opponents in the long unavailing struggle for liberty.

Mr. Fitzgibbon, referring to his former declaration, "that as he had been cautious in committing his country, so now that it was committed, he would be firm in supporting its rights;" said, that as the right of making laws to bind Ireland lay in their King, Lords, and Commons, to the total exclusion of all foreign interference, it was idle to suppose that any appeal ought to lie from the law courts there: and the attorney general said, he was persuaded, that if after what had passed and been pressed by so many gentleman of consideration and distinction he should remain si-

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 35.

lent, there was not a man in that house who would not attribute it to fear, paltry fear of losing his office and situation; he had, he confessed, heretofore protracted, postponed, palliated, and endeavoured to sooth that country from declarations or acts of extremity; his sentiments had been much misrepresented to his disadvantage; but he was not surprised or offended, that the nation, eager in the pursuit of a great and favourite object, should have considered any man who seemed to differ from them in sentiment, as an object of detestation and resentment. He thought it better, that every object of those British laws should be doomed to destruction, than that his country should longer even be supposed to be in a state of slavery; he therefore called the attention of the house to bear witness, that by holding a mysterious or equivocal silence longer upon the subject of right, he should do equal injury to the interests of Great Britain and Ireland. He did consequently, as a lawyer, a faithful servant to the crown, a well-wisher to both countries, and an honest Irishman, in the most unqualified, unlimited, and explicit manner, declare his opinion, that Great Britain had no right whatsoever to bind that country by any law; and that such acts as had been passed for that purpose in Great Britain, were founded in usurpation or the necessity and confusion of the times; that he never had a doubt upon the question of right, though from motives of prudence and a desire of peace, he had heretofore thought it necessary not to declare any opinion upon the question of right. Their conduct during the present American war, entitles them, he said, to more than they asked. Another event which had lately happened, and made it necessary for him to speak out, was Mr. Wallace's bill, offering freedom to America. This act operated as an act of pains and penalties to the loyalty of Ireland; for if America be declared free, and Ireland left in slavery, no man of either spirit, sentiment, or property, would remain in the country an hour after America should have been declared independent. Ireland would become the absolute sink of the universe, the only part of the British dominions, which could not boast the freedom of the British constitution. As the friend of Great Britain and Ireland, he thought it necessary to express these sentiments boldly; for if in his situation he were longer to continue silent, it might be thought in Great Britain, that there was yet a diversity of opinion in Ireland.

The situation of Ireland was now fairly brought under the full consideration of his majesty's servants,* and the necessary con-

* We are informed by Lord Clare (Sp. 33) that on the 6th of May the Duke of Portland wrote to Lord Shelburne, "recommending to the British cabinet "concession of all the points demanded by the Irish addresses," but "stating "his perfect confidence in the readiness of the Irish parliament to co-operate "in the most effectual measures either with the king's confidential servants, or "by commissioners to be appointed, or through the medium of the chief gov-

sequence of it, was a proper sense of the spirit, strength, and importance of Ireland, and of the necessity of a cordial co-operation of the two countries for the prosperity of the British empire. By accord the whole powers of the state were brought to bear upon the point on the same day (17th May, 1782) in the houses of both parliaments. The Earl of Shelburne (now Marquis of Lansdown) in the British House of Peers moved to have the king's message, the addresses of the Lords and Commons of Ireland in return to it, and the 6th of George I. for the better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain, read; and when they had been read, in a most liberal, instructive, and constitutional speech, he displayed the powers of the accomplished orator and statesman. He proposed to lay before their lordships his sentiments without the least reserve, to make a full discussion of one of the most important subjects that ever came before them, and to observe in that stage of the business that same open, frank, and strict conduct which he had ever observed in his communication with Ireland. It always had been, and it always should be the line of his conduct, to act openly and without disguise, trusting that as he spoke his own sentiments freely, and never should attempt to deceive parliament, other lords would express theirs with as little reserve; for he wished to invite an open discussion of great national questions. Ireland had demanded by the papers on the table, four things; the first and the most essential to them was a free constitution, which they would not be said to enjoy while they were subject to laws not made with their own consent. But this had long been a subject of complaint; and it was one of the great grievances required to be redressed by every part of the Irish in the war which began in 1640.

The claim had at all times been made, and now that Ireland was united, religious disputes all composed, growing in wealth and strength, and fast improving in all the arts of peace, it was impolitic, it would be unjust, and he believed he might appeal to their lordships' conviction, that it would be impossible to resist the claim: he should therefore move a repeal of the act he had desired to be read, which would give quiet and satisfaction to the

"error; to settle the precise limits of the independence which was required, "the consideration which should be given for the protection expected, and the "proportion which it would be proper for them to contribute towards the "general support of the empire; in pursuance of the declaration contained in "the concluding paragraph of their own address. The regulation of the trade "would make a very necessary article of the treaty." This communication was made by the Duke of Portland before the claims of Ireland were brought into discussion in the British parliament: and plainly on the faith of this representation made to the British cabinet, of the readiness on the part of Ireland to settle every question of imperial policy or regulation which might thereafter arise, the subject of the Irish claims was brought on in the British parliament.

minds of the Irish, and leave no cause to check the affection and zeal they felt for this country, whose fate they had declared themselves willing to share. There was in this act another matter, the judicature of the lords, which he was aware would be thought by some to be distinct from the legislature. It happened, that the two subjects were clearly connected in the act he had moved to repeal; the history of which he fully went into.

That was all he meant to propose, as matter of parliamentary decision; but there were other points for the executive power, which he did not mean to dissemble, for in all affairs he desired to be plain, open, and direct. The condition of the Irish parliament was singularly clogged by ancient statutes, framed for the times, and which, though softened by practice, were still a great check to their freedom. Their lordships would see he meant Poynings' law; of the unreasonableness and inconveniency of which he spoke very fully. The people of Ireland wished to be relieved from it, and either by a repeal, or a modification, he thought it was sound wisdom to comply with their desires. The perpetuity of the mutiny act was another subject of complaint, in which he thought, as it was a matter of internal regulation, it was just to comply with the desire of Ireland, that there should be no distinction between that country and Great Britain. He concluded with expressing his strong reliance on the affection and gratitude, which such fair and liberal concessions would excite, and strenuously urged the necessity of union at that moment with our sister kingdom, and that she might be made to feel in the language of our holy prayers, *that our service is perfect freedom.*

He concluded with reading two motions:

First, "That it was the opinion of that house, that the act of the 6th of George I. entitled *An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*, ought to be repealed."

Second, "That it was the opinion of that house, that it was indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connexion between them should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent footing, and that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take such measures as his majesty in his royal wisdom should think most conducive to that important end."

When he had moved the second,

The Earl of Carlisle, in an elegant speech, expressed his approbation of the motions. He bore ample testimony to the zeal and loyalty of the Irish, and particularly stated the honourable conduct of the volunteers, and the liberal offers made of their service, when Ireland was threatened with an attack. He said, that had

he been more persuaded than he was, that Ireland had ever relinquished its right of free legislation, which he knew they neither had, nor could give up, he should still have thought it wise to accede to their claim; because he knew, that from the gratitude and affection of the country, and the wisdom of the parliament, much more advantage would arise to this country, than by maintaining any offensive and ill-founded pretensions to control over them.

Lord Camden, Lord Ashburton, the Dukes of Richmond and Chandos, and indeed the whole House of Peers eagerly assented to Lord Shelburne's motions, except Lord Loughborough (now Earl of Roselyn) who tenaciously opposed them; and he alone prevented them from passing *Nemine Contradicente*. *On the same day the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee upon the Irish addresses, when Mr. Fox, with his usual liberality, candour, and power, said, he would speak as plainly, as roundly, and intelligibly as he could. He considered the same four points, to which Lord Shelburne had confined the demands of Ireland, and spoke minutely to each: and first, on the 6th of Geo. I. it had always been his opinion out of office, that it was downright tyranny to make laws for the internal government of a people, who were not represented among those by whom such laws were made. This was an opinion so founded in justice, reason, and equity, that in no situation had he, or would he ever depart from it. Ireland had reason to spurn at the power of external legislation, because it had been hitherto employed for the purpose only of oppressing and distressing her. Had Ireland never been made to feel this power as a curse, she never would have complained of it; fatally for this country, the power of external legislation had been employed against Ireland as an instrument of oppression, to establish an impolitic monopoly in trade; to enrich one country at the expense of the other. When the Irish first complained of this monopoly, about four years ago, and asked as favours what they might have claimed as a right, they were opposed in that house, and their demands, which were no less modest than just, were disregarded. The demands were rejected, when the then first confidential servant of the crown came down to vote against them; the influence of the minister was exerted perhaps for the purpose of preserving a few votes on other occasions, and the rights and distresses of Ireland were consigned to oblivion.

It was his intention not to pursue the footsteps of his predecessors; and therefore he would agree to the demands of the Irish, relative to the 6th of Geo. I. not because he was intimidated, and

* 7 Parl. Deb. p. 106.

afraid to oppose them ; but because he believed them to be founded in justice ; for his part he had rather see Ireland totally separated from the crown of England, than kept in obedience only by force ; unwilling subjects were little better than enemies ; it would be better not to have subjects at all, than to have such as would be continually on the watch, to seize the opportunity of making themselves free. If this country should attempt to coerce Ireland, and succeed in the attempt, the consequence would be, that, at the breaking out of every war with any foreign power, the first step must be to send troops over to secure Ireland, instead of calling upon her to give a willing support to the common cause. As the people of Ireland had one and all declared, that they would not execute or obey any order of any English tribunal, it would therefore be nugatory and absurd to maintain the appellant jurisdiction to Great Britain ; and consequently it would be better to give it up with a good grace, than to keep it as a bone of contention between the two countries. He came next to the modification of the law of *Poynings*’ which he was free to confess appeared to him improper : and therefore he could have no objection to advise his majesty to consent to the modification, that they required of that law ; but he was convinced, that like the 6th of Geo. I. this power of altering might have still remained, if an improper use had not been made of it ; but to his knowledge it had been grossly abused ; in one instance in particular, a bill had been sent over to England two years ago, granting, and very wisely and very justly granting, indulgencies to the Roman Catholics ; in that same bill there was a clause in favour of the Dissenters for repealing the sacramental test ; this clause was struck out, contrary in his opinion, to sound policy, as the alteration tended to make an improper discrimination between two descriptions of men, which did not tend to the union of the people. It was by such conduct, that the Irish were driven to pronounce the interference of the English privy council in altering their bills, a grievance, though in his opinion, the power would never have been complained of, if it had never been abused. He came lastly to the mutiny bill, and he freely confessed, that it was no matter of surprise, that the Irish should object to a clause which gave a perpetual establishment to a military force in their country ; and so hostile did he deem such a clause to the constitution of England as well as of Ireland, that if the Irish had never mentioned this law among their grievances, he would have held it to be his duty, as an Englishman, to have recommended the repeal of it. Ireland had spoken out, and clearly and plainly stated what she wanted ; he would be as open with her, and though he might perhaps have been better pleased, if the mode of asking had been different, still he would meet her upon her own terms, and give

her every thing she wanted, in the way which she herself wished for it. She therefore could have no reason to complain; the terms acceded to by England, were proposed by herself; the manner of redress had been prescribed by herself, and all her wishes would now be gratified in the way which she herself liked best: but as it was possible, that if nothing more was to be done than what he had stated to be his intention, Ireland might perhaps think of fresh grievances, and rise yearly in her demands; it was fit and proper that something should be now done towards establishing, on a firm and solid basis, the future connexion of the two kingdoms. But that was not to be proposed by him in parliament; it would be the duty of the crown to look to that; the business might be first begun by his majesty's servants in Ireland; and if afterwards it should be necessary to enter into a treaty, commissioners might be sent from the British parliament, or from the crown, to enter upon it, and bring the negociation to a happy issue, by giving mutual satisfaction to both countries, and establishing a treaty which should be sanctified by the most solemn forms of the constitutions of both countries. He entertained no gloomy thoughts with respect to Ireland: he had not a doubt but she would be satisfied with the manner in which England was about to comply with her demands; and that in affection, as well as in interest, they would be but one people. If any man entertained gloomy ideas, he desired him to look at the concluding paragraph of the Irish addresses, where he would find, that the Irish people and parliament were filled with the most earnest desire to support England, to have the same enemy and the same friend; in a word, to stand or fall with England. He desired gentlemen to look forward to that happy period, when Ireland should experience the blessings that attend freedom of trade and constitution; when, by the richness and fertility of her soil, the industry of her manufacturers, and the increase of her population, she should become a powerful country: then might England look for powerful assistance in seamen to man her fleets, and soldiers to fight her battles. England renouncing all right to legislate for Ireland, the latter would most cordially support the former as a friend, whom she loved; if this country on the other hand, were to assume the power of making laws for Ireland, she must only make an enemy instead of a friend; for where there is not a community of interests, and a mutual regard for those interests, there the party, whose interests are sacrificed, becomes an enemy. The intestine divisions of Ireland were no more; the religious prejudices of former ages were forgotten, and the Roman Catholics being restored to the rights of men and citizens, would become an accession of strength and wealth to the empire at large, instead of being a burthen to the land that bore them. The

Dissenters had tasted of the liberality of the legislature, and now in common with their Roman Catholic brethren would enjoy that happy toleration, which does not confer more happiness on those who are the objects of it, than it does honour to those who establish it.

Upon the whole he was convinced, that the Irish desired nothing more ardently than proper grounds for being most cordially united to England; and he was sure, that they would be attached to this country, even to bigotry. Of the volunteers, he must speak respectfully: they had acted with temper and moderation, notwithstanding their steadiness: and he must in justice to them, and to his own principles, declare, that they had not done a single act, for which they had not his veneration and respect; and whatever blame there might be discovered in the course of the business, he did not impute a particle of it to Ireland, but laid it all at the door of the late administration. He concluded by moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the act "of the 6th of George I. entitled *An Act for better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain*, ought to be "repealed." He just observed, that this would be a pledge to the Irish of the sincerity of his majesty's ministers to deal fairly and openly with Ireland, through the whole of this important business. Mr. T. Pitt, and several other gentlemen who had before taken a part against Ireland, spoke in support of the motion: even Mr. Eden was forward in supporting it. The question was carried unanimously.

Mr. Fox then moved for leave to bring in a bill for repealing the 6th of George I. and then, that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased to take such steps as should tend to render the connexion between the two kingdoms solid and permanent. And lastly, that it was the opinion of the committee, that the interests of the two kingdoms were inseparable, and that their connexion ought to be founded on a solid and permanent basis; which motions and resolution were unanimously agreed to.

In the meanwhile, a correspondence between the members of the two countries was kept up. A letter was written on the 20th of May, 1782, by the Duke of Portland, to Mr. Fox, in answer to a despatch received from him. "I should be very glad to hear "that Lord Charlemont was inclined to accede to any part, or "even to the idea of such a plan as you have communicated to "me; I should think it a material step to that situation, in which "it is the clear interest of both kingdoms to be placed, being convinced, that what is most like union, is the most probable bond "of connexion to restore and perpetuate the harmony and prosperity of the two countries." The Marquis of Rockingham

wrote about the same time to the same effect. His letter is dated the 25th of May: "The essential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I trust, establish a perfect cordiality between the two countries: and as there cannot now exist any ground of contest or jealousy between them on matters of right, the only object left for both will be, how finally to arrange, settle, and adjust all matters, whereby the union of power, strength, and mutual and reciprocal advantage will be best permanently fixed. I observe, in Lord Shelburne's letter to your grace of the 18th of May, he states more reluctance to the idea of commissioners than I should judge to be the general opinion of his majesty's servants; the measure may be doubtful; but if approved by the leading gentlemen of Ireland, might be productive of much good."

On the 27th of May, 1782, the parliament of Ireland met according to adjournment, when his grace the Duke of Portland made the following speech from the throne:*

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"It gives me the utmost satisfaction, that the first time I have occasion to address you, I find myself enabled, by the magnanimity of the king, and the wisdom of the parliament of Great Britain, to assure you, that immediate attention has been paid to your representations; and that the British legislature have concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in your late addresses to the throne.

"If any thing could add to the pleasure I feel in giving you these assurances, it is, that I can accompany them with my congratulations on the important and decisive victory gained by the fleets of his majesty, over those of our common enemy in the West Indies, and on the signal advantage obtained by his majesty's arms in the island of Ceylon, and on the coast of Coromandel.

"By the papers, which in obedience to his majesty's commands, I have directed to be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception, which your representations have met with from the legislature of Great Britain; but his majesty, whose first and most earnest wish, is to exercise his royal prerogative in such a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of all his faithful subjects, has further given me in command, to assure you of his gracious disposition to give his royal assent to acts to prevent the suppression of bills in the privy council of this kingdom,

* Parl. Debates, p. 355.

“ and the alteration of them any where ; and to limit the duration
 “ of the act for the better regulation and accommodation of his
 “ majesty’s forces in this kingdom to the term of two years

“ These benevolent intentions of his majesty, and the willing-
 “ ness of his parliament of Great Britain to second his gracious
 “ purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition
 “ whatever. The good faith, the generosity, the honour of this
 “ nation, afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding dispo-
 “ sition on your part to promote and perpetuate the harmony,
 “ the stability, and the glory of the empire.

“ On my own part I entertain not the least doubt, but that the
 “ same spirit which urged you to share the freedom of Great
 “ Britain, will confirm you in your determination to share her
 “ fate also, standing and falling with the British nation.”

After the speech was read, Mr. Grattan called the attention of
 the house to a subject of the highest importance, and then spoke
 as follows :*—“ I should desert every principle upon which I
 “ moved the former address, (requiring a restoration of the rights
 “ of Ireland) did I not bear testimony of the candid and unquali-
 “ fied manner in which that address has been answered by the lord
 “ lieutenant’s speech of this day. I understand that Great Britain
 “ gives up *in toto* every claim to authority over Ireland. I have not
 “ the least idea, that in repealing the 6th of George I. Great Britain
 “ should be bounden to make any declaration, that she had form-
 “ erly usurped a power. No, this would be a foolish caution ; a dis-
 “ honourable condition. The nation that insists upon the humilia-
 “ tion of another, is a foolish nation. Ireland is not a foolish nation.
 “ Another part of great magnanimity in the conduct of Britain is,
 “ that every thing is given up unconditionally. This must for-
 “ ever remove suspicion. On former occasions, when little acts of
 “ relief were done for Ireland, it was premised, that it was expe-
 “ dient to do them ; no such word is now made use of. Never
 “ did a British minister support such honourable claims on such
 “ constitutional arguments. With respect to the writ of error,
 “ though not mentioned in our address, he took it up in the most
 “ effectual way ; and indeed the whole tenour of his conduct to-
 “ wards us has been most generous and sincere ; we had one
 “ advantage, he entertained an opinion, that Ireland was not in-
 “ satiable, though it had been asserted, that Ireland was insatia-
 “ ble. But we are bound to prove the falsehood of that asser-
 “ tion ; for as the nation was pledged to itself to obtain a restora-
 “ tion of her rights ; so now that her rights are restored liberally
 “ and unconditionally, she is pledged to Great Britain, who, by
 “ acceding to our claims, has put an end to all future questions.

* 1 Parl. Debates, p. 855.

“ We have now recovered a constitution, and our business is not
“ to advance, but to maintain it. Ireland will manifest as much
“ magnanimity in the moderation, by which she maintains her
“ constitution, as by the exertions, through which it has been
“ recovered. The unanimity with which the British House of
“ Commons acceded to our claims, must for ever do them hon-
“ our ; and the single negative in the Lords, whilst it in no wise
“ diminishes their praise, has its use ; it serves to discover, and
“ for ever to exclude from trust or confidence in either nation,
“ the man, who could not only oppose the interest and happiness
“ of both, but also the ardent wishes and desires of his sovereign
“ to make his people happy. We ought not to forget the able
“ support given by those persons who composed the late admin-
“ istration of Ireland ; it must be highly agreeable to those who
“ compose the present.

“ The things so graciously offered by our sovereign, are, the
“ modification of Poynings’ law ; and not only the abridgment of
“ the mutiny bill, in point of duration, but the forming it on the
“ model of the English mutiny bill, and prefacing it with a de-
“ claration of rights.

“ As Great Britain and her ministers have unconditionally
“ agreed to the demands of the Irish, I think the spirit of the
“ nation is called upon to make an unconditional grant to Eng-
“ land. The sea is the element to which nature points, as the
“ scene of British glory ; it is there we can most effectually assist
“ her. Twenty thousand seamen would be a noble support ; and
“ we, who have been squandering the public money in all the
“ waste of blind extravagance, cannot surely now deem 100,000/
“ too large a sum, when applied to the common defence of the
“ empire : the sum is trifling, but the assistance of 20,000 Irish-
“ men would be great ; and gentlemen will now, when they retire
“ to their different counties, have a full opportunity in assisting
“ to raise those men, and of manifesting their zeal for the common
“ cause of Great Britain and Ireland. There are also other means
“ of support in our power to give to Britain, though they cannot
“ immediately be entered upon. This country is most happily
“ situated for the construction of docks, and the rendezvous of
“ shipping ; whatever expense might be incurred by such neces-
“ sary works, would be repaid by the expenditure of the money
“ amongst ourselves, and might be supported by a prudent and
“ economical management of the public revenues, in the savings
“ of the army, and in every different class of extraordinaries.
“ An expense of 17/. per cent. in the collection of the revenue,
“ cannot be justified ; the commissioners will now see, that money
“ is to be paid for labour, not for prostitution ; therefore let us
“ now enter, heart and hand, into the great work of reformation.

“ by giving our support to that ministry which has rescued this
“ country from oppression, and will rescue it from corruption.
“ On this principle I shall move you an address, devoid of all
“ that fulsome panegyric so commonly offered to his majesty ;
“ for I think that truth will be the highest compliment to him.”

Mr. Grattan then moved,

“ To assure his majesty of our unfeigned affection to his royal
“ person and government ; that we feel most sensibly the atten-
“ tion, which our representatives have received from the magnani-
“ mity of his majesty, and the wisdom of the parliament of Great
“ Britain.

“ To assure his majesty, that we conceive the resolution for an
“ unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of George I. to be a
“ measure of consummate wisdom and justice, suitable to the
“ dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character
“ of both, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

“ To assure his majesty, that we are sensibly affected by his
“ virtuous determination to accede to the wishes of his faithful
“ people, and to exercise his royal prerogative in a manner most
“ conducive to their welfare ; and accordingly we shall imme-
“ diately prepare bills, to carry into execution the desires of his
“ majesty’s people, and his own most benevolent purposes.

“ That gratified in those particulars, we do assure his majesty,
“ that no constitutional question between the two nations will any
“ longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony ; and that Great
“ Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so may she rely
“ on our affection. That we remember, and do repeat our de-
“ termination, to stand and fall with the British nation.

“ That we perceive with pleasure the magnanimity of his ma-
“ jesty, to disdain the little policy of making a bargain with his
“ people ; and feeling with pride the confidence he reposes in the
“ good faith, generosity, and honour of the Irish nation, we an-
“ swer with all humility, that his majesty entertains a just sense
“ of our character. Common interest, perpetual connexion, the
“ recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British
“ name and nation, together with the constitution, which we have
“ recovered, and the high reputation which we possess, must ever
“ decide the wishes as well as the interest of Ireland, to perpetu-
“ ate the harmony, stability, and glory of the empire. Accord-
“ ingly, we assure his majesty, that we learn with singular satis-
“ faction the account of his brilliant successes in the East and
“ West Indies, gratified at one and the same instant in our dear-
“ est wishes, the freedom of Ireland, and glory of Great Britain.

“ That we cannot omit expressing our gratitude to his majesty,
“ for appointing the Duke of Portland to the government of this
“ kingdom.

“That we are convinced his representations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial. We are acquainted with his character; and relying on his upright and frugal administration, make no doubt but a free people, and uncorrupt parliament, will unite to give a constitutional chief governor decided support.

“That we have presumed to lay before his majesty our genuine sentiments on the change of our situation. His majesty will receive them as the voluntary unstipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.”

Mr. Brownlow expressed his extraordinary satisfaction in seconding the motion. Both nations were now one people united by every tie, enjoying in common the same liberty, the same constitution, and the same sovereign. He had heard several addresses moved for in that house, and he might safely add, not one of which conveyed truth: but that address spoke the sincere language of the nation, where Protestant, Roman Catholic, all religions pressed forward with gratitude in the present moment to hail the nation's acquisition of a constitution. Almost the whole house rose successively to make public profession of their joy and gratitude on the happy event. Two gentlemen only differed upon the propriety of the following words in the address, viz. *That there will no longer exist any constitutional question between the two nations, that can disturb their mutual tranquillity.* The house divided upon the words objected to; when there were for the address as it stood 211, and the noes were the two tellers, the Recorder and Mr. Walsh.*

* Although these two gentlemen only out of the whole House of Commons in Ireland were of opinion, that any constitutional question between the two nations was still outstanding; yet Lord Clare, in order to prove that the transactions of 1782 between Great Britain and Ireland were not considered as final, tells us, that on the 6th of June the Duke of Portland thus wrote to Lord Shelburne; “I have the best reason to hope that I shall soon be enabled to transmit to you the sketch or outlines of an act of parliament to be adopted by the legislatures of the respective kingdoms, by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a share of the expense in carrying on a defensive or offensive war, either in support of our own dominions, or those of our allies, shall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actual state of her abilities, and that she will adopt every such regulation as may be judged necessary by Great Britain for the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, consideration being duly had to the circumstances of Ireland. I am flattered with the most positive assurances from ——— and ——— of their support in carrying such a bill through both houses of parliament, and I think it most advisable to bring it to perfection at the present moment.” And he happened to know from an official quarter, that the sketch of such an act of parliament was then drawn. He knew the gentleman who framed it, and he knew from the same quarter, that blank and blank and blank and blank did unequivocally signify their approbation of it. This communication was received with the satisfaction which it demanded by the British cabinet. On the 9th

No sooner had this motion been disposed of, than Mr. Bageal,* a man of sterling sense and independence both of mind and

of June Lord Shelburne wrote to the Duke of Portland in answer to his last despatch: "The contents of your grace's letter of the 6th inst. are too important to hesitate about detaining the messenger, whilst I assure your grace of the satisfaction, which I know your letter will give the king. I have lived in the most anxious expectation of some such measure offering itself: nothing prevented my pressing it in this despatch, except having repeatedly stated the just expectations of this country, I was apprehensive of giving that the air of demand, which would be better left to a voluntary spirit of justice and foresight. No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be one, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the superintending power and supremacy to be where nature has placed it, in precise and unambiguous terms. I am sure I need not inculcate to your grace the importance of words in an act, which must decide on the happiness of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade, subjects most likely to come into frequent question."

This bright prospect of peace and happiness was however very soon clouded; for on the 22d of June the Duke of Portland wrote to Lord Shelburne: "The disappointment and mortification I suffer by the unexpected change in those dispositions, which had authorised me to entertain the hopes I had perhaps too sanguinely expressed in my letter of the 6th inst. must not prevent me from acquainting you, that for the present these expectations must be given up: I trust and am inclined to flatter myself they are only suspended, and that they will be revived when the temper of this country has recovered its tone, and required that degree of composure, which must give it the firmness necessary for effectuating so wise and salutary a measure. By the accounts of the events of these three or four days, and by the timidity and jealousy of the first people in this country, it is clear that any injudicious or offensive measure may be prevented, but that any attempt to conciliate the minds of this nation to any such measure as I intimated the hope of, would at this moment be delusive and impossible."

* His speech was as follows: 1 Parl. Deb. p. 371. "I beg leave to congratulate this country. We have at last got the freedom which all the world should have: it is our birth-right; but in our meridian there is no life without it; our existence now begins, and will depend upon what use we make of the population and wealth that will result from the advantages of a free constitution.

"I will beg leave to congratulate England: instead of a nominal, or a repugnant dependent, she has now a powerful faithful ally, one that she can never exist without.

"I will beg leave to congratulate his majesty: he has conciliated three millions of such subjects as must make him happy; men willing to be loyal, as they are determined to be free.

"I will congratulate his ministers also: they may now depend upon such support as they ought always to look for. And to whom does the empire owe all this? To a man principally, who is resolved to take no reward from government. I will not pretend to say he was wrong; though I know that such merit ought to be distinguished in every manner possible. Shall every body have what they ought to have, except him alone, to whom every individual in this empire is so much indebted, and by whose example every individual in the universe may be so much benefited? He has saved this empire from an iron age, and has restored an unequivocal golden one. By our affectionate alliance with England we shall not only be benefited ourselves, but shall see a beloved sister revive, without any painful repining, or apprehensions for her prosperity

"In these happy circumstances, in which he has placed us (though I honour every private compliment as I may call those that I see paid to our illustrious

fortune, a steady and true patriot, and whose genius like his country owed more to nature than to art or cultivation, rose, and after congratulating his country, Great Britain, his majesty, and his ministers, for having obtained the greatest of all political blessings, he called upon the house to confer some signal mark of a great and grateful nation upon their illustrious benefactor Mr. Grattan, whose efforts in procuring them these blessings had been timed and conducted with so much wisdom; and considering this great and good man as the father of his regenerated country, he further called upon them to look upon him as the special in-

“benefactor) I believe there is no man that would not blush to think that a Grattan’s child might point at a statue or monument, that has often been dedicated to slender or problematical merit, and say, that was my father’s, your benefactor’s only reward. I have therefore a motion to make you, which might appear like presumption in me, as it is of so much importance to the glory and interests of this kingdom, if I could suppose that any member of the British empire could give it a negative: the purport of it is, that we should take into consideration what sum we should grant for the purpose of purchasing a seat, and building a suitable mansion for our great benefactor, in testimony of our gratitude for the unequalled services that he has done for this kingdom. Were we to omit this, or should we do it in a manner unsuitable to the situation he has raised us to, we should be very ungrateful indeed, and never might we expect, that a blessing could attend it.

“It must be needless to say any thing in favour of such a measure, or I would not dare to be the mover of it. I will only add, that as he has left nothing undone that is material to the prosperity of this kingdom, it can no more lay a precedent for hurtful grants of the same nature here, than Blenheim did in Great Britain.

“Far be it from me to compare even the services of Marlborough to those for which we stand indebted; we have no deductions to make from our gratitude: without protracting, or any public expense, his efforts have been timed and conducted with so much wisdom, and the appearance of such a being on earth was so essential to the establishment of liberty at this most critical juncture, that without superstition, men may well record him amongst the most propitious interpositions of Heaven.

“He has crowned his work, and under his auspices the throne of freedom is fixed upon so certain a basis, and will probably be always so well supported by the due influence the public are likely to acquire under his system, that with the blessing of God, there is no danger of parliament itself ever being able to shake it; nor shall parliament I trust, ever again be profanely styled omnipotent. I am conscious I must have anticipated men infinitely better qualified to bring such a measure forward; one excuse I have; for it is not the impatient wish, that every body must have to see such a character exalted; not any little vanity to distinguish myself; but as I never had any private acquaintance, nor private conversation with our great benefactor, I thought it might come as well from one from whom he could not have any claim, as from the most distinguished personage, that he is intimate with.

“Virtue, to be sure is its own reward; and we know that our generous benefactor is in his own sphere of happiness, content. But shall we be content without doing our duty? shall we be ungrateful? God forbid!

“Gratitude seems to be a virtue peculiarly adapted to nations that have received such benefits as ours. It is often neglected by individuals, because it is often out of their power to be as grateful as they wish; we, I trust, shall never have such another opportunity of exercising ours. God forbid we should let it slip.”

strument which benign providence had used to convert the oppression and bondage of their country into freedom and independence. He therefore gave notice, that on the morrow, after the grant to his majesty should have been settled, and a proper thanksgiving offered to Heaven for the recovery of their rights, he would move, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration what sum they should grant for the purchasing an estate, and building a suitable mansion for their illustrious benefactor Henry Grattan, Esq. and his heirs for ever, in testimony of their gratitude for the unequalled service he had done for the kingdom of Ireland: which was afterwards fixed at the sum of 50,000l.* in the committee, which resolution the house unanimously agreed to, and resolved, that an address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, that he would be pleased to lay before his majesty, the humble desire of that house, that he would direct that sum to be laid out in the purchase of lands in the kingdom of Ireland, to be settled on Henry Grattan, Esq. and his heirs, in testimony of the gratitude of that nation for his eminent and unequalled services to that kingdom, and that the house would make good the same.

Now for the first time might it be truly said did the Castle speak the real, genuine, undisguised language of the Irish people: such was happily to be read in the proclamation issued by the lord lieutenant in consequence of the address of the commons on the 29th of May, 1782, that he would be pleased to order a proclamation to be issued for appointing a day of general thanksgiving throughout this nation, to return thanks to the Almighty God, for the many blessings bestowed on the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, particularly for that union, harmony, and cordial affection, which had been happily brought about between these two kingdoms, whose interests were inseparably the same; by the wisdom and justice of his majesty and his councils in forming and re-establishing their mutual rights, by which the strength, honour, happiness, and glory of the whole empire were greatly augmented; and for the providential and great success of his majesty's arms against their natural enemies, which they trusted would tend to bring about a happy, stable, and lasting general peace to these kingdoms.

Thus publicly and universally were expressed the joy and congratulation of the nation: and for the moment, happiness pervaded every corner of the kingdom. But it appears, as if it had been written in the book of fate, that the felicity of Ireland, whilst independent and separate from Great Britain, should be short-lived, precarious, and unstable. Ere the rejoicings of the people were

* Viz. on 27th May, 1782. 9 Journ. Com. p. 357.

concluded, the demon of discord was busy in sowing discontent, jealousy, and envy both within and without the parliament. The two great rival orators, Messrs. Grattan and Flood, who appeared equally bent and determined upon acquiring and securing the civil freedom of their country, had different pleas of merit for their conduct: Mr. Flood had for seven years enjoyed one of the most lucrative offices under government, which he sacrificed to his patriotism in the present hour: Mr. Grattan never had been in place, and now that he might have come in, through his patriotism he declined it. But the honourable tribute of gratitude shewn to Mr. Grattan by the vote and address of the commons appears to have been productive of jealousy and resentment in the breast of Mr. Flood and some few of his most intimate friends and admirers, which in some degree tarnished the lustre and defiled the purity of his most patriotic efforts.

The grounds of this unfortunate jealousy fully appeared within three days after Mr. Bagenal's motion in favour of Mr. Grattan, when Mr. *Montgomery (of Donegal) called the attention of the house to an honourable gentleman, the best, the most able, the most indefatigable, the most sincere, that had ever sacrificed private interest to the advantage of his country. After such a description, he said, he need not name Mr. Flood, who had relinquished the most lucrative office of the state, rather than desert the constitution of Ireland: and as he knew the present administration intended to raise its glory by acting on the most liberal principles of freedom, he gave notice, that he did intend to move for an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to restore the right hon. Henry Flood to the office he lately held, and in this he hoped for the concurrence of the minister. He would not, he said, move for any pecuniary reward, as he knew the right hon. gentleman in question was above receiving any alms from his country. He was called upon to name a day.

Colonel Fitzpatrick observed, that the place of Mr. Flood was no longer vacant: when Mr. Montgomery replied, that it was filled by Sir George Yonge, whose ill offices to Ireland might possibly at some time be properly rewarded. Mr. Walsh strongly supported the motion in favour of Mr. Flood; and they were both illiberally abusive of Sir George Yonge, whose character was warmly defended by Sir Henry Cavendish. Colonel Fitzpatrick maintained the impropriety of breaking in upon the discretionary exercise of the prerogative; and suggested, that if the gentleman meant to persist in his intention, the regular method would be to

* 1 Parl. Deb. p. 381. on 30th May, 1782.

move first for an address to remove Sir George Yonge from his employment.*

When the house was in a committee on the bill for the modification of Poynings' law on the 6th of June, Mr. Yelverton remarked, that as the bill then stood, the privy council were obliged to certify all bills which originated in parliament, and no other, without any alteration; which Mr. Flood contended was not perfectly adequate to the idea entertained by the nation, or what seemed necessary to do justice to the constitution. They ought either to declare against all usurpation, or by an effectual repeal to annihilate those pretensions in future. It was the general opinion that this act took away the power of originating bills, and gave it to the privy council. That should certainly be repealed, for he did not see, by any effect in the present bill, but the privy council might recall this power under a corrupt ministry, and it was not to be supposed that the breed of the Straffords in political principles, was yet extinct: and an arbitrary government might at some future period take advantage of the negligence of the present hour. He understood, and the nation understood, that all they aimed at was a similar constitution with England, but the bill by implication cut them off from that benefit. He understood it to be the constitution of the land, that the whole business of legislation was to be done in public; but there was no provision made by this bill, which could prevent the smothering of bills, or explain the reasons of a silent negative.

Mr. Yelverton said, that the right hon. gentleman most certainly agreed in principle with him, and they differed only in mode. Their sentiments were the same. He confessed the bill did not entirely restore what the constitution of England enjoyed, but circumstanced as Ireland was, it was the best calculated that could be devised. The features of the two kingdoms were not exactly alike; some little difference might be discovered in the traits, but they were actually and in fact the same. To restore the constitution of Ireland as it once stood, would in a great measure be restoring tumult and disorder, and going back to the necessity of laws, when a lord lieutenant had the same power as the king, made peace and war, and exercised all the privileges of sovereignty. History furnished instances, when in the disputes

* To this Mr. Montgomery observed, that if the crown had been misinformed, and led to bestow an honourable employment upon an unworthy object, it would be right to undeceive it, and address the king to bestow it on one that was deserving of it. And on the 1st of June he declared that Mr. Flood knew nothing of his application, or he would not have permitted it to have been made: but, although he should deter his motion, he still persisted that it was most disgraceful in the late administration to displace, and in the present to permit a gentleman to suffer the loss of 3500*l.* per ann. for his attachment to the constitution and interests of his country.

of the houses of York and Lancaster, two lord lieutenants and two parliaments were in this kingdom, one arraigning and condemning the acts of the other. They should consider in how liberal and unqualified a manner they had received that constitution.

The king sent a message to his parliament in Ireland, to know what was the cause and nature of their discontents: they pointed out, in answer, three things: first, they demanded a renunciation of binding that kingdom by English laws, (and probably the work was effected, while he was yet speaking;) secondly, the modification of Poynings' law, by cutting off the power of the privy councils of either kingdoms to alter their heads of bills; and thirdly, an abridgment of the duration of the mutiny bill.

In consequence thereof both houses of the British parliament passed a resolution consenting to the repeal of every law which comprehended them as hitherto bounden. And the question which then remained, was, whether the bill then under consideration were comprehensive enough to meet the general wish. They had overturned the power of the privy council; and it only remained to know whether bills should come back, to notify to parliament the royal dissent. The manner of giving the royal dissent in England, was a gentle denial. Bills were never expressly negatived; but the king said, he had the bill under consideration. He thought the sending such bills over was a sufficient notification of dissent. It was certainly fairer to infer that a bill was under consideration than to receive an express negative.

Some few members supported Mr. Flood; but the decided majority of the house appearing to be for Mr. Yelverton's bill as it stood, the question was put and carried without a division.

On the next day, when the engrossed bill for the repeal of part of Poynings' law was read, Mr. Walsh returned to the objections made on the day before, which brought on a debate, in which Mr. Flood spoke with unusual eloquence and energy, and moved*an

* The proposed amendment was, to insert after the word *Whereas*, the following words:—"doubts have arisen on the construction of the law commonly called Poynings', and of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, explanatory thereof: Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said law of Poynings', and the said third and fourth of Philip and Mary, be and stand repealed, save only as follows: that is to say, Be it enacted, that no parliament shall be holden in this kingdom until a license for that purpose be had and obtained from his majesty, his heirs and successors, under the great seal of Great Britain; And that all bills, considerations, causes, ordinances, tenours and provisions, of either, or both houses of parliament, shall be of right certified to his majesty, his heirs and successors, unaltered, under the great seal of Ireland, by the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors, and council of this kingdom, for the time being; and that such

amendment to the bill, which, as the Prime Serjeant (Mr. H. Burgh) observed, was in fact a new bill, in lieu of that which had received the sanction of that house on the preceding day; and it would be against all the rules of parliament to receive it. The chief contest of this debate lay between Mr. Flood and the Prime Serjeant.* Mr. Yelverton declared, that when he introduced the bill, it was to take away every grievance which had been complained of. In his own apprehension that end was answered. He had no objection, however, to terms more amplified. He then moved, "that to prevent delays in the summoning of parliaments, be it further enacted, that no bill shall be certified into

"bills and no others, being returned unaltered, under the great seal of Great Britain, shall be capable of receiving the royal assent or dissent in parliament, according to his majesty's commission, either for giving his assent or dissent to the same respectively."

* On this occasion Mr. Grattan said, he thought the bill itself an answer to all the arguments brought against it: he should, however, rather remain a silent admirer of the great talents of those two gentlemen, than take a decided part in it. In the course of this debate, Mr. Ogle threw out an opinion, that a promptness to appeal to the majesty of the people, upon every trivial occasion, weakened the efficacy of such appeal at times when it might be of real advantage: to which Mr. Flood thus replied: ...

"I take notice of what my honourable friend has said, only that he may have an opportunity of doing honour to the benignity of his own feelings. But ministers, popular ministers, will always be ready to appeal to the people, when they are conscious that their measures are right. By an appeal to the people, the present ministry were called into office. And when men of condition, to whom their country is dear for every reason, appeal to the people, they cannot be supposed to appeal to turbulence or commotion, but to the sober judgment of the public. What was the fate of all our constitutional claims, till the voice of the people thundered for redress? Majorities. ...rank majorities... till a voice from America exhorted you to claim your rights, and the desires of the people prevailed. If ever there be a moment when the opinion of the people ought to have a tenfold weight; it is now, when they have lined the cause of argument, and encouraged you to speak a language, which I will not say you feared to speak, but which certainly you were unwilling to speak before. The bill was proposed twenty years ago, when parliament was weak and impotent: it was then rejected with disdain. And will you now, when you have your constitution in your hands, when you have your constitution in your arms, will you now accept of such a humiliating condition, and disgrace the cause of your country by such a pitiful expedient."

And after he had made his motion, concluded his speech in the following manner:—"And now, Mr. Speaker, if I have a feeling in the utmost pulse of my heart, it is that which tells me, that this is a great and awful day; it is that which tells me, that if, after twenty years service, I should pass this question by negligently, I should be a base betrayer of my country; it is that which tells me, that the whole earth does not contain a bribe sufficient to make me trifle with the liberties of this land. I do, therefore, wish to subscribe my name to what I now propose, to have them handed down together to posterity, that posterity may know there was at least one man, who disapproved of the temporising bill now before the house; a bill that future parliaments, if they have power, will reform; if they have not, will with tears deplore."

“ Great Britain as a clause or consideration for holding a parliament in this kingdom, but that parliaments may be holden in this kingdom, although no such bill shall have been certified previous to the meeting thereof.” The question being put that the bill should pass with Mr. Yelverton’s amendment, was agreed to without a division.

The grand and critical opposition which Mr. Flood and his few adherents in the House of Commons made to the proceedings then going forward to accomplish the demands of the Irish parliament, was grounded upon a most ungracious suggestion of the insincerity and duplicity of Great Britain, in yielding under her embarrassments to the repeal of the declaratory law of Geo. I. that by seeming to yield unconditionally to Ireland, she *seized* on the generous credulity of her nature, and took full advantage of a change in her own administration: that Great Britain retained the full principle of her right to legislate for every part of the empire: the mover for that repeal in the British House of Commons, held it externally, and the seconder of the motion held it both externally and internally. That a repeal, he insisted, without an express renunciation of the right, would leave Ireland precisely where she was. That as the declaratory act made no alteration in the pre-existing law, so the repeal of that declaratory act would also make no alteration in the pre-existing law: and that without some positive renunciation of the right to legislate internally and externally on the part of Great Britain, their work would be but half done, and Ireland might again be enslaved by the first corrupt minister, who should choose to avail himself of the unsuspecting and too liberal conduct of Ireland. Mr. Flood’s doctrines gained more proselytes out of doors, than in the parliament. Mr. Grattan, and by far the greater part of the house confided implicitly in the good faith of Great Britain, and contended, that the simple repeal went the whole length of their own demands, and gave full redress to the grievance they had complained of; and they opposed any further attempt at procuring concessions from Great Britain: conceiving what had already been done and was about to be done to be completely satisfactory in establishing the freedom and independence of Ireland. It must however be acknowledged, that the arguments of Mr. Flood were very powerful, and had they been urged in their proper season would have carried much more weight in the house. As it was, both Mr. Yelverton and Mr. Grattan declared in the house, that if they could be convinced, that the simple repeal was insufficient, they would most cordially join Mr. Flood in his motion. Never was contest more fiercely fought, than this between the two rival patriots Messrs. *Flood* and *Grattan*. It ended on the division of

the house upon Mr. Flood's motion on the 19th of July, 1782,* for leave to bring in the heads of a bill for declaring the sole and exclusive right of the Irish parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever internal and external for the kingdom of Ireland.

The death of the Marquis of Rockingham had occasioned dissensions in the British cabinet, which obliged Mr. Fox, Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke, and other of his friends to resign. He could not submit to remain in a cabinet, in which he and his friends, who had come in and acted uniformly upon an open principle, were outvoted; he had declared before the death of the Marquis, that if certain measures were carried in the cabinet, he should resign; and as they had been carried since his death, he did resign, disdaining to be responsible for measures he disapproved of, or to lend his name to a system, in which he had no share.† In the new arrangement of Lord Shelburne's adminis-

* 9 Journ Com. p. 378. The journals merely say, it passed in the negative. Mr. Dobbs says in his history, p. 121, "that the minority on that day consisted only of six."

† The new arrangement was as follows:

The Earl of Shelburne	— To be first lord of the Treasury, <i>vice</i> the Marquis of Rockingham
Lord Grantham	} Principal Secretaries of State, <i>vice</i> the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox.
Thomas Townsend, Esq.	
Hon. William Pitt	— Chancellor of the Exchequer, <i>vice</i> Lord John Cavendish
R. Jackson, Esq.	} Lords of the Treasury, <i>vice</i> Lord Althorpe and Frederick Montagu, Esq.
E. James Elliot, Esq.	
Hon. J. Jeffries Pratt	} Lords of the Admiralty, <i>vice</i> Lord Duncannon and Hon. J. Townsend.
John Aubrey, Esq.	
Colonel Barré	— Paymaster of the Forces, <i>vice</i> Edmund Burke, Esq.
Henry Dundas, Esq. lord advocate	} To be treasurer of the Navy, <i>vice</i> Colonel Barré.
Sir George Yonge, Bart.	
Earl Temple	— Secretary at war, <i>vice</i> T. Townshend, Esq.
	— Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, <i>vice</i> the Duke of Portland.
Hon. William Wyndham Greaville	} Secretary to ditto, <i>vice</i> Colonel Fitzpatrick.

The following account of this change of administration, from the Annual Register for the year, is attributed to a principal member of the late administration, Mr. Burke. The short space of time that intervened between the death of the Marquis of Rockingham and the prorogation of parliament, afforded no opportunity of discovering in what manner the House of Commons stood affected towards the changes that had taken place in the administration of public affairs, in consequence of the former event. The weight of the new minister in that assembly, either from political connexion, from private friendships or public favour, was known to be very inconsiderable; and the support which he might otherwise have derived from the power of the crown, was likely to be much reduced by the operation of the bill of reform, and by the steady attachment of most of those members, who either owed their seats to the influence of government, or were led by a sort of principle to give a general support to administration, under the auspices of a noble lord, one of his predecessors in office. The recess of parliament was therefore considered as a circumstance highly favourable to the minister, and was

tration, which took place on the 13th of July, 1782, Lord Temple (now the marquis of Buckingham) was fixed upon to succeed the Duke of Portland in the viceregency of Ireland. Every possible

doubtless employed in endeavouring to form such alliances amongst the parties out of power as might ensure some degree of strength and permanence to his administration.

A reunion of the Whigs was the favourite expectation of the public, and anxiously looked for by those who equally dreaded the revival of the old system, and the mischiefs of a weak and unsettled government. It does not however appear, that any advances were made towards effecting such an accommodation; to which there appear indeed to have been insuperable difficulties, from the industry with which the friends of each party laboured to throw the blame both of the schism and failure on the other.

On the part of those who had retired from the service of government, it was urged, that as the appointment of the noble earl to the highest office in administration was one of the principal causes of the division that ensued, so it continued to be the chief obstacle to a reunion. It was indeed absurd to expect, that his complaisance to his enemies should carry him so far as to enter into a treaty, of which he was himself to be the first sacrifice; and it was not more reasonable, they said, to suppose that those who continued to act with him, how much soever they might disapprove of his principles, or censure the measures he was carrying on, (a conduct which some of them did not scruple to pursue) would be willing to descend from situations, in which, by the removal of their former friends, they stood as principals, in order to act subordinate parts again in conjunction with them.

These insinuations were combated, on the other side, by studiously representing the cause of dissension to have been a mere personal contest for power; and by charging their opponents with holding opinions of a dangerous nature, trenching on the most undoubted prerogative of the crown, that of choosing its own ministers, and consequently having a direct tendency to subvert the constitution.

But whatever weight may be allowed to these charges or surmises, it was generally agreed, that, though the parties themselves had been ever so well disposed towards an accommodation, yet the countenance and approbation of the court would hardly have been lent to a measure so diametrically opposite in its principles to that favourite system of politics, which had the disunion of all party connexions for its basis. In opposition to this system, after a long and an arduous struggle, by no mean exertion of abilities, and by the concurrence of many important events, the late administration had arrived at a kind of adverse possession of power, which being submitted to from necessity, it could not be expected would be suffered to remain, whenever the means of destroying it could be found. These, by an unfortunate event, soon after offered themselves. The appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to succeed the Marquis of Rockingham, it was easily foreseen, would disgust those individuals of the party, whose principles were the most inflexible and obnoxious; and the probability of gaining over many others, who might wish to make themselves some amends for the long proscription they had undergone, by the advantages of a more accommodating line of conduct, was reckoned on with a confidence that proved not ill-founded. Add to this, that the firmness of the party had hitherto stood the trial of defeats and mortifications only; that power and emolument will sometimes be retained on terms and by means, through which they would not have been sought; and lastly, that many of the members, wearied and grown old in opposition, would naturally feel disinclined, from the diminution both of their vigour and prospects, to embark in a fresh contest with the court.

The design appears to have been planned with great political sagacity, and the success went beyond even what the most sanguine hopes could have

despatch was therefore given to the parliamentary business in Ireland, in order that the Duke of Portland might close the session, and as far as conveniently could be, adjust all the arrangements, then pending between the two kingdoms, respecting the legislative independence and commercial freedom of that kingdom. Lord Shelburne had been fully as explicit, open and liberal in his speech to the lords, with reference to Ireland, as Mr. Fox, in his speech to the commons. It was therefore generally at first presumed, that the change in the British administration would cause no alteration in the system of concession to Ireland.

Amongst the several acts, which received the royal assent under the Duke of Portland's administration, was Mr Eden's act for establishing the national bank. This met with some opposition, but the measure was carried, and the bank opened the year following. By this act (21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 16) the bank was established by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland. The subscribers to it were to pay in 600,000*l.* either in cash or debentures, at 4 per cent. which were to be taken at par, and considered as money. This sum was to be the capital stock of the bank, and the debentures to that amount, when received, were to be cancelled by the vice treasurers. For these an annuity of 24,000*l.* was to be paid to the company, being equal to the interest payable upon these debentures; the stock was to be redeemable at any time, upon twelve months notice, after the 1st of January, 1794. Ireland obtained likewise an important acquisition by a bill, "for better securing the liberty of the subject," otherwise called the *Habeas Corpus* act, similar to that formerly passed in England.

expected. Not only a change of ministers was effected, and a cabinet formed more agreeable to the views of the court; but several of those, whose former conduct had been marked by extraordinary violence were gained over; and these, not satisfied to embrace their new principles with all the zeal and eagerness of converts, seemed to regard with an unusual degree of malignity, that inflexibility of their old colleagues, which appeared no less than a tacit reproach to their own conduct. Thus a decisive blow was given to the very existence of the party, and which seemed even to preclude all future attempts to form a systematic opposition.

Such were the obstacles, which, from every quarter, appear to have rendered a reunion of the Whigs under the auspices of the new minister, totally impracticable. A coalition with the noble lord, who had formerly been at the head of his majesty's government, seemed more feasible, and was certainly free from the most material objections that lay to the former measure. Overtures accordingly are said to have been made by the minister, and various terms offered him: but whether from a confidence in his own strength, and the hope of rising again, on the divisions of his adversaries, to the possession of undivided power; or from resentment of former indignities; or from some change in his political sentiments, and a conviction of the impossibility of serving the public with fidelity on the terms proposed, the business fell to the ground.

The sacramental test, by which the dissenting Protestants were excluded from offices of trust under the crown, was also repealed, and the nation was gratified by the repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill, and by that long desired act for making the commission of the judges of that kingdom, to continue *quandiu se bene gesserint*. An act was also passed to render the manner of conforming from the Popish to the Protestant religion more easy and expeditious. Another for sparing to his majesty, to be drawn out of this kingdom whenever he should think fit, a force not exceeding 5000 men; part of the troops appointed to be kept therein for its defence.)

On the 27th of July, 1782, his excellency the lord lieutenant concluded the session with the following speech from the throne :

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ THE great and constitutional advantages you have secured to your country, and the wise and magnanimous conduct of Great Britain, in contributing to the success of your steady and temperate exertions, on the close of a session, must ever reflect the highest honour on the national characters of both kingdoms.

“ It must be a most pleasing consideration to you, to recollect, that in the advances you have made towards the settlement of your constitution, no acts of violence or impatience have marked their progress. A religious adherence to the laws confined your endeavours within the strictest bounds of loyalty and good order; your claims were directed by the same spirit that gave rise and stability to the liberty of Great Britain, and could not fail of success, as soon as the councils of that kingdom were influenced by the avowed friends of the constitution.

“ Such a spirit of constitutional liberty communicating itself from one kingdom to another, must naturally produce that reciprocal confidence and mutual affection, of which we already begin to feel the most salutary effects. A grateful zeal and generous ardour have united this whole kingdom in the most cordial and vigorous exertions, which promise effectually to frustrate the designs of our common enemy, and to re-establish and secure the glory of the whole empire.”

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ WHEN I consider the very active and liberal part you have taken in contributing to these great and glorious events. I must as distinctly express to you his majesty's sense of the last effusion of your generosity for the defence of the empire, as I must return you his most gracious

“ thanks for the supplies which you so cheerfully voted at the beginning of this session. His majesty’s royal example not only secures to you a most just and economical application of the aids you have granted him, but affords you a most solemn pledge of attentive investigation into every means which the circumstances of this country will afford to alleviate the burdens of his loyal and grateful people. To co-operate with you in carrying into effect this most benevolent disposition of his majesty, will afford me the highest gratification, and manifest to you the sentiments I shall ever entertain, in return for the confidence you have reposed in the sincerity of my professions for your welfare.”

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ In contemplating the services which your unremitting assiduity has rendered to the public, I must indulge myself in the satisfaction of specifying some very important acts, which will most materially strengthen the great constitutional reform you have completed, and which will for ever distinguish the period of this memorable session. You have provided for the impartial and unbiassed administration of justice, by the act for securing the independency of judges. You have adopted one of the most effectual securities of British freedom, by limiting the mutiny act in point of duration; you have secured that most invaluable of all human blessings, the personal liberty of the subject, by passing the Habeas Corpus Act: you have cherished and enlarged the wise principles of toleration, and made considerable advances in abolishing those distinctions which have too long impeded the progress of industry, and divided the nation. The diligence and ardour with which you have persevered in the accomplishment of these great objects, must ever bear the most honourable testimony of your zeal and industry in the service of your country, and manifest your knowledge of its true interests.

“ Many and great national objects must present themselves to your considerations during the recess from parliamentary business; but what I would most earnestly press upon you as that on which your domestic peace and happiness and the prosperity of the empire at this moment most immediately depend, is to cultivate and diffuse those sentiments of affection and confidence which are now happily restored between the two kingdoms. Convince the people in your several districts, as you are yourselves convinced, that every cause of past jealousies and discontents is finally removed; that both countries have pledged their good faith to each other, and that their best security will be an inviolable adherence to that compact; that the implicit reliance which Great Britain has reposed on the honour, generosity and candour of Ireland, engages your national charac-

“ter to a return of sentiments equally liberal and enlarged: convince them, that the two kingdoms are now one, indissolubly connected with unity of constitution and unity of interests; that the danger and security, the prosperity and calamity of the one, must equally affect the other; that they stand or fall together.”

The parliament was then prorogued to the 24th of September following.

The parliament of Great Britain, in compliance with the proposals and demands of Ireland, by the 22d of Geo. III. c. 53. simply repealed the 6th of Geo. I. and the several matters and things therein contained. The armed bodies of the volunteers had now too long been enured to arms, as well as to the agitation of political subjects, not to partake of the spirit of enthusiasm, with which the questions of simple repeal and renunciation were contended for in parliament: frequent appeals to the volunteers were made by persons in parliament: and the volunteers assumed a consequence little short of legislative control. Several provincial meetings were called to take into consideration addresses suitable to the occasion. On the 17th of June, 1782, the national committee met prior to the meetings of the provinces. The avowed intent of their meeting was to canvas the proceedings of their representatives in parliament. A spirit of dissent had created discontent; and the immediate object of their consideration was, whether there existed or not just cause of complaint. At their first meeting nothing was agreed upon: at their next meeting the following resolution was unanimously carried.

VOLUNTEER NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

“At a meeting of the Volunteer Committee, at Dublin, on Tuesday the 19th of June, 1782,

“The right honourable Lord Kingsborough in the chair,

“Resolved unanimously, That the addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatsoever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider a repeal of the 6th of George I. by the British parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, a complete renunciation of all the claims contained in the said statute, and as such, we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory.

(Signed) “Mervyn Archdall, Francis Dobbs, Joseph Pollock, for Ulster.

“Lewis Francis Irwin, Charles O’Hara, John Geoghegan, for Connaught.

“Richard Talbot, William Burton, John Parnell, R. Nevill, for Leinster.

“Kingsborough, R. Sh. Carew, W. T. Monsel, Samuel Jacob, A. Blennetpasset, William Godfrey, George Stackpoole, for Munster.”

The great object of the national committee was, if possible, to preserve unanimity : most of the members were to attend their respective provincial meetings, and it was thought, that the only chance of unanimity was, to fix on one point, that they would support and recommend in their particular provinces. On the same day Leinster met, and agreed with the national committee, as appears by their addresses to his majesty and viceroy. On the 21st of June, Ulster met, and gave fatal proofs of the malicious industry with which discontent had been propagated. Falsehoods of the most glaring nature had filled many of the papers, and misrepresentations disgraced the freedom of the press. English perfidy was inculcated, and the insufficiency of what had been obtained, asserted. Without any change whatsoever on the part of Great Britain, a number of men, who were even ready a few days before to cross the channel to the aid of England, became unhappy and discontented, and the evening preceding the 21st of June, wore a very melancholy aspect.

It fell to the lot of Major Dobbs to open the business. However, he explained his reasons for being fully satisfied, and moved the following address to his majesty :

ULSTER VOLUNTEERS, IRELAND.

Dungannon, June 21, 1782.

“ Colonel William Irvine in the chair.

“ AT a meeting of three hundred and six companies of this province, pursuant to public notice, the following address was unanimously agreed upon, and ordered to be presented to his majesty by the chairman, Major Francis Dobbs, Captain James Dawson, Captain Francis Evans, and Colonel Thomas Morris Jones.

“ *To the King's most excellent majesty.—The humble address of the Volunteers of Ulster.*

“ MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

“ With the most unfeigned attachment to your majesty's person and family, we approach your throne. You are our true and lawful sovereign ; and we trust that every act of ours will evince, that we are your faithful and loyal subjects.

“ The addresses of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unconditional and unconditional repeal of the statute of the 6th of George I. by the British parliament, made in pursuance of the said

“ addresses, a complete renunciation of a principle hostile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the said statute ; and as such we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory. Thus united by the sacred bond of freedom, we request our gracious sovereign to assure our sister kingdom, that we will be sharers in her fate, standing or falling with the British empire.

“ We humbly beg leave to express our gratitude for the appointment of his grace the Duke of Portland to the government of Ireland. Prevented by situation from enjoying the presence of our benevolent sovereign, we rejoice in a viceroy, whose character assures us, that he will faithfully discharge the duties of his station.

“ The economy and retrenchment which your majesty has been graciously pleased both to recommend and practise, will, we humbly hope, be extended to Ireland. Should a more equal representation of the people be also adopted, our prosperity would be for ever secured, and your majesty’s reign most honourably distinguished in the annals of mankind.

“ We rejoice in the great and signal success of your majesty’s arms : every enemy must yield to the efforts of a great, a brave, a free, and an united people. Your majesty’s choice of those, whom you have entrusted with the administration of public affairs, gives us the most heartfelt satisfaction ; public confidence is revived : and we doubt not but your majesty’s crown and empire will speedily be raised to the highest pinnacle of human glory.

“ We have ever beheld with admiration your majesty’s domestic virtues. May your majesty, and the truly great and amiable partner of your throne, long, long live to bless each other ; may the offspring of your happy union reward your parental fondness, by a display of every grace and every virtue ; and when, at length, the immutable law of nature shall demand that tribute, which even kings must pay, may your mourning subjects with one voice lament, that the great, the benevolent father of his people is no more.

“ WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

“ JAMES DAWSON, Secretary.”

It passed unanimously, and with a loud tribute of applause.

Captain Pollock then moved an address to the Duke of Portland, which was carried unanimously ; as was also an address to Lord Charlemont, appointing him general of the volunteers of Ulster, moved by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stewart, and an address to Mr. Grattan, expressing the highest satisfaction at

the vote of 50,000*l.* moved by Captain Pollock. A resolution moved by Colonel Knox, for assisting in raising the 20,000 seamen, and a resolution for erecting a monument at Dungannon, in which Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan were to be particularly distinguished, moved by the Rev. Mr. Crawford, were also carried unanimously.

The province of Connaught likewise expressed its satisfaction, in addresses to his majesty and the lord lieutenant, as appears by those addresses: Munster met, but did nothing.

The gentlemen who were appointed to present the addresses to his majesty, immediately sailed for England. Lord Shelburne treated them with the greatest politeness; and his majesty was pleased most graciously to receive their addresses, and every mark of attention was paid through them to the volunteers of Ulster. But scarcely had their addresses been presented, when the packets from Ireland announced the dissatisfaction of two corps in the town of Belfast, which had been represented at Dungannon; they, who were executing their commission, were vilified and traduced in the news-paper; and Mr. Grattan, who had been addressed from every quarter as the saviour of his country, who had been voted a statue by a full meeting of the lawyers of Ireland particularly convened, and 50,000*l.* by the House of Commons of Ireland, had become the object of the most illiberal abuse.

The Belfast review was approaching; those who were dissatisfied determined there to make their stand: and it had been for the two preceding years distinguished as the greatest in Ireland, and therefore its decision must carry considerable weight. The 1st Belfast company had taken the lead, and was indefatigable in the pursuit of its object, that dissatisfaction should be expressed at Belfast: this company sent a very strong address* to the corps who were to assemble at the review; which was ably drawn up, and very fully expressed the grounds and particulars of their dissatisfaction. Major Dobbs also addressed the same corps on the opposite side of the question by way of reply to their address.

The 31st of July displayed a truly glorious exhibition. A volunteer encampment of near three thousand men, and the volunteer garrison of upwards of one thousand, all completely clothed, armed, and accoutred. Their military knowledge and appearance struck the veteran with wonder.

Anonymous papers in thousands were dispersed through the camp and garrison. Every private was taught that he was competent to legislate, and consequently to express his sentiments on

* Both these addresses are expressive of the different opinions circulated abroad upon the question, and are to be seen, Append. No. LXIX.

the most speculative points. Declaration, renunciation, simple repeal, legal security, better security, and bill of rights, were all before them, and they were to instruct their delegates on these important points. The delegates assembled on the 3d of August, and Colonel Stewart (member for the county of Down) was unanimously called to the chair; and Major Dobbs, as exercising officer, moved an address to the Reviewing General Lord Charlemont, in which he inserted a clause of their being fully satisfied. A debate commenced whether it should not be expunged; at the end of eleven hours a division took place, when there appeared for expunging 31, against it 29.

The address thus altered, passed unanimously.

Thus by the efforts and exertions of a wise and liberal administration were the liberties of Ireland restored; peace, unity, and content diffused through a revived nation, and the prosperity and glory of the British empire increased by adding strength, vigour, and felicity to that important part of it.

APPENDIX.

No. LVI.

A LETTER FROM PRIMATE BOULTER TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON, RELATING TO THE DISSENTERS COMPLAINTS OF TITHES....PAGE 16.

MY LORD,

Dublin, March 13, 1728.

AS we have had reports here that the Irish gentlemen in London would have the great burthen of tithes thought one of the chief grievances, that occasion such numbers of the people of the north going to America, I have for some time designed to write to your lordship on that subject.

But a memorial lately delivered in here by the Dissenting ministers of this place, containing the causes of this desertion, as represented to them by the letters of their brethren in the north, (which memorial we have lately sent over to my lord lieutenant), mentioning the oppression of the ecclesiastical courts about tithes as one of their great grievances: I found myself under a necessity of troubling your lordship on this occasion with a true state of that affair, and of desiring your lordship to discourse with the ministry about it.

The gentlemen of this country have ever since I came hither been talking to others, and persuading their tenants, who complained of the excessiveness of their rents, that it was not the paying too much rent, but too much tithe that impoverished them: and the notion soon took among the Scotch Presbyterians, as a great part of the Protestants in the north are, who it may easily be supposed do not pay tithes with great chearfulness. And indeed I make no doubt but the landlords in England might with great ease raise a cry amongst their tenants of the great oppression they lye under by paying tithes.

What the gentlemen want to be at is, that they may go on raising their rents, and that the clergy should still receive their

old payments for their tithes. But as things have happened otherwise, and they are very angry with the clergy, without considering that it could not happen otherwise than it has, since if a clergyman saw a farm raised in its rent e. g. from 10 to 20*l.* per annum, he might be sure his tithe was certainly worth double what he formerly took for it. Not that I believe the clergy have made a proportionable advancement in their composition for their tithes to what the gentlemen have made in their rents. And yet it is upon this rise of the value of tithes that they would persuade the people to throw their distress.

In a conference I had with the Dissenting ministers here some weeks ago, they mentioned the raising the value of the tithes beyond what had been formerly paid, as a proof that the people were oppressed in the article of tithes. To which I told them, that the value of tithes did not prove any oppression, except it were proved, that that value was greater than they were really worth, and that even then, the farmer had his remedy by letting the clergy take it in kind.

And there is the less in this argument, because the fact is, that about the years 1694 and 1695, the lands here were almost waste and unsettled, and the clergy in the last distress for tenants for their tithes, when great numbers of them were glad to let their tithes at a very low value, and that during incumbency, for few would take them on other terms: and as the country has since settled and improved, as those incumbents have dropped off, the tithe of those parishes has been considerably advanced without the least oppression, but I believe your lordship will think not without some grumbling. The same, no doubt, has happened where there have been careless or needy incumbents, and others of a different character that have succeeded them.

I need not mention to your lordship what I have been forced to talk to several here, that if a landlord takes too great a portion of the profits of a farm for his share by way of rent, (as the tithe will light on the tenants share) the tenant will be impoverished: but then it is not the tithe but the increased rent that undoes the farmer. And indeed in this country, where I fear the tenant hardly ever has more than one third of the profits he makes of his farm for his share, and too often but a fourth or perhaps a fifth part, as the tenant's share is charged with the tithe, his case is no doubt hard, but it is plain from what side the hardship arises.

Nor need I take notice to your lordship of what I have been forced to talk very fully here, that if the land were freed from the payment of tithe, the tenant could not be the better for it, but the the landlord, who would in that case raise his rent accordingly, and would probably receive 15 or 20*s.* for additional rent,

where the clergyman now receives 10s. for tithe; and that it would be the same in proportion if the tithes were fixed to some modus below their real value, which I am apprehensive the gentlemen may attempt to do by a bill next sessions. As for the complaints of the oppressions in the ecclesiastical courts, your lordship knows the dilatoriness and expensiveness of suits there. And yet till within seven or eight years all suits for tithes, &c. were there; since that time by degrees the clergy have sued, in cases of consequence, in the Exchequer; but for dues of small value, they still are sued for there. But in the main nobody sues in those courts that can by fair means get any thing near his due; since, when the clergy have put persons into those courts, the defendants either give them all the delay and trouble they can, or else stand under contempt for never appearing, and let things go to the last extremity, and stand excommunicated; and possibly when a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* is taken out, and they find they have 7 or 8% to pay, they run away; for the greatest part of the occupiers of the land here are so poor, that an extraordinary stroke of 8 or 10% falling on them is certain ruin to them.

I can assure your lordship that every visitation I have held here, which is annually, the clergy have made as great complaints of the hardships put upon them by the people in getting in their tithes, especially their small dues, as the people can of any oppression from the clergy. And to my knowledge many of them have chose rather to lose their small dues, than to be at a certain great expence in getting them, and at an uncertainty whether the farmer would not at last run away without paying any thing. And I can affirm to your lordship, that the laity here are as troublesome and vexatious as they can be in England; and from time to time fight a cause of no great value through the bishop's court, then through the archbishop's, and thence to the delegates, where the clergy sue for what is most evidently their due.

I would not be understood by this to deny that any clergyman or farmer of tithes ever did a hard thing by the people, but that there is not frequent occasion of complaint against them.

However last sessions we passed a bill here for the more easy recovery of small tithes, &c. which I believe will remove this cause of complaint, since I believe very few will spend some pounds to recover than in a spiritual court, which may be recovered for some shillings in another way.

Upon occasion of the conference I had some weeks ago with the Dissenting ministers here, I have enquired of several of the clergy, that are understanding and fair men, who have assured

APPENDIX.

me that as far as their knowledge reaches, they believe that generally the farmers do not pay more than two-thirds of the real value of their tithes.

Another thing they complain of in their memorial is, the trouble that has been given them about their marriages and their school-masters. As to this I told them, that for some time they had not been molested about their marriages; and that as to their school-masters, I was sure they had met with very little trouble on that head, since I had never heard any such grievance so much as mentioned till I saw it in their memorial.

Another matter complained of is the sacramental Test, in relation to which I told them, the laws were the same in England.

As for other grievances they mention, such as raising the rents unreasonably, the oppression of justices of the peace, senechals, and other officers in the country, as they are no ways of an ecclesiastical nature, I shall not trouble your lordship with an account of them, but must desire your lordship to talk with the ministry on the subject I have now wrote about, and endeavour to prevent their being prepossessed with any unjust opinion of the clergy, or being disposed, if any attempt should be made from hence to suffer us to be stript of our just rights.

I am, &c.

No. LVII.

THE MEMORIAL OF DR. LUCAS....PAGE 38.

To his Excellency William Earl of Harrington, Lord Lieutenant General and General governor of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY!

THE love and duty I owe my sovereign, and the regard I bear his governments and dominions, in general, those of this my native country, in particular, which are most intimately and inseparably connected and linked together, in one common bond of affection, interest and allegiance, prompt me to use all just and lawful means to obtain an effectual redress of the capital grievances of this kingdom, and city, which no good subject, or good governor can overlook or slight, consistent with the principles of his moral, religious and political obligations to our system of civil society.

These motives, which your excellency must be too wise and just to condemn, or discourage, first induced me to contend

with my fraternity, for a reformation of my profession in the years 1735, and 1741, and since, with my superiors, for the restoration of the rights and liberties of the commons and citizens of this broken and reduced metropolis.

If your excellency will take the trouble of perusing this and the following address to the lords justices, with the dedication to the king, I flatter myself, you will see such causes assigned for the courses, I have taken, to obtain some redress of the heavy grievances of which I complain, that, I must hope, you will not only pardon the presumption of once more addressing, or attempting to address your excellency in this manner, but allow there is some degree of merit in struggling through the many dangers and difficulties that have been opposed to me, for the bringing or endeavouring to bring such important truths to the royal ear, as, if regarded must tend to the unspeakable honour and advantage of the king and people of these realms, in the security and welfare, of each of which, I look upon myself to be equally interested and concerned.

However, my Lord, as the same necessity which first urged me to lay our complaints before you, still strongly subsists, I should be wanting in the duty of a citizen, and a subject, and fall short of the character I have endeavoured to establish in life, if I should slacken in my just application to obtain a restoration of our rights and liberties; and therefore, regardless of the manifold disadvantages of station, birth and education, under which I labour, and of the numberless misrepresentations made of me, by designing men, I presume to make one effort more to bring the complaints of Dublin before my royal sovereign; of the greatness and integrity of whose soul I am so fully convinced, that I am firmly persuaded he wants but due information to redress the grievances of his subjects.

I am well aware, my lord, that some of those great men, who have thought fit to represent me to your excellency, heretofore, as a madman, will now set me forth in more hateful colours. It is become much the fashion, of late, to vilify me, to represent me as a riotous, tumultuous, incendiary, a disaffected person, a condemner of government, of magistracy, even of majesty.

To acquit myself of these foul imputations, I must beg your excellency will permit me to lay before you a short review of the course I have taken to obtain justice and law, the common benefits of the constitution of this my country.

When I first discovered the invasions made on the rights and privileges of the commons and citizens of this city, I tried all just and moderate means to set things to rights within the city; and though the invaders gave me all manner of unjust, forcible, and cruel opposition, and have now scarce left so much of the

cases of our constitution as might demonstrate we had any, I still preserve the respect due to the magistracy of the city, though I can look upon it only as *de facto*, not *de jure*.

Failing of redress within the city courts, I had recourse, with my fellows, to the courts of law, and though we were attended with no better success there, I can defy mine enemies to shew the instance, in which I failed to pay due respect to the judges of our courts.

I have it is true, my lord, taken the benefits our constitution admits, of appealing against, or complaining of, the proceedings of some of these judges, to an higher power, to your excellency, as the representative of his majesty; whether or no the terms in which I did so, were wrong or injurious, I humbly submit to your excellency's recollection.

One of the most sensible happinesses of our system of government is, that every person who does but think himself aggrieved by any branch of the subordinate administration, has the privilege of appealing, or complaining, to a superior, in a regular gradation from one to another, even to the supreme magistrate. This is a privilege too sacred for any loyal subject to give up, for any good governor to suppress.

When I first claimed the benefits of this privilege, and layed before your excellency the complaints of Dublin, it must be confessed, you heard me with patience, with humanity, with a tender feeling of the sufferings of the king's subjects, and some pain for the shocks given our constitution. What unhappy misrepresentations of facts, or person, or what unauthorised arrogance or insolence of servants, prevented your excellency's taking the steps in this affair, that your wisdom and justice promised, or afterwards excluded me the access to your excellency's presence, I cannot take upon me to point out; but, as the same principles of justice and law bind alike the small and the great; when I judged it expedient, and my bounden duty, to appeal to our sovereign, I thought it necessary to let him see, that I had recourse to the highest power here, before I presumed to trouble his majesty, which then, not before, gave me the subject's right to apply for relief to the throne.

I addressed the lords justices of this kingdom, in your excellency's absence. I presented them with the charter and dedication, which I now lay before your excellency, and prayed to have it transmitted to his majesty; but their excellencies thought fit to decline granting my petition.

Thus your excellency may see, the same necessity still subsists, the same principles prompt, and the same motives that before prevailed, still strongly induce me, with all respect and humility, to address your excellency, and to supplicate you on

behalf of myself, and the rest of my suffering fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens, to forward the summary state of our case in the following charter and dedication, to the royal presence.

There is another reason, to me, no less cogent, for begging this favour with greater earnestness of your excellency; my reputation is dearer to me than life; that is rigorously, severely struck at: The most violent, the most lawless, the most inhuman threats are daily uttered against me; for none other crime that I know of, than that of complaining of public injuries, dangerous and destructive to the king and to his people. I have appealed to Cæsar. Shall Cæsar's servants obstruct the laying my complaints before the throne? and even punish me for complaining? Shall this be done under the administration of a Stanhope? God forbid!

My Lord, to sum up all my desires and intentions in a few words; I only wish to discharge the end of my creation, in fulfilling the duty of a subject, in every station, to which it shall please all-wise, all-ruling Providence to call me, with due submission and subjection to every loyal and good governor and subordinate magistrate, and an equal right to oppose, by law, and to complain of the misconduct of all those, who endanger our constitution by invading the rights of the subject, or neglecting to discharge the duties of their stations.

If in all that I have hitherto attempted, with this intent, I have done wrong to any man, I am open to conviction, and ready to make the fullest atonement. Therefore, if I have advanced any thing repugnant to the principles of our government, or inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the subject, I humbly conceive my intentions ought to be considered, and I should be properly examined, before the threatened weight and fury of power be let loose upon me. It is not to be deemed beneath the dignity of good governors to inform active and well-meaning subjects of errors in their conduct; if such can be made to appear in my transactions I shall from the same principle, that I mean to advance truths, in my judgment, conducive to the happiness of this city, and these kingdoms, as readily, as publicly, retract errors, or mistakes.

My lord, I must beg your excellency's indulgence to make one declaration more. At a time, when ministerial influence of court dependence is rather sought than avoided, by men of independent fortunes, it may be suspected, that one of my low sphere may have some private or selfish views in thus attending upon your excellency. To obviate such an imputation, I thus solemnly declare, that though I wish to be always well understood, and upon occasion, well heard, by the government; yet, even that, is only for the public good; because, that for, myself, I have nothing to ask, nor any thing to fear from the

highest powers ; my sole ambition is to discharge the duties of my station. And, in so doing, I shall ever take care to approve myself, his majesty's most unfeignedly loving and loyal subject, as well as,

May it please your excellency,
Your excellency's most dutiful
And most faithful humble servant,
C. LUCAS.

Dublin, October the 3d, 1749.

No. LVIII.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE EARL OF KILDARE....PAGE 47.

To his Most Serene and August Majesty King George the Second, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

The most humble Memorial of James Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, Baron Offaly, Lord Leinster in England, &c. and one of his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council of the Kingdom of Ireland,

MOST HUMBLY REPRESENTETH,

THAT your memorialist is the eldest peer of the realm, by descent, as lineally sprung from the ancient and august blood of the noble Earl of Kildare, who came over under the invincible banner of your august predecessor Henry the Second, when his arms conquered the kingdom of Ireland.

That your memorialist, on this foundation, has the greater presumption to address your august majesty, as his ancestors have ever proved themselves steady adherents to the conquest of that kingdom, and were greatly instrumental in the reduction thereof, by their money, interest, and forces.

That though they were first sent over with letters patent, under Henry the Second's banner, to conquer that kingdom, yet by the inheritance of lands, by intermarriages with princesses of the kingdom, they became powerful, and might have conquered for themselves, notwithstanding which, their allegiance was such, as that, on that sovereign's mandate to stop the progress of war, we obeyed, and relinquished our title of conquest, laid down our arms, and received that monarch with due homage and allegiance, resigning our conquests as became subjects, and

also prevailed with the sovereign princes, bishops, nobles, clergy, and gentry, to acknowledge him right and lawful sovereign of Ireland, and of the seas, sea-ports, and other domains of the kingdom.

That on this presumption, your memorialist has, in the most humble manner, at the request of the natives of Ireland, your majesty's true liege subjects, not only the aborigines thereof, but the English colonies, sent over by Henry the Second, Richard the Second, Elizabeth, Charles, Cromwell the Usurper, William the Third of glorious memory, and other kings, your majesty's predecessors, and the conquerors of Ireland, made bold to lay before your majesty the true state of their several and respective grievances, a burden now become almost too heavy to bear.

And your memorialist was rather induced to lay this memorial at your august majesty's feet, as it was on good presumption surmised, that all access to your royal ear was shut up, and your liege subjects debarred the liberty of complaining, a right ever allowed to your majesty's liege subjects of what degree or condition soever.

That no notice being taken of several remonstrances heretofore made by your majesty's liege subjects, it was humbly presumed, that such remonstrances had been stopped, and debarred in their progress to your royal ear.

That your memorialist, at the request of several thousands of your liege subjects, as well the nobles as the clergy, the gentry, and commonalty of the kingdom, has ventured on this bold step, for which he humbly craves your majesty's pardon, as nothing but the distress of his countrymen, your most loyal subjects, could have drawn him to this presumption.

That in general the face of your loyal kingdom of Ireland wears discontent, a discontent not coloured from caprice or faction, but purely founded on ministerial misapplication.

That though several persons, particularly N. G. was called to account for the public money, which he had drawn out of the treasury, and deposited in the banks, yet this inquisition came to nothing by the mediation of party, and the interposition of power.

That the Duke of Dorset's son Lord George, though in high and lucrative employments already, not satisfied therewith, has restlessly grasped at power, insatiable in his acquisitions.

That the primate, who is now on the pinnacle of honour, connected with the said noble lord, has made use of his influence to invest himself of temporal power, and like a greedy churchman, affects to be a second Wolsey in the senate.

That influences being so predominant, corruption so formidable, and elections so controlled by the mighty power of those two statesmen, your loyal kingdom of Ireland feels the sad effects of it, and dreads this duumvirate as much as England did that of the Earl of Stafford and Archbishop Laud.

That your other ministers, officers, subjects, and servants, being cut out of dignity and power by this formidable monopoly, can scarce perform the proper functions of their ministry, as all measures are determined by fatal and influenced majorities in the houses.

That the citizens of Dublin have for a long time laboured under an unprecedented slavery in subjection to the bankers of administration, who act in a despotic manner, raising and disposing the public revenues of the city, just as to them seems fitting.

That your majesty's interest in the hearts of your loyal subjects is likely to be affected by those arbitrary measures, as the landed interest is very much injured thereby, and as few care to represent their country in parliaments where a junto of two or three men disconcert every measure taken for the good of the subject, or the cause of common liberty.

That your memorialist has nothing to ask of your majesty, neither place, civil or military, neither employment or preferment for himself or friends, and that nothing but his duty to your majesty, and his natural hatred to such detestable monopoly, could have induced your memorialist to this presumption,

Who is,

In all respects,

Your most loyal

And dutiful subject,

J. FITZGERALD.

No. LIX.

THE GENTLEMEN WHO VOTED IN SUPPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS....PAGE 53.

[Marked thus, * spoke in the Debate.]

Tellers for the Ayes.

Lord Moore, Lieutenant Colonel of Horse.

* Edmond Sexton Pery, Esq.

Hon. Hugh Skeffington, Lieutenant of Horse James Smyth, Esq. Collector of Dublin

- Charles O'Neile, Esq.
 William Richardson, Esq.
 *William Brownlow, Esq.
 Hon. John Caulfield, Esq.
 Arthur Upton, Esq.
 James Hamilton, Esq.
 Sir Richard Wolesley, Bart.
 *Lord Newtown
 Hon. Barry Maxwell
 John Cramer, Esq.
 Richard Ponsonby, Esq.
 Denham Jephson, Esq.
 William Forward, Esq.
 Abraham Creighton, Esq.
 Bernard Ward, Esq.
 Alexander Hamilton, Esq.
 Robert Scott, Esq.
 Matthew Ford, Esq.
 Francis Leigh, Esq.
 Sir Charles Burton, Knt.
 *Philip Tisdal, Esq. Solicitor
 General, and Judge of the
 Prerogative
 Edward Bolton, Esq.
 Hon. John Butler, Esq. Clerk
 of the Pipe
 Henry Brooke, Esq.
 *Nicholas Arehall, Esq.
 *Robert French, Esq.
 Robert Fitzgerald, Esq. Judge
 Advocate
 Sir William Founds, Bart.
 Packer, Searcher, and Gau-
 ger, in the port of Cork
 Maurice Keating, Esq.
 John Bourke, Esq. Commis-
 sioner of the Revenue
 Walter Weldon, Esq.
 Richard Dawson, Esq.
 James Agar, Esq. senior
 Hon. Redmond Morris, Esq.
 Hon. Joseph Leeson, Esq.
 Edward Herbert, Esq.
 Hon. Richard Ponsonby, Esq.
 Secretary to the Commis-
 sioners
 Henry Lyons, Esq.
- Sir William Parsons, Bart.
 Richard Trench, Esq.
 Boleyn Whitney, Esq. Com-
 missioner of Appeals
 John Pomeroy, Esq. Lieute-
 nant Colonel of Foot
 Hugh Crofton, Esq.
 Charles Smyth, Esq.
 Hercules Langford Rowley,
 Esq.
 Richard Edgworth, Esq.
 Right Hon. William Henry
 Fortescue, Esq. Privy Coun-
 sellor
 John Ruxton, Esq.
 Thomas Fortescue, Esq.
 James Fortescue, Esq.
 Thomas Tenison, Esq. Com-
 missioner of Appeals
 Anthony Forster, Esq.
 Townley Bellfore, Esq.
 Sir Thomas Taylor, Bart.
 Richard Moore, Esq.
 Georges Lowther, Esq.
 Henry Monck, Esq.
 Thomas Dawson, Esq.
 Jonah Barrington, Esq. Pen-
 sioner
 Robert Cunningham, Esq. Ad-
 jutant General
 Nehemiah Donellan, Esq.
 Right Hon. Sir Thomas Pen-
 dergast, Post-Master Gene-
 ral and Privy Counsellor
 Kinsmill Penefather, Esq.
 William Stewart, Esq.
 Thomas Knox, Esq.
 Nehemiah Donellan, Esq. jun.
 Richard Georges, Esq.
 John Rochfort, Esq.
 Robert Percival, Esq.
 Andrew Ram, Esq.
 *Thomas Le Hunte, Esq.
 John Leigh, Esq.
 James Stopfort, Esq.
 Charles Tottenham, Esq. Sur-
 veyor General of Excise

Hon. Henry Loftus, Esq.	Richard Chapel Whaley, Esq.
Thomas Loftus, Esq.	John Strafford, Esq.
Walter Hore, Esq. Judge Advocate	Stephen Trotter, Esq.

Against the Question, and for Stifling the Resolutions from appearing before His Majesty.

Tellers for Noes.

*Sir Richard Cox, Bart. Pensioner.
Thomas Carter, Esq. junior.

Edward Smyth, Esq.	John Graham, Esq.
Hon. Hungford Skeffington, Pensioner	Robert Standford, Esq. Captain of Horse
Sir Richard Butler, Bart.	John Eyre, Esq.
Right Hon. Richard Rigby, Principal Secretary	Henry Bingham, Esq. Pensioner
Sir Edward Obrien, Bart.	William Crosby, Esq.
Murrough Obrien, Esq.	Sir Kildare Burrowes, Bart.
Emanuel Pigot, Esq.	Robert Harman
Hon. James Obrien, Esq. Collector of Cork	Agmondisham Vesey, Esq. Accountant General
Bellingham Boyle, Esq. Pensioner	James Agar, Esq.
Sir John Freke, Bart.	Ralph Gore, Esq. Pensioner
Lord Limerick, Chief Remembrancer	*Warden Flood, Esq. Attorney General
John Magill, Esq.	John Gore, Esq. Counsel to the Commissioners
William Harward, Esq.	Edmond Malone, Esq. Counsellor at Law
Edward Barry, Esq. State Physician	William Scot, Esq. Prime Serjeant
General Dilkes, Governor of the Hospital	Alexander Nesbit, Esq. Pensioner
John Lysaght, Esq. junior	Anthony Marlay, Esq. Commissioner of Appeals, and Pensioner
Andrew Knox, Esq.	
Sir Ralph Gore St. George, Bart.	Henry Mitchel, Esq.
Right Hon. Sir Arthur Gore, Bart. Privy Counsellor	Hon. Mr. Westely
Michael Clarke, Esq. Examiner of Excise	General Bligh, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse
Francis Pier Burton, Esq.	Richard Hamilton, Esq.
Thomas Montgomery, Esq.	Nathaniel Clements, Esq. Deputy Vice Treasurer
William Cooper, Esq.	

Alexander Montgomery, Esq.	Lord Boyle
Bartholomew William Gilbert, Esq.	Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart. Teller of the Exchequer
Marcus Patterson, Esq. Ser- jeant at Law	*Right Hon. Anthony Malone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Privy Counsellor
William Henry Dawson, Esq.	Gustavus Lambert, Esq. Col- lector of Excise
Henry Sandford, Esq.	Lord Forbes, Colonel of Foot
Thomas Mahon, Esq.	Richard Malone, Esq. Serjeant at Law
Frederick Gore, Esq.	Hon. Thomas Southwell, Esq. Pensioner
Galbraith Lowry, Esq.	Charles Gardiner, Esq. Sur- veyor General of the Cus- toms in Ireland.
Frederick Gore, Esq.	
St. George Richardson, Esq. Lieutenant of Horse	
Aland Mason, Esq.	
Lord Beresford	
Shapland Carew, Esq.	

No. LX.

EXHORTATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY OF DUBLIN,
READ FROM THEIR ALTARS ON THE SECOND OF OCTOBER,
1757....PAGE 53.

(From the Dublin Journal of October 4th, 1757.)

IT is now time, Christians, that you return your most grateful thanks to Almighty God, who, after visiting you with a scarcity, which approached near unto a famine, has been graciously pleased, like a merciful father, to hear your prayers, and feed you with a plentiful harvest: nor ought you to forget those kind benefactors, who, in the severest times, mindful only of the public good, generously bestowed, without any distinction of persons, those large charities, by which thousands were preserved, who otherwise must have perished the victims of hunger and poverty. We ought especially to be most earnest in our thanks to the chief governors and magistrates of the kingdom, and of this city in particular, who, on this occasion, proved the fathers and saviours of the nation. But as we have not a more effectual method of shewing our acknowledgment to our temporal governors, than by an humble, peaceful, and obedient behaviour; as hitherto, we earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy and Christian disposition, and thus, by degrees,

you will entirely efface in their minds those evil impressions, which have been conceived so much to our prejudice, and industriously propagated by our enemies. A series of more than sixty years spent, with a pious resignation, under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation, with which they were executed, ever since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in the minds of all unbiassed persons, any misconceived opinions of the doctrine and tenets of our holy church.

You know that it has always been our constant practice, as ministers of Jesus Christ, to inspire you with the greatest horror for thefts, frauds, murders, and the like abominable crimes ; as being contrary to the laws of God and nature, destructive of civil society, condemned by our most holy church, which, so far from justifying them on the score of religion, or any other pretext whatsoever, delivers the unrepenting authors of such criminal practices over to Satan.

We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting you to abstain from cursing, swearing, and blaspheming ; detestable vices, to which the poorer sort of our people are most unhappily addicted, and which must at one time or other bring down the vengeance of heaven upon you in some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain from them.

It is probable, that, from hence, some people have taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumny, that we need not fear to take false oaths, and consequently to perjure ourselves ; as if we believed that any power upon earth could authorize such damnable practices, or grant dispensations for this purpose. How unjust and cruel this charge is, you know by our instructions to you both in public and private, in which we have ever condemned such doctrines, as false and impious. Others, likewise, may easily know it from the constant behaviour of numbers of Roman Catholics, who have given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence of those tenets, by refusing to take oaths, which, however conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the principles of their religion.

We must now intreat you, dear Christians, to offer up your most fervent prayers to the Almighty God, who holds in his hands the hearts of kings and princes, beseech him to direct the counsels of our rulers, to inspire them with sentiments of moderation and compassion towards us. We ought to be more earnest, at this juncture, in our supplications to heaven ; as some very honourable personages have encouraged us to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws. Pray then the Almighty to give a blessing to these their generous designs, and to aid their counsels, in such a manner, that, whilst they intend to assist us, like

kind benefactors, they may not, contrary to their intentions, by mistaking the means, most irretrievably destroy us.

To conclude, be just in your dealings, sober in your conduct, religious in your practice, avoid riots, quarrels, and tumults; and thus you will approve yourselves good citizens, peaceable subjects, and pious Christians.

No. LXI.

LETTER OF MR. O'CONOR TO DR. CURRY....PAGE 54.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

MY neighbour, or rather a great man in my neighbourhood, the Bishop of Elphin, has been of late very inquisitive about the Bishop of Ferm's bleeding Iphigenia, in hopes, I suppose, of throwing some dirt at us this session out of our own dung-hills. I know enough of this book out of Walsh's, to think that you as well as I, are of Walsh's side of the question, in condemning the proceedings at Waterford, Jamestown, and Galway, and in declaring that the war of the confederate Catholics was just and necessary; they fought against unprincipled regicides, and his lordship's abuse will tend ultimately to make such enemies less odious to mankind. In the mean time, you and all of you, are as passively silent as sheep before the shearer; you are of opinion, I suppose, that it is not justice due to all parties to shew by what means and by whose means, such evils were brought upon us as operate to this day. This Harris's insolence is seasoned for him by an opinion derived from your silence, that he has defeated us all. For my part, were I you, and had I but a pebble, I would cast it at such an illiberal dog; nay, at every Irishman, who would be so base as not to be ashamed to mangle the corpse of the fallen, or to rivet the fetters of the oppressed.

But alas! we are a people truly fallen, or we would co-operate with each other systematically, in counteracting the proceedings of the parties that are united in nothing but in a league against us. They offer as a boon, a registry bill, which is evidently calculated to extirpate our very remains. Nothing can be better known, than that our spiritual œconomy cannot be exercised without the spiritual jurisdiction of our bishops. Yet, the jurisdiction of Catholic bishops is totally overturned by this blessed boon, the intent of which is therefore to destroy Popery by Popery itself.

The difference between Queen Anne's Registry Bill and this one, is, that the former was too penal to execute itself. But the latter is far from being so; it avails itself of our most despotic passions to destroy our best principles.

Let us therefore draw up a solemn appeal, to be published in the Foreign Gazettes, which will acquit us in the face of Europe as men aggrieved merely on account of honest attachments to our principles. This will be of use to us in the day of exile; for I see now that there is no remedy but emigration. I can never think of this legal annihilation of episcopal authority, without alternate emotions of anger and dejection. I am moved to indignation when told, that, after this bill passes, the penal clauses shall be as little enforced as those already existing. Vain presumption! This penal law is calculated to execute itself, and ourselves shall be the executioners! How shall I proceed on this melancholy subject which afflicts me the more, as, for so many years past, we have not by any principle or conduct, given the smallest provocation. Allow me, my dear friend, to apply to you for the consolation which I can derive only on the vigilance and activity of which I know you are possessed.

Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles.

I am, in every situation of life,

Affectionately and invariably your's,

CHARLES O'CONOR.

[The *Declaration of the Roman Catholic Tenets* published at this time was the same as that published in 1793; for which vide Appendix, No. LXXXVIII.]

No. LXII.

MR. WYSE'S PROPOSAL TO THE FIRST CATHOLIC COMMITTEE.....PAGE 54.

WHEREAS, many of the penal laws enacted against the Roman Catholics of Ireland, since the Revolution, have in a great measure been owing to the supineness of some, to the overbearing superiority assumed by others in taking the lead, and despising the opinions of men of greater knowledge and penetration; to embezzlements of public money, and an insecurity of application to the purposes, for which large sums have been occasionally raised; to an imprudent choice of improper agents; to the diffidence and difficulty of raising such sums as are necessary to give weight to solicitation; and lastly, to the want of that good under-

standing, harmony and union so remarkable in the political conduct of all other Dissenters, by which they have preserved a legal toleration of their religious worship, and the rights and liberties of freemen, which the Catholics might have been equally successful in keeping, if they had gone hand in hand, and pursued the same methods, the neglect and omission of which have brought such an inundation of calamities on us, that neither clergy nor laity could live in this kingdom, if the severity of the laws themselves did not suspend their execution, and the lenity of government hold up the scourge, but not the spirit of persecution, which breaks out each session, with greater violence, and though now and then diverted, yet in the end must extirpate us, if not prudently counteracted.

And, whereas, it would be impossible to convene together all the Roman Catholics of property throughout the kingdom on any emergency, or even all the Roman Catholics of weight and consequence in and about the city of Dublin, the fountain head of intelligence, and though such a convention were practicable, it would be inexpedient; in order therefore to remedy, &c. &c. the following scheme is humbly proposed for establishing a perpetual committee of representatives for each diocese in Ireland, and for each parish in the city of Dublin. One representative to be chosen by ballot, at a meeting of the principal inhabitants of each parish, and in each county by a majority of the parish priests, as well as of the towns and cities, and each nomination and appointment of a lay representative to be signed not only by the said clergy, but also, by the principal inhabitants of the diocese, and these several elections to be made with as much secrecy as possible.

The chairman of the said committee with an assistant, constantly residing in Dublin, to keep a book of accounts, and enter all transactions for the satisfaction of their constituents; to be annually chosen on some day before the first of January, by a majority of members, and to have a casting voice, in case of a division, and an equality of voices on both sides. The country members, who may not be in town at the time of any necessary business shall be duly apprized thereof by the chairman or assistant secretary for the time being, and any gentleman, though not of the committee, shall have access to their meetings, to give his opinion or advice on any deliberation of importance, but not to have a voice in any debate or resolution of the committee, or be present when the question is put; and every thing done by a majority of voices, relative to the spiritual or temporal welfare of the constituents, shall be binding, and considered by all parties as conclusive, &c.

No. LXIII.

LETTER OF MR. SAUL TO MR. O'CONOR OF BELANAGARE.

[PAGE 55.]

MY DEAR MR. O'CONOR,

I AM an utter stranger to what our people here are doing, and I am resolved never to be concerned in any affairs during my life, but those of my family, and a small circle of friends ; what I suffered on account of my humanity in the case of Miss Toole, has taught me this lesson ; I was then made to understand, from the mouth of no less a personage, than the lord chancellor, that the laws did not presume a Papist to exist here, nor could they breathe without the connivance of government. If so, for I shall not attempt to think otherwise, after so solemn a declaration, how can you blame me for being an enemy to addresses and to memoirs ? Even you cannot persuade me that they tend to any purpose. I remember to have read in some of the classics (when a school boy) a line or two, which have been of singular use to me in the course of my life.

Nunquam pœnituit tacuisse, at sæpe locutum.

And now, my dear friend, since there is not the least prospect of such a relaxation of the penal laws, as would induce one Roman Catholic to tarry in this house of bondage, who can purchase a settlement in some other land, where freedom, and security of property can be obtained, will you condemn me for saying, that if I cannot be one of the first, I will not be one of the last, to take flight from a country, where I have not the least expectation of encouragement to enable me to carry on my manufactures, to any considerable extent ?

Heu ! fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum !

The parliament of 59, is not the parliament of 53. The heart was then on the right side of the political body, ready to promote, on all occasions, the interest and welfare of the country ; but the case is quite the reverse at present. The patriots of that happy æra are the betrayers of this ; and he only is wrong, who stood out for too great a price, or did not sell himself in time for what he could obtain.

If (as Pope says) "whatever is, is right," those trials may perhaps be intended for our greater benefit, as lessons to shew us, that our kingdom is not of this world, that we are not to expect any real happiness in this life, and that the greatest calamities and miseries here must have an end.

This reflection, I own, has often relieved me on many distressing occurrences. But how I will be able to bear at this time of life, when nature is far advanced in its decline, and my constitution by constant exercise of mind very much impaired, the fatal necessity of quitting for ever, friends, relations, an ancient patrimony,....my *natale solum*, to retire perhaps to some dreary inauspicious clime, there to play the school-boy again, to learn the language, laws, and constitution of the country; to make new friends and acquaintances; in short, to begin the world anew; how this separation, I say, from every thing dear in this sublunary world, would afflict me, I cannot say, but with an agitated and throbbing heart.

But when Religion dictates, and Prudence points out the only way to preserve posterity from temptation and perdition, I feel this consideration predominating over all others, I am resolved as soon as possible to sell out, and to expatriate; and I must content myself with the melancholy satisfaction of treasuring up in my memory the kindnesses and affections of my friends. Living or dying,

I am,
My dear O'Connor,
Ever your's,

LAWRENCE SAUL,

November 15, 1759.

No. LXIV.

LETTER OF MR. O'CONOR TO DR. CURRY....PAGE 55.

DEAR SIR,

September 16th, 1759.

NO circumstance attending the Memoirs gives me more pain, than the prospect you have before you, that the storm of the times is to burst over the heads of the patronizers of such a work, that is, over the defenceless, the grieved, and hated part of the nation....If our masters are so far bent against us, as to be

provoked at what we may now surely call innocent truths; let those truths be secreted for better days and better times, even though no great deference should be observed to the errors of men, who would rather continue ruinously mistaken, than be unpleasantly undeceived; my deference to such men would go but a short way; and were I author of the Historical Memoirs, I would apprehend but very little from the open avowal of them. But, perhaps the true author, whoever he is, has more measures to keep through the delicacy of his situation.

For my part, I can see neither relief nor persecution from the complexion of the present times, they seem not purified enough for the one, nor implacable enough for the other; and when the scales of political wisdom are thus poised, let us conclude that wisdom and justice will take care one time or other to cast the balance on the right side.

Your's affectionately,
CHARLES O'CONOR.

TO THE SAME.

Belanagare, October 20th.

DEAR SIR,

ON my return two days since from Jamestown, I called in Elphin, at Mr. Stafford's. He informed me, that he put a book which lately came out, (on the fatal rebellion in 1641) into the Bishop's hands, who promised it an impartial reading. As you might probably have perused that work, you may be curious to know what so great a man's thoughts are relative to it; they are indeed pretty much what I foresaw they would be....The author (said he) hath taken great pains to support his facts by authentic testimonies, but I cannot approve of the discretion of gentlemen, who in the present time revive such facts....Mr. Stafford made no reply; nor could it escape his lordship, that such facts are revived incessantly, in the anniversary sermons, pamphlets, and books of the most eminent men among us. But the charge of indiscretion is levelled particularly at any person, who now have the audacity to controvert any matters set forth in these periodical writings. For my own part I cannot but approve entirely of the equity of this judgment: nor can I see the reason, why a people, who contended in vain for civil justice in a former age, should have any historical justice done them in this! Who does not see that under all popular governments, popular contention must sometimes arise, and that every discomfited party, (which party must be surely always in the wrong) owe at least one duty to the public, which is either to applaud the justice done them, or leave the honour of the panegyric to others.

In the present case you see, that nothing more than a respectful silence is required, and sorry I am that the author of the book I mention, did not follow the example set him by his own party for seventy years past. Had he done so, nothing more than the usual course would be served up, on the approaching anniversary of the 23d instant; but now I am not without my apprehensions, that the perusal of those memoirs may swell the bill of fare; and prove expensive to those, for whom such feasts are annually prepared. Here I drop my melancholy subject, having only to add, that his lordship suspects strongly, that the author of the book I mention, lives this side of the Shannon; he will doubtless confirm others in this idea.

I lay four nights ago in Jamestown, nine miles off. It contains an area of four or five plantation acres, in an oblong square, surrounded by a strong wall six feet in thickness, about twenty feet high; the two great gates are broken down. It stretches along the Shannon, under a rising ground to the West; no fortification was ever worse situated for defence. I give you this description of the place, as it is a most as famous in history, for its council of bishops in the civil war, as Trent is for another council, which is equally the object of popular odium. I have tired you and myself.

Adieu,

CHARLES O'CONOR.

P. S. The great man set off for Dublin on Monday last. He thought that the not procuring him the *Iphigenia*, was owing rather to a design in secreting the work, than the real want of the book. I request you will do all you can to hunt down this historical fugitive, and let him be delivered bound up, or even loose, to one who is so eager to have him examined.

THE ANSWER.

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN a thousand thanks for both your last favours. Your great neighbour's observation on the *Memoirs* is pleasant enough. After a very short, critical, inquisitive perusal of an unpleasing work, because a work, destructive of one of his principal topics of argumentation against an opposite party, whom he is in the habit not only of dissenting from, but detesting; for such a man to have no other fault to find, but indiscretion, in the publication of such truths at this juncture, nay, to allow that the author has supported his facts by authentic evidence....quod erat desideratum....amounts, consideratis considerandis....to approba-

tion and applause. From a judge so circumstanced as his lordship, no more could be expected; and his mentioning the fault of indiscretion, looks like affected criticism; because you have shewn it to be entirely groundless, and because it was, you know, absolutely necessary he should find some fault. I have been seeking in vain for Iphigenia: if I can get her at any price, she shall be at your service.

Adieu,

J. CURRY.

No. LXV.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC GENTLEMEN,
MERCHANTS, AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, TO
HIS GRACE, JOHN, DUKE OF BEDFORD, &c....PAGE 37.

(From the Dublin Gazette, December 15, 1789.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

WE, his majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of the city of Dublin, do, with the greatest respect, approach the illustrious representative of the best of kings, with our hearty congratulations on those glorious successes, by sea and land, which have attended his majesty's arms, in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.

We gratefully acknowledge the lenity extended to us by his most sacred majesty, and by his royal father, of happy memory. Our allegiance, may it please your grace, is confirmed by affection and gratitude; our religion commands it; and it shall be our invariable rule firmly and inviolably to adhere to it.

We are called to this duty, at the present time in particular, when a foreign enemy is meditating desperate attempts to interrupt the happiness and disturb the repose, which these kingdoms have so long enjoyed, under a monarch, who places his chief glory in approving himself the common father of all his people: and we sincerely assure your grace, that we are ready and willing, to the utmost of our abilities, to assist in supporting his majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever.

Whenever, my lord, it shall please the Almighty, that the legislative power of this realm, shall deem the peaceable conduct of his majesty's Catholic subjects of Ireland, for many years past an object worthy of its favourable attention, we humbly hope means may

then be devised, to render so numerous a body more useful member to the community, and more strengthening friends to the state, than they could possibly have hitherto been, under the restraint of the many penal laws against them. We most humbly beseech your grace to represent to his majesty these sentiments and resolutions of his majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of this metropolis, who sincerely wish, that a peace honourable to his majesty and advantageous to his kingdoms, may be the issue of the present war ; and that the people of Ireland may be long governed by your grace, a viceroy, in whom wisdom, moderation, and justice, are so eminently conspicuous.

Dated this first of December, 1759. (nine).



HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN, IN HIS LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN PONSONBY, ESQ. SPEAKER OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(From the Dublin Gazette, December 15th, 1759.)

Dublin Castle, 10th of December, 1759.

SIR,

I BEG the favour of you to return my most sincere thanks to the gentlemen, the Roman Catholics of Dublin, for the address which you brought me from them this morning, and for the good opinion which they have therein expressed of me.

The zeal and attachment, which they profess for his majesty's person and government, can never be more seasonably manifested, than in the present conjuncture.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to find, that they are so fully sensible of the lenity, which hath been extended to them, during the whole course of his majesty's reign ; and they may be assured, that, so long as they conduct themselves with duty and affection to the king, they will not fail to receive his majesty's protection.

I am with great truth and regard, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BEDFORD.

No. LXVI.

LETTER OF GENERAL STRODE TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT,
CONCERNING THE LANDING OF THUROT.....PAGE 63.

INFORMATION of Benjamin Hall, lieutenant and adjutant to my regiment, who this moment arrived here, on his parade, from Carrickfergus, in order to get provisions for the officers and soldiers of my regiment there, says, that on the 21st inst. three ships appeared off the isle of Magee, standing in shore, for the bay of Carrickfergus, and at eleven o'clock came to an anchor, about two miles and a half to the N. E. part of the castle, and within musquet shot of the shore at Thilroot-point. At this time the small number of troops belonging to the garrison, were at exercise, about half a mile on the road to Belfast; and at a quarter after eleven o'clock, the guard was turned out, made up, and marched off, to relieve that on the French prisoners in the castle: the rest of the men continued in the field of exercise, where an account was soon brought, that the three ships just come to anchor had taken and detained two fishing boats, and with them and several others were plying on and off between the shore and the ships; on which immediate orders were sent to the castle for both guards to continue under arms, and double the sentinels on the French prisoners; and be particularly strict and watchful over them, till they could be satisfied whether they were friends or enemies; though at the same time, a strong report prevailed with some, that it was an English frigate and two store ships: but to be convinced what they were, after the troops had assembled in the market place, Lieutenant Hall went off with a reconnoitring party, and took post on a rising ground, where he could plainly perceive eight boats landing armed men; and that they drew out in detachments, and took post on the dykes, hedges, and all the rising grounds, from whence they could have the most extensive views: upon which he gave the necessary orders to his non-commission officers and men, to have a watchful eye of their approaches; and to take particular care, that they did not get round them, by going to the foot of the hill undiscovered: in order to prevent which he posted them himself, and told them as soon as ever their advanced guard came within shot, to fire upon them, and continue to do so until they repulsed them; or, if necessary to retreat, he likewise pointed that out to them, with orders to take every opportunity or advantage of the ground, in their retreat, to retard the enemy's approach; and to be sure to keep up a communication with the town as much as possible;

and, on this he immediately went to the town and acquainted Lieutenant Colonel Jennings, where he met him with the troops on the parade, who immediately ordered detachments to be made to defend the gates of the town, and all the avenues leading thereto ; soon after which the reconnoitring party retired, after having spent all their ammunition : during which time the lieutenant colonel and chief magistrate of the town, sent off the sheriff and Mr. Macklewain (who is captain of the militia of the corporation) with orders to take off the French prisoners of war, and convey them with all speed to Belfast, where they were to receive further orders from me. By this time the enemy were in full march for the town, which he computed to be near 1000 men ; and two or three straggling hussars, on horses they had picked up after landing, attempted to enter the gates, but on the first fire, retired, but were soon supported by parties of foot, who attacked both the north and Scotch gates ; as also the garden walls of Lord Donegal ; but were repulsed also, and kept back as long as the men had ammunition. On which Colonel Jennings ordered the whole to retire to the castle ; which he had sufficient time to do, as now the enemy was a little checked from our fire ; and would have been more so, if the men had ammunition. Before the gates of the castle were shut, they made their appearance in the market place ; and then it was, in his opinion, the destruction of the enemy would have commenced, had it not been for the still dreadful want of ammunition, notwithstanding the supply of powder they had received a few days before by my order, from Belfast, but were in want of ball, and even time, if they had that, to make them up : from which the enemy, finding our fire so cool, attacked the gates sword in hand, which from the battering of the shot from both sides, the bolts were knocked back and the gates opened, and the enemy marched in : but Lieutenant Colonel Jennings, Lord Wallingford, Capt. Bland, Lieutenant Ellis, with some gentlemen, and about fifty men, repulsed the enemy and beat them back. Here it was he saw a great resolution in a few Irish boys, who defended the gate after it was opened, with their bayonets ; and those from the Half-moon, after their ammunition was gone, threw stones and sticks. Had this attack of the enemy been supported with any degree of courage, they must certainly have succeeded in it, but they retired back under cover, leaving the gates open, with our men in the front of it ; which gave them a short time to consider what was the best to be done : first, to see the men's ammunition, who if they had any, would have certainly sallied, and even without it, had not Colonel Jennings and all the officers thought the enterprise too hazardous. Then they considered if the gate could be defended : the breach in the castle wall, could not ; it being near fifty feet long ; and having but a short time to deliberate, all agreed a parley should be beat, and Lieutenant Hall sent to know on what terms they might

surrender ; which was done accordingly, and on his going out, found the greatest part of the enemy under shelter of the old walls and houses before the castle gate ; and after the usual ceremony, demanded of the commandant (the general being wounded) what terms would be given to the troops on their surrender ; and at the same time sent the drum to call Colonel Jennings out of the castle, in order to treat with the French commandant on the articles of capitulation, which he says, as well as he can remember, were as follows, viz.

“ Colonel Jennings demanded that the troops should march out
 “ with all the honours of war, and the officers to be on their parole
 “ in Ireland, and that an equal number of prisoners should be sent
 “ to France within one month, or as soon after as ships could be
 “ got ready for that purpose.....Granted.

“ That the castle of Carrickfergus should not be demolished,
 “ or any of the stores destroyed or taken out of it.....Granted.

“ That the town and county of Carrickfergus should not be
 “ plundered or burnt, on condition the mayor and corporation fur-
 “ nished the French troops with necessary provisions.....
 “ Granted.”

That, as well as he can remember, was the verbal articles agreed on ; though on writing them the French commandant, after consulting his principal officers, declared he could not by any means answer to his master, the French king, for granting to his Britannic majesty the stores in the castle, which he insisted upon : and Colonel Jennings, to his great grief had it not in his power to refuse, declaring solemnly, at the same time with a grave countenance, that he would rather have been buried in the ruins. To which the French commandant replied, that he could not insert it in the articles of capitulation, yet he would give his word of honour, and did so, that if there was nothing of great value in the castle, belonging to the king, besides powder, he would not touch it (which there really was not) : but how far he will keep his promise, is not yet known. Likewise the magistrates of Carrickfergus, not furnishing the French with necessary provisions, they plundered the town, declaring it was their own fault, as they were convinced they had it in their power to supply them, as they had found enough in the town afterwards.

Mr. Hall further informs me, that he has discovered by some of the French, that there was a disagreement betwixt their General and Captain Thurot, the General being for the attack of Carrick, and Thurot for landing at the White-house and attacking Belfast. He likewise judges the frigates to be one of 40 guns, the other two about 20 each.

Lieutenant Hall begs leave to present his duty to your grace, and hopes your grace will excuse any inaccuracy, that may be in his description, as he was no way provided with any papers, and states

but from his memory, having been often interrupted by numbers of gentlemen of the militia, who were crowding perpetually into the room to receive orders.

I beg leave to subscribe myself,
My Lord, &c.

WM. STRODE.

Belfast, 23d Feb. 1760.

No. LXVII.

THE ADDRESS OF THE QUAKERS.....PAGE 66.

To GEORGE the Third, King of Great Britain and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble Address of the People called Quakers, of the Kingdom of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING !

We, thy dutiful and faithful subjects, being deeply impressed with a sense of the loss these nations have sustained by the sudden and unexpected removal of thy royal grandfather, our late gracious king, beg leave to condole with thee on this affecting event.

His mild and just government rendered him dear to all his faithful subjects ; and the particular indulgence and protection we have enjoyed in the free exercise of our religious duties, have left on our minds lasting impressions of gratitude and respect for his memory.

At the same time permit us to congratulate thee on thy accession to the throne of these realms, in which exalted station, we trust in that God by whom kings reign, that those many virtues which we hear adorn thy breast (and for which we are humbly thankful to the divine giver) will ever continue to animate thy conduct ; and thy gracious declaration for the encouragement of piety, and suppression of vice and immorality, gives us just grounds to hope, that thy reign will be happy to thy people, and honourable to thyself.

Persuaded of the clemency and benevolence of thy disposition, and conscious of our own fidelity and affection to thy person and government, we are emboldened to ask, and assured of thy favourable protection: a protection we stand the more in need of, as

some of our religious tenets (of the truth of which we are firmly persuaded) expose us to sufferings from unreasonable men. Such protection, we thankfully acknowledge, the kind acceptance of our peaceable and dutiful demeanour hath procured to us, during the late reigns of thy royal ancestors; and it is our firm resolution (through divine assistance) to merit the continuance thereof, by behaving agreeable to our christian principles, as becomes faithful subjects.

We offer up our fervent prayers to Almighty God, that he may endue thee with wisdom, to rule in his fear; that in thy days righteousness may exalt the nation; and that thou may be the happy instrument of restoring a permanent peace; that his protecting providence may shield thee from every danger, preserve thee long the beloved sovereign of a happy and grateful people; and perpetuate their happiness by continuing the crown in thy family to latest posterity.

Dublin, the 13th of the 11th month (called November) 1750.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Roman Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to approach your majesty with this humble tender of our unfeigned loyalty, on your Majesty's happy accession to the throne of your ancestors.

While your Majesty's subjects of all denominations are now endeavouring to be foremost in the exertion of every duty towards your Majesty's person and government; and while all circumstances of affairs at home, and abroad, unite for the present happiness and future glory of your reign; permit us to condole with your majesty, and pour out our sincere sorrow for the loss we have sustained, by the death of a monarch, who had always approved himself the common father of all his people; a loss the more sensible on our part, as the repose we have so long enjoyed proceeded from his royal clemency, and the mild administration of his government in this kingdom.

Ever since the accession of your Majesty's royal house to the throne of these realms, we have in a particular manner experienced the paternal interposition of your illustrious predecessors. We, most gracious sovereign, who are so unfortunately distinguished from the rest of our fellow subjects, cannot subsist without a continuance of the royal favour and protection.

Sensible of the same hereditary compassion in your Majesty's breast, we most humbly hope for that share in the happiness of your reign, which our peculiar circumstances can admit. And we beg leave to assure your Majesty of our grateful and constant return of affection and loyalty ; a loyalty which our conduct has proved, and our religion enforces ; happy ! might it entitle us to express a wish, that of all your majesty's dutiful subjects of this kingdom, we alone may not be left incapable of promoting the general welfare and prosperity of it.

May the Almighty so influence and direct your Majesty's counsils, through the whole course of your reign, that they may be ever productive of real happiness to all your people ! and may that reign be as memorable for its duration and felicity, as for the greatness and variety of those blessings, which we have already so much reason to expect from it.

No. LXVIII.

EXHORTATION READ IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPELS ON
THE DAY OF PUBLIC FAST.....PAGE 67.

DEAR CHRISTIANS,

WE think it our duty to remind you of the gratitude and thanks you owe to the Almighty God, who in these calamitous times, so fatal to other parts of Europe, leaves you in the happy enjoyment of peace and all the blessings that attend it ; blessings that ought to fill your hearts with the deepest sense of God's mercy towards you, and thankfulness to our chief governor here, whose paternal care and pity, equally generous and extensive, knows no distinction of persons or people ; these blessings we attribute in a great measure to your peaceable and discreet behaviour hitherto: wherefore we exhort you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to continue to demean yourselves in the same peaceable manner, and to avoid every thing in public or private, that might give the least shadow of offence ; that our ministry (as St. Paul says) may not be blamed. Nor does this caution proceed from any diffidence we have of your future conduct : it is rather intended to raise in your minds a lively sense of the lenity and mildness of our present most gracious government. Length of time, your constant, ready, and cheerful submission to the ruling powers, and, above all, the merciful and humane disposition of the present royal family, have greatly worn off the rigour of prejudice against you : these happy

dispositions, encouraged by a continuance of the same behaviour in you, may perhaps improve still more to your advantage: but whether we shall be deemed worthy of future favour or not, it is our duty as ministers of Jesus Christ, strongly to enforce the obligations of a submissive, obedient, and peaceful behaviour, and yours, as christians and good subjects, to fulfil them steadily in your practice.

NO LXIX.

THE ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS AND TRADERS OF DUBLIN,
IN 1761.....PAGE 82.

To the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq. late one of his Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

The grateful Address of the Merchants and Traders of the city of
Dublin.

WE, his Majesty's most loyal, dutiful, and affectionate subjects, the merchants, traders, and other citizens of the city of Dublin, whose names are underwritten judge these kingdoms too deeply interested in your withdrawing from the high station you have lately so eminently and greatly filled, to the honour and satisfaction of the crown and the subject, to let so important an event pass over in silence.

Though thus far removed from the great scene of action, we sensibly felt the manifold good of your truly patriotic and singularly wise and upright administration. To this we must attribute the rescuing Britain from the shameful infection of that pestilential ministerial practice, which called foreign mercenaries to the defence of a country, by her native force, when properly exerted, more than a match for half the powers of Europe.

To your steady virtues we stand indebted for freeing our mother country from the reproach of calling foreign troops to defend her from a threatened invasion, and for chastising the insolence of the vaunting invader; inspiring the councils and arms of Britain with that ancient true national spirit, which when duly exerted, ever has, and ever must render the British name terrible to her foes in the utmost extremities of the globe.

Under such an administration, we must always see, instead of private interest, merit, the only recommendation to places of important trust. By such measures as these, it is that we have seen

commerce accompanying conquest to the remotest parts of the earth, while faction was silenced and jarring parties reconciled and united at home.

Thus, sir, have your steady patriot virtues raised monuments to your fame more durable than marble or brass.

As the enemies of these kingdoms never had so great cause to rejoice, as they have from your withdrawing yourself from the sphere in which alone you could render these unspeakably great services to your country; so the true friends of these kingdoms never had more just cause to mourn.

We should therefore think ourselves wanting in duty to our patriot king, to our mother country, as well as our native, did we omit giving this public testimony of the loss which all sustain by the withdrawing of a minister of such matchless abilities and equal fidelity at so important and critical a conjuncture as the present.

Indulge us thus, great sir, in venting our griefs, and blending our tears with those of the rest of our mourning brethren and fellow subjects in Britain, as well as in other parts of this kingdom. Accept our most hearty and unfeigned acknowledgments for the unspeakable services and lasting honours you have already done your native country, and all the dominions of the crown of Great Britain. And give us leave to assure you, that we shall ever admire, and ever with profound respect and gratitude remember the unparalleled virtues that have so eminently distinguished your administration.

No. LX. *a*.

[PAGE 122.]

HIS Excellency George Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, being arrayed in royal robes, entered the House with the usual ceremonies of grandeur; the Earl of Tyrone carrying the cap of maintenance, and the Earl of Charlemont the sword of state; two noblemen's sons bearing the train of the royal robe: his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant making his congé to the throne, ascended the same, and seated himself in the chair of state under the canopy; all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal standing robed in their places, uncovered, till their Lordships took their seats.

The Lord Chancellor, kneeling, conferred with his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and then standing on the right hand of the chair of state, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to repair to the House of Commons, and acquaint the Commons

that it is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure they attend him immediately in the House of Peers.

And the Commons, with their Speaker, being come, were conducted to the bar, with the usual ceremonies; where Mr. Speaker, after a speech to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in relation to the money-bills, delivered them to the Clerk of the Parliament, who brought them to the table, where the Clerk of the Crown read the titles, as follow, &c.

1. An act for granting unto his Majesty an additional duty on beer, ale, strong waters, wine, tobacco, hides, and other goods and merchandise therein mentioned, and for prohibiting the importation of all gold and silver lace, and of all cambrics and lawns, except of the manufacture of Great-Britain.
2. An act for granting to his majesty the several duties, rates, impositions, and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such manner as therein is directed.

To these bills, the Clerk of the Parliament pronounced the Royal Assent, severally in the words following, viz. "Le Roi remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence, et ainsi le veut."

Then his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament as follows, viz.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The attention you have shewn to the great objects which have been particularly recommended by me to your consideration, and the provisions which have been made for the safety and security of this kingdom, call upon me, not only to express my approbation of, but to thank you, as I now do, for your conduct in these particulars.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It is with great pleasure that I thank you, in his majesty's name, for the supplies which you have granted, and the provision which you made for the present establishment, the public credit, and the safety of this kingdom.

When I first met you in Parliament, as I knew and could rely upon it, that nothing could move from his majesty, but what would be expressive of his constant and ardent desire to maintain and preserve every constitutional right to his people, I little thought that any thing would happen during the course of this session, that could possibly affect the just rights of his majesty, and of the crown of Great Britain, so as to afford his majesty any just cause of dissatisfaction, and make it necessary for me, specially to assert and vindicate those rights.

Therefore it is with great concern that I have seen and observed in the Votes and Journals of the House of Commons, printed by

your order, a late proceeding by you, of such a nature and of such effect, with respect to the rights of his majesty and the crown of Great Britain, as to make it necessary for me, on this day, and in this place, to take notice of and animadvert thereupon; I mean the vote and resolution of the 21st day of November last, by which you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, declare, that a bill, intitled, "An act for granting to his majesty the several duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such manner as is therein directed," which had been duly certified from hence to his majesty, and by his majesty had been transmitted in due form, under the great seal of Great Britain, and which had been read a first time by you, and which was rejected by you on that day, was so rejected, because it did not take its rise in your house.

This vote and this resolution of yours, declaring that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in your house, being contrary to the acts of Parliament of this kingdom of the 10th of Henry VII. and the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, and the usage and practice ever since, and intrenching upon the just rights of his majesty and the crown of Great Britain, to transmit such bills to be treated of and considered in Parliament here; I am now to assert his majesty's royal authority, and the rights of the crown of Great Britain in this respect, and in such a manner as may be most public and permanent; and therefore I do here in full Parliament, make my public protest against the said vote and resolution of the House of Commons; by which you, Gentlemen of that House, declare, that the said bill was rejected by you, because it did not take its rise in your house, and against the entries of the said vote and resolution, which remain in the Journals of the House of Commons; and I do require the Clerks of this House now to read my said Protest, and to enter it in the Journals of this House, that it may there remain to future ages, as a vindication of the undoubted right and authority of his majesty, and of the rights of the crown of Great Britain, in this particular.

In this Protest, I think myself warranted in all respects, and if it needed, as I conceive it doth not, any other strength than that, which it derives from the statutes which I have mentioned, and from the usage and practice ever since, it would be found in that precedent which appears in the Journals of this House of the 3d day of November, 1692, under the reign of that glorious and immortal Prince King William III. the great deliverer of these kingdoms, and the constant and magnanimous asserter and preserver of the civil and religious rights of mankind.

The Lord Chancellor then, by his Excellency's command, delivered the said Protest to the Clerk of the Parliaments, which he read at the table, and is as follows, viz.

TOWNSHEND.

Whereas at a Parliament holden at Drogheda, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry VII. an Act was made for and concerning the order, manner and form of Parliaments, to be holden and kept in this realm of Ireland ; and by another Act made at a Parliament holden at Dublin in the 3d and 4th years of King Philip and Queen Mary, it was ordained, enacted, and established, that no Parliament should be summoned or holden within this realm of Ireland, until such time as the Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Lord Justice, Lords Justices, Chief Governor or Governors, or any of them, and the council of this realm, for the time being, should have certified the King and Queen's Majesties, her heirs and successors, under the great seal of this realm of Ireland, the considerations, causes and articles of such Acts, provisions, and ordinances, as by them should be thought meet and necessary to be enacted and passed here by the Parliament, and should have received again their Majesties' answer, under the great seal of England, declaring their pleasures, either for passing the said acts, provisions, and ordinances, in the form and tenor as they should be sent into England, or else for the change or alteration of them, or any part of the same ; and that as well after every authority and licence, sent into this realm of Ireland, for summoning and holding a Parliament, as also at all times after the summons, and during the time of every Parliament, to be thereafter holden within this realm of Ireland, the Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Lord Justice, Lords Justices, Chief Governor or Chief Governors, and Council of this realm of Ireland, for the time being, should and might certify all such other considerations, causes, tenors, provisions and ordinances, as they should further think good to be enacted and established, at and in the said Parliament, to the King and Queen's Majesties, her heirs and successors, under the great seal of this realm of Ireland, and such considerations, causes, tenors, provisions and ordinances, or any of them, as should be thereupon certified and returned into this realm, under the great seal of England, and no others, should and might pass, and be enacted here in any such parliament within this said realm of Ireland, in case the same considerations, causes, tenors, provisions, and ordinances, or any of them, should be agreed or resolved on by the three estates of the said Parliament. And whereas in this present session of Parliament, a bill intituled, " An Act for granting to his majesty the several duties, rates, impositions and taxes therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the

discharge of the said principal sums in such manner as is therein directed," which had been certified by us, the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, and by the council of this kingdom, unto the King's Majesty, under the great seal of this kingdom; and by his Majesty approved of, and returned into this kingdom, under the great seal of Great Britain, and by us sent to the House of Commons to be considered of in this present Parliament; the said Commons, having the said bill before them, did read the said bill the first time on the 21st day of November last; and on the same 21st day of November, a motion being made in the said House, and the question put, "That the same bill be read a second time on the morrow morning:" it passed in the negative. And afterwards, on the same 21st day of November, another motion was made in the said House of Commons, and the question put, "That the same bill be rejected:" it passed in the affirmative. And afterwards, on the same 21st day of November, a motion was made in the said House of Commons, and the question put, "That the said bill is rejected because it did not take its rise in that House:" it was carried in the affirmative. And the said House of Commons thereupon, the same day, resolved, that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House. All which motions, questions, votes, resolutions and proceedings, appear to us in the Journals or Votes of the said House of Commons, printed and published by and under their order and authority; and which vote and resolution of the said House of Commons, declaring, that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House, do tend to exclude his Majesty and the crown of Great Britain from the right of transmitting any bills for granting to his Majesty and his successors, money or other aids, and are not consistent with, but contrary to the said recited acts of Parliament, and the usage and practice ever since the making thereof; and do, in effect, intrench upon his majesty's royal power and authority, and the just and undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain.

We therefore the said Lord Lieutenant, as well to assert the just rights of his Majesty and the crown of Great Britain (whereof we are, and ever will be most tender) in transmitting such bills under the great seal of Great Britain, to be considered of in Parliament, as to discharge the trust reposed in us, and prevent the inconveniences which may hereafter happen by the said vote and resolution of the House of Commons, declaring, that the said bill was rejected for the cause therein mentioned, being made public and remaining in their journals, without any contradiction or animadversion, have thought it necessary this day, in full Parliament to protest, and we do accordingly protest against the aforesaid vote and resolution of the said House of Commons, made and passed, declaring that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House, and appearing in their journals or votes. And we do

assert, protest and declare, that it is the just and undoubted right of his Majesty and of the crown of Great Britain, observing the forms in the said several acts prescribed, to transmit bills under the great seal of Great Britain, for granting of aids to his Majesty, his heirs and successors ; which said bill so transmitted, ought to be read and considered of by the House of Commons in this kingdom, without being rejected by the said House, on account only of their not taking their rise in that House ; and therefore the rejecting of the said bill because it did not take its rise in that House, and the said recited vote and resolutions of the said House of Commons, declaring, that the said bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House, are not consistent with, but contrary to, the acts of parliament herein before mentioned, and the practice and usage in all parliaments since the making thereof ; and also highly derogatory to his Majesty's royal authority and the rights of the crown Great of Britain.

After which the lord chancellor, by his excellency's further command, said :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the 20th day of March next, to be then here held ; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 20th day of March next.

No. LXI. a.

PROTEST OF FIVE LORDS AGAINST THE LORD LIEUTENANT'S
RIGHT OF PROTESTING.....PAGE 125.

MOTION being made, that the speaker of this house be desired to direct that no protest of any person whomsoever, who is not a lord of parliament, and a member of this house, and which doth not respect a matter which had been previously in question before this house, and wherein the lord protesting had taken part with the minority either in person or by proxy, be entered in the journals of this house.

And a debate arising thereupon, the question was put, and the house divided :

The Earl of Drogheda reported, that the contents below the bar were 5 ; and the non-contents in the house were 30.

It passed in the negative.

Dissentient:

1. Because we conceive, that it is the sole and exclusive right and privilege of a lord of parliament and member of this house, to have his protest entered on the journals of this house: and that even a lord of parliament and member of this house cannot have his protest so entered, except upon a matter previously in question before this house, wherein the lord protesting took part with the minority, either in person or by proxy.

2. Because we conceive, that this regulation of the privilege of protesting, stands upon the same principle; in consequence of which, this privilege hath obtained among the lords, and not among the representatives of the people, the latter, we apprehend, are considered by the constitution, as actuated and justified by the sentiments of those whom they represent: whereas the lords, who act, not as deputies, but in their own right, are more personally responsible for their conduct to posterity. The practice of a permanent justification, also seems to have deemed a more necessary guard upon a body, whose power was permanent. Hence we conceive the privilege of protesting arose, that a lord against whom the majority had declared, might have an opportunity of vindicating himself to future times, which the original custom of inserting the name of each lord on the journals, with the part he had taken in the question rendered more unnecessary: and we therefore apprehend, as it would be absurd for a lord to justify his conduct where he had not acted, that the privilege of protesting had been by reason as well as by practice confined to cases, in which the lord protesting had taken a part, and in which, upon question, the majority had been on a different opinion.

3. Because we conceive, that the Earl of Strafford, who first attempted, and that but in a single instance, to enter his protest, as chief governor, upon the journals of this house, was a person of such an arbitrary spirit, and the times, in which he lived, of so bad example, and his said protest so informal and faulty in itself, that such his proceeding ought not to be considered as a precedent.

4. Because we apprehend, that the only subsequent instance, to wit, the protest of Lord Sydney, which was made in heat by that governor, whose conduct was disapproved on his recal to England, which soon followed, and founded upon the former example, which ought not to have been imitated, was still more irregular and improper, inasmuch as it related to a matter, which had never been before this house, and respected the privileges and proceedings of the other house of parliament.

5. Because we conceive it to be peculiarly necessary, at this time, to express our sentiments upon this subject, when we have

reason to apprehend, that it is intended, that a protest should be entered upon the journals of this house, relative to the proceedings and privileges of the other house of parliament in imitation of the last mentioned protest.

6. Because we apprehend, that we ought not to suffer this distinguished privilege of the lords to be invaded or assumed by any person, in whatever station. And that we ought particularly to resist any such attempt, when it may be to involve a breach of the privileges of the other house of parliament also, and may therefore be productive of dissension between the two houses.

Louth,
Charlemont,
Powerscourt,

Mountmorres,
Longford.

No. LXII. a.

PROTEST OF SIXTEEN LORDS AGAINST THE ENTRY OF THE
LORD LIEUTENANT'S PROTEST ON THE JOURNALS....P. 135.

Dissentient,

1. BECAUSE we conceive, that by the entering of the lord lieutenant's protest upon the journals of this house, at the close of the last session, the privileges of this house, and the constitutional rights of the peerage, have been most flagrantly infringed and violated; and that therefore the earliest opportunity should be seized of vindicating the rights and privileges of the peerage, and of wiping away the affront, which this house has received therein, by expunging from its journals this matter of offence which has been unwarrantably and illegally obtruded upon them.

2. Because we conceive, that the above mentioned protest contains in it matter in the highest degree illegal and unconstitutional, inasmuch as it claims a right, and presumes to animadvert upon some proceedings of the lower house of parliament. Now we are bold to assert, that whenever any one branch of the legislature shall arrogate a right to animadvert upon either of the other two branches, the branch of the legislature so subject to animadversion would instantly cease to be part of the supreme power; the balance of the constitution would be overturned, and that branch in which this jurisdiction resided, would be completely sovereign; a supposition, which

is equally abhorrent to the spirit and to the letter of the constitution.

3. Because we conceive, that this house hath and ought to have the sole and exclusive dominion over its own journals, in like manner as the commons have over theirs ; and that the lord lieutenant hath no more right to order an entry to be made upon our journals than he hath to order an entry to be made upon the journals of the commons ; and we conceive, that as the crown, though a branch of the legislature, is no estate of parliament, therefore the crown or its representative, can have no jurisdiction over the journals of the estates of parliament, which are the records of the proceedings of the deliberative branches of the legislature, whereof the crown is not one. And we are the more confirmed in this opinion, by reflecting, that there is not a single instance even in the most arbitrary times, of such a power being claimed or exercised by the crown, in Great Britain, over the journals of the British peers. We apprehend also, that no matter can with propriety be entered upon the journals of this house, without the leave of this house previously had or implied, as is clearly evinced by the constant practice of reading the minutes by the clerk before the house is adjourned, in order that every peer may have an opportunity of preventing any thing improper from being entered upon the journals. Now on the last day of the last session, no such opportunity was given, the reading of the minutes having been prevented by the prorogation.

4. Because, though it hath been asserted, that the journals of this house, being public records, it is improper that any alteration should be made therein: we are of opinion, that this maxim extends only to the judicial proceedings of this house, not seeing that in other instances there is any reason to distinguish between the journals of this house and those of the other house of parliament, from which matters have frequently been expunged: As it is also notorious, that matters, not of a judicial nature, have frequently been expunged from the journals of the House of Lords of Great Britain. Indeed, were it otherwise, the speaker or even the clerk of this house, or any indifferent person, who might however irregularly get access to the journal book, might insert therein matter of the most criminal import, amounting even to the crime of treason ; and it would be a strange solecism to say, that such insertion must for ever remain, to the disgrace of this house, without any power in us to expunge and purge away such obnoxious matter.

5. Because it hath been declared to be a high breach of the privileges of parliament, that the crown should take notice of

the proceedings of either house of parliament, unless the same shall be regularly laid before it; a circumstance, in which we conceive, that the protest of Lord Strafford, however in all other respects irregular and unconstitutional, hath the advantage over those of Lord Sydney and of our present chief governor.

6. Because we think this entry peculiarly improper, inasmuch as the viceroy hath therein, by a breach of the privileges of this house, made our journals the instrument of a breach of the privileges of the other house of parliament, a practice which, if not discountenanced by us, might probably end in a rupture between the two houses.

Leinster, by proxy,
Westmeath,
Lanesborough,
Shannon,
Lisle,
Mornington,
Powerscourt,
Charlemont,
Baltinglass,

Moir, by proxy,
Longford,
Mountcashel,
Knapton,
Louth,
Bellamont,
Bective,
Molesworth.

No. LXIII. *a*.

THE CATHOLIC'S TEST OF ALLEGIANCE PRESCRIBED BY 13TH
AND 14TH GEO. III. C. XXXV.....PAGE 149.

I *A. B.* do take Almighty God and his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign lord King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the life time of his father, and who since his death is said to have assumed the style and title of king of Great Britain and

Ireland, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms; and I do swear, that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being Heretics; and also, that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with Heretics; I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet, any such opinion, or any other opinion, contrary to what is expressed in this declaration; and I do declare, that I do not believe, that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and I do solemnly in the presence of God, and of his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the pope or authority of the see of Rome, or any other person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

So help me God.

No. LXIV. *a*.

FROM THE DEBATES IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

[PAGE 166.]

AS soon as the ceremony of swearing in the re-elected and new members was over,

Colonel Luttrell rose, and reminded the house, that, previous to the recess, he had expressed a desire to say something relative to the very critical situation of Ireland; and that he had

been prevented from indulging that desire by a request from an honourable member (Mr. Byng), that he would not introduce any question upon so important a subject in the absence of his majesty's ministers, who having been at that time just appointed, had vacated their seats in that house, and consequently could not be present at the discussion of a subject, which he owned ought not to be agitated without them: that the same honourable member had requested he would speak to them, before he should say any thing relative to Ireland in that house; and assured him at the same time, that he would find the new servants of the crown most ready to do every thing in their power to promote the welfare and happiness of every part of his majesty's dominions.

He had given way to the desire of the honourable member, and had conferred with two of the new ministers, and he felt himself bound to say publicly of them that he found them extremely well disposed to do every thing in reason to quiet the discontents of the people of Ireland; as far as they were concerned he was satisfied; but as he then saw in his place a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Eden) who knew best the situation of Ireland, he certainly wished that before his return the right honourable gentleman would explain to the house, a little of the present posture of affairs in that kingdom.

Mr. Eden thought that in a situation, such as Ireland then stood, the eyes of men were turned upon him, who being a member of the legislature of that kingdom, as well as of this, and at the same time in a ministerial capacity in the former, must be supposed to be well acquainted with the nature of the jealousies and demands of the people of Ireland: he presumed that it would be expected of him to say something of affairs in which he himself had borne a part; and to propose some measure, which should tend to conciliation with Ireland, in the present very alarming situation of that kingdom; it was his intention therefore, before he should sit down, to make a motion on that subject; but first he thought it would be proper to give a short sketch of the history of Irish affairs for the last two years.

(As the public are acquainted with all the political facts that have occurred in Ireland during that period, we shall not enter into them so minutely as Mr. Eden did; we shall therefore only state the general heads, and the observations that he made on them.)

He said, that, when the acts passed in England for enlarging the trade of Ireland, and admitting that kingdom to an equal participation of trade with England, the people of the former, instead of being filled with gratitude for the blessing which had been just extended to them, began to be jealous, lest they should lose that blessing which they prized so much; and, seeing be-

fore them the bright prospect which a free trade opened to their view, their first sentiment was fear, that, at some future period, the same power, which had conferred, might resume that grant : and some circumstances occurred, which tended greatly to encrease the fears of the people on this head ; for in the very next session of the English parliament, Ireland was mentioned in four different acts ; so that the Irish were thereby alarmed, lest the power which assumed a right to bind Ireland, even after a free trade had been granted to her, might, when the circumstances of affairs would warrant such a proceeding, resort back again to that commercial monopoly, which had just been broken ; and they then began to look into their own constitution. It was true, that those four acts, in which Ireland was bound, were not of a nature to afford grounds for any such apprehension ; for they related to very trifling matters, no ways injurious, one of which, on the contrary, was beneficial to Ireland ; but still they created jealousies, and gave rise to many arguments in the Irish House of Commons, where Mr. Grattan had formerly complained of them, as subversive of the constitutional independence, as it was called, of the parliament of Ireland. The volunteers all complained of them ; and when he mentioned the volunteers, he might be said to mention the whole nation, which, as with one voice, maintained that no power on earth had a right to legislate for Ireland, but the king and parliament of Ireland. In speaking of the volunteers, he must take that opportunity, he said, to bear his public testimony to their steady loyalty, and attachment to Great Britain ; and their constant declarations, that the enemies of England should be the enemies of Ireland ; but it was not by words only or professions, that they manifested their loyalty ; they proved it by their deeds ; and when the combined fleets threatened the country with an invasion, it was impossible to describe with what alacrity and spirit they made a tender of their services to the lord lieutenant ; and this too without any previous communication among themselves, or concert whatsoever : for their noble and generous behaviour at that alarming moment, his excellency has thought it necessary to express his acknowledgments to them from the throne. Previous to that session, the volunteers, without marking any disposition to those measures, which they had since adopted, were harmlessly amusing themselves with reviews, and military parade ; and such an opposition was expected in parliament, as every free government would wish to see formed, as such a constitutional opposition must necessarily make ministers more watchful, and attentive to their duty. When the session was opened, various were the questions introduced into the House of Commons, which he had not been able to approve, and which appearing to a majority of the house,

in the same light as they did to him, he had been able to postpone: one was for a declaration of the rights of Ireland; another respecting the mutiny-bill; a third for a bill to quiet the proprietors, who held estates in Ireland, under British acts of parliament. All these measures had appeared to the majority of the house, as very inexpedient; but still he must observe, that even the majority which had supported him, were friends to the principle of every one of these questions; and therefore they were only postponed and got rid of by the previous question; but not rejected: At length, a gentleman of very great character and abilities (Mr. Yelverton) wishing to steer a middle course, to satisfy the demands of the volunteers, respecting a declaration of rights, and at the same time to prevent the mischiefs or at least the inconveniences, which might flow from such declaration, unqualified, and untempered, had brought in a bill for enacting into laws in Ireland, several statutes, which had been made in England: in this bill he himself had taken no active part; but he would say thus much of it, that it had his most hearty concurrence. As this bill would certainly obviate the principal inconveniences, that would otherwise result from a declaration of what the people of Ireland called their rights, and as he saw plainly, that such a declaration could no longer be opposed with success, he would now give way to necessity, and no longer oppose himself to such a measure; for in the present state and disposition of Ireland, he would assure the house, that they might as well strive to make the Thames flow up Highgate-hill, as to attempt to legislate for Ireland, which would no longer submit to any legislature but its own. What use the Irish would make of their legislative independence, he could not tell; but if he could bring himself to think, that they would avail themselves of it in making any foreign connections, injurious to the trade or interest of this kingdom, he was free to say, that sooner than agree to such an independence, England ought to risque a good deal. But he believed a sensible, judicious people, like the Irish, would always see that the interests of both kingdoms were so connected, that they could not be separated without the greatest loss to both; and therefore he trusted, that the Irish would never attempt to break the connection; he trusted also, that they would adopt, from time to time, such laws of this country, as it would be for the interest of both should be in force in both kingdoms, and as no Irish bill could pass into law, without the previous consent of the king, in his council of England, so there was no danger that the independence of the legislature of Ireland could be made use of to make laws injurious to the sister kingdom, the English council being responsible for every advice they gave their sovereign.

Exclusive of the declaration of rights, the volunteers, or in another word, Ireland, had called for an habeas corpus act, which as it was proper she should have, had not been opposed; and now it was part of the law of Ireland. They had called also for an act to make the judges independent of the crown, by making them hold their commissions *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; this was a reasonable demand, and had consequently been complied with; for a bill was brought in to that effect; and it was now in its progress through parliament. An alteration of the mutiny bill was another thing which they looked for; he must needs say, he could not see the danger, which the enemies to what was called the perpetual clause in that bill, apprehended from it; however, as he made no doubt but the people of Ireland would be ready to adopt such regulations as the parliament of England might from time to time make for the army, so he flattered himself that the ground of apprehension, lest the regulations in England and Ireland for the army should be different, would be removed: he saw no reason, why the wishes of the latter should be any longer opposed on this head; nay, he thought they ought not to be opposed, since new jealousies had lately been excited on that subject by a transaction in England. It was understood in Ireland that the name of that kingdom should no longer be inserted in the English mutiny bill; and still, when that bill was brought in, the word Ireland, as usual, stood part of it: It had indeed been since struck out, and the bill passed without it; but the minds of the volunteers were not easy on the subject. A modification of Poyning's law was another object, which the Irish had greatly at heart: On that he would not enlarge; but gentlemen would see that it should be granted; England had nothing to fear from the increased power of the Irish parliament, as the consent of the king would still be necessary to sanctify all their acts.

Having made these, and various other observations, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 6th of George I. as asserted a right in the king and parliament of Great Britain to make laws to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland. He did not wish to precipitate matters; but gentlemen must see the necessity of doing something speedily, and without the loss of a moment, to prevent those consequences, which it was not for him so much as to think of: they all knew that the parliament of Ireland was to meet to-morrow se'night, and Mr. Grattan would on that day propose to the House of Commons, a vote for a declaration of rights. Would it not therefore, says he, be expedient to anticipate the wishes of Ireland on that head; and, to convince her of our sincere intention, give her every security in our power for the permanency of her constitution, and of that trade, which she is so anxious to

preserve? As for himself, he must set out on his return for Ireland, either that night or to-morrow morning, and he should be happy to have it in his power to carry over with him the agreeable tidings, that the parliament of England was ready to give the Irish every satisfaction they could reasonably require.

He did not desire that the bill which he moved for should be immediately passed; all he looked for was a kind of pledge from that house to carry over with him to Ireland, that the English parliament would not oppose the favourite wish and determined resolution of the Irish: the bill might lie over, until it should be known whether it would satisfy the Irish parliament or not: if it should, then it might be passed into a law; if the partial repeal he proposed should not please the Irish, then he would advise the total repeal of the 6th of George I. But if neither partial nor total repeal would satisfy them, then he certainly should leave the law, as it now stood, without any alteration whatever.

Mr. Courtenay rose, and said he would second the motion; Lord Newhaven rose to do the same thing, and Colonel Luttrell was not willing to give up the point to either of them. After some dispute for the priority in speaking, the chair decided in favour of Lord Newhaven, who said that no man was less connected with the present administration than he was; and yet he thought it would have been proper to have given the new administration a little more time to turn their thoughts to the affairs of Ireland: however, as the motion had been made, he rose to give it his most hearty support: because he was perfectly satisfied that the measure was now become absolutely necessary.

Colonel Luttrell said, that when he rose to second the motion, it was under the idea, that such a measure as was then proposed, would give general satisfaction to Ireland; if he thought it would not, he certainly would not second such a motion; because he would not consent to the repeal of the 6th of George I. unless in case of such emergency as the present, when he thought by such a repeal, he might quiet the minds and conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; and therefore he called upon the right honourable gentleman, who made the motion, to tell the house, whether he thought such a measure as he had just proposed, would produce the salutary effect that was expected from it.

Mr. Eden could not undertake to say, that the measure proposed would give complete satisfaction to Ireland; and therefore would not pledge himself, that it would; but he knew that so critical was the situation of that country at present, that if the motion then before the house should be rejected, he would not answer for the consequences. The speaker read the motion from the chair.

M. Secretary Fox then rose, and claimed the attention of the house in a particular degree. He said he never was more astonished than at the proceedings of the house upon that day, and at the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had acted. For first an honourable gentleman had risen, and restated to the house what he had mentioned before the recess, without making any motion whatever, relating merely the circumstances of the country of Ireland, and the necessity that there was for serious and speedy measures being adopted for quieting the jealousies subsisting in that kingdom. Upon this another right honourable gentleman, without any previous communication, or having consulted with any person whatever, rises up, and, after many observations on the circumstances and state of the kingdom of Ireland, concludes with a motion for declaring Ireland to be totally independent of the legislature of Great Britain. The right honourable gentleman said, he hoped it would not be expected that he should give an answer to all the observations that had been made; they had been truly curious; and especially as they were thrown out, and the house moved upon the very day when the new servants of the king met the representatives of the people in parliament, and before they could have it in their power to propose any measure whatever with respect to Ireland. The hurry of the right honourable gentleman was such, that he came down to the house, and moved this proposition, which was to divide the kingdom of Ireland from the legislature of Great Britain, without giving his majesty's ministers any time to act in their new situation, or come to parliament with such plans as would in their opinion quiet the disturbances, and restore harmony to both nations. The right honourable gentleman had come over from Ireland to this country; and it was no secret that he had brought with him a letter of resignation from the lord lieutenant. His majesty's ministers had scarcely done reading that letter, when they received another from the right honourable gentleman himself, informing them that he declined communicating to the confidential servants of the crown any knowledge which he might possess relative to the circumstances and state of Ireland, to tell them any facts, or to state any opinion upon them whatever. In the letter of resignation the Earl of Carlisle had said, that he did not give any account of the situation of the kingdom of Ireland, because his right honourable secretary was coming to England, who would be able to give them the most complete information of every particular. But the right honourable secretary chose to withhold this information from his majesty's ministers, and to come to this house without communicating with any one, without taking any advice, and without giving any time to the new ministers to move for a repeal of the 6th

of George I. He had believed that the purpose of the right honourable gentleman's visit to this country, was to give his majesty's ministers that information, for which the lord lieutenant referred them in his letter of resignation; but now the true purpose of his journey was discovered. It was not to give information to government, but to come to that house, and, on the first day after the recess, to make a most unseasonable and unwise motion, which, he no doubt imagined would considerably embarrass the king's servants. If this were the sort of opposition, which they were to meet with in that house, he had too good an opinion of the candour of parliament to fear it.

The disposition of the king's ministers towards Ireland, he believed, was sufficiently understood; and that disposition which they had expressed, when out of office he sincerely believed they would now maintain, and would take the speediest and most likely means of giving complete satisfaction to the people of Ireland. The motion came with singularity from the right honourable gentleman, who was one of those persons who had constantly talked in such high language of "the unity of the British dominions," and who thought proper to resist every claim that was made both by the people of Ireland and the people of America to that just liberty, and those rights and privileges they inherited under the constitution. If the administration, of which he had been a member and a partisan, had been as ready to yield to the pretensions of Ireland, when those pretensions were conveyed in terms of most respectful regard, the house would not have been insulted on that day with a motion from one of the men who had constantly and uniformly denied every request, and withheld every boon that was either sought or wished for by our sister kingdom. But the right honourable gentleman seemed yet to have the principles of his late friends, and to act entirely upon their plan; he seemed to wish to divide the two kingdoms; and like them, after talking of the unity of the British dominion, to strive to dismember the British empire. He had come post from Ireland for the purpose, as it should seem, of moving this repeal of the 6th of George I. in the House of Commons; and this he thought it his duty to do, though he did not conceive it to be his duty to give any account to government of the state and condition of Ireland. The nature of his journey was now perfectly manifest. He had come in this very great hurry....had contrived to come on the very first day of the meeting after the recess....on the very first day of the ministers taking their seats in the house....to propose a thing which demanded the most serious enquiry, the most deliberate investigation, that the wisdom of this country and of Ireland could give it. If his late friends had had a twentieth part of his hurry, if they had had a twentieth part of his

present disposition to yield to the requisitions of Ireland, we should not now be brought to the distress in which we are at this moment. If the late ministry had conceded when they might concede with grace, if they had given an extension of commerce, as was the right of Ireland, as well as it was for the benefit of England, when that extension was decently called for, and they had taken that occasion finally to settle the relative situation of the two countries, it might have been done without difficulties, and all our present embarrassment, with its consequences, would have been avoided. But they never looked beyond the present instant, they never provided for what was to come, they did things neither effectually or finally, and the right honourable gentleman seemed still to partake of the same quality; for he was only inclined to do one thing, without taking time to consider, or seeming to care whether what he did would be sufficient, whether it were all they desired, and whether, when they had procured the repeal of one part of the act of the 6th George I. they would not afterwards think that the other parts of that act should also be repealed. He was sincerely of opinion, that this was not the way of settling the jealousies, or of restoring tranquillity to Ireland. His majesty's ministers, he could assure the house, had not lost a moment in bringing forward the subject. Out of the short time that they had been in office, they had employed a considerable part on the affairs of Ireland. He wished to God that their predecessors had been as active, and that they had lost as little time as those who were now entrusted with the government of this country. If the right honourable gentleman had given the proper communications to government, perhaps the ministers would have been prepared this day to have brought forward a proposition; as it was, he could say, that before many days elapsed, before many hours, the subject would come before the house in a regular way. His majesty's ministers, when out of office, declared their opinion with respect to the claims of Ireland. They had said, that those restrictions, with regard to commerce, under which they laboured, were exceedingly impolitic as well as cruel; and that it would be for the benefit of England as well as of Ireland, that there should be such an extension of trade, and such settlement of connection, as would quiet the jealousies of the one, without hurting the interest, or lowering the rank of the other. It was therefore to be presumed, at least, that they would act up to their former declarations; he sincerely believed that they would do so; and he could assure the house, for his own part, that he was entirely disposed to heal the sore minds of our fellow-subjects, and to prevent the unhappy consequences of division and tumult.

The right honourable gentleman had talked of the measures of the volunteer army in Ireland, during the last summer, as a matter of diversion and amusement. This was language which he confessed he did not expect to hear. He should not have been surprised if the right honourable gentleman had said of them, that their measures were alarming to the government of Ireland; it might have been said with truth, that they had been conducted with bravery; perhaps that they originated in necessity; certainly in the love of their country, in virtue, and in the support of their independence, as a people: but that the secretary to the lord lieutenant, and one of the ministers of the kingdom, should talk of their measures as a matter of diversion and amusement, was beyond all the absurdity that he had ever heard. The right honourable gentleman had said, that the opposition which the government of Ireland had met with, was that sort of opposition which a government would always choose to have. Was it so? Was an opposition composed of all the integrity, the talents, and the respect of a country, such as a ministry would choose to meet with? An opposition composed of a Charlemont, a Grattan, a Burgh, a Yelverton, a Flood, &c. was not to be wished for by any ministry, who desired to stand well with their country. The Lord preserve him from such an opposition! He would not wish to be the minister who proposed measures, which such men as those must in their hearts oppose. The right honourable gentleman had, by a strange mode of reasoning, called the administration of the Earl of Carlisle fortunate and successful. Fortunate and successful surely must that administration be, which concludes with a motion from the secretary for reducing this country to conditional submission, and humbling her at the feet of Ireland! Fortunate and successful must that administration have been, when the secretary, after opposing every claim that is made, comes over post, and declares, that all his opposition is fruitless, and that the requisition must be complied with! Fortunate and successful surely the administration of the Earl of Carlisle could not be called; but in denying that the noble lord had been successful in his administration, he by no means intended to say, that he was to blame. He believed it was the fault of the late ministers of this empire, whose total inattention to the affairs of that kingdom, had made a part of that system of negligence and lethargy which prevailed throughout. He had always thought, that the affairs of this country under their management had suffered most materially; that they had taken away the pride which was natural to Britain, and had brought us into most alarming circumstances. But within the last fortnight he had received such additional information, and such insight into the affairs of that country, that all his former conjectures were now ripened into complete judgments; all his former apprehensions were most

alarmingly increased, and he found that our situation was much worse even than he dreaded. Bad as he always thought those ministers were, he had never believed them to be so inattentive, so remiss, or so totally careless of every thing that regarded the interests of their country, as he had found them. He trusted, that the present servants of the crown would think it their duty to make up a state of the affairs of the country as they found them at this time, and lay it before parliament for their information. This was a digression which the house would pardon. It was, however, not totally foreign from the question; for their neglect of the affairs of Ireland was one of the most material parts of their guilt.

The right honourable gentleman said, that he trusted in the candour of the house for the confidence which they would have in the intentions of his majesty's ministers towards Ireland; and that they would believe, that they meant and wished most ardently to bring the matter forward in the most speedy manner. He would again assure them, that it had always been his political sentiments, that it was unjust and tyrannical to attempt to hold a country in subjection, and to govern against the will and opinion of the people. It had always been his sentiment with regard to America as well as to Ireland, that they could not, much less ought not to be governed by laws which they rejected as unconstitutional. All just government must consist in the perfect consent, good will and opinion of the people; it was the best and purest system of government, where harmony prevailed; and without it, it was not government, but usurpation. This was always his idea on the subject, and he maintained it in opposition to all theories of men, because it was the only system, which in the end was practicable. It was certainly the most consistent with true policy, as well as justice. To bring about a *final* settlement of the dispute between Great Britain and Ireland; to state and precisely to declare, not for a moment, but for ever, what was the relative situation of the two countries with respect to each other; to take in and conclude all points of difference, and to establish such a system of connection, intimacy and relation between them, as should be immediately and permanently for the interest of both, would require much discussion, and a considerable deal of time; for both countries must come to the discussion of the great and important subject, that by mutual consent it might be settled for ages, and not, as had been the conduct of the late ministers, sear up the wound for a moment, without completing the cure. When those ministers agreed to the extension of the trade of Ireland, they should have ultimately settled the claims and fixed the situation. They failed to do this at the proper time, and they ought to answer for it to their country. That measures, however, would be

taken for accomplishing this desirable end, he might safely assure the house. He thought that deceit was always pernicious, and he wished to speak with as much openness and information as the nature of his office could justify. He would, therefore, move for the order of the day, as the best means of postponing the motion of the right honourable gentleman. He wished for this to give time to the king's servants to determine with precision on the plan to be offered to both countries; and he had the utmost reason to hope and believe, that the matter would be finally settled without any of those consequences, which the conduct of the right honourable gentleman in this business had been calculated to produce. He wished, he confessed, that the right honourable gentleman would withdraw his motion, as the best means; and by which an honourable friend of his, Mr. Crewe, would be able to move for leave to bring in a bill, which he had introduced some years ago, for disqualifying excise and custom-house officers from voting at elections. This was a part of the plan, which had been formed when they were out-of office, for reforming the constitution of parliament, and which they seriously meant to undertake now with the same zeal and attention as before. Not a day would be lost until the task of reducing the improper influence of the crown, and settling the representation of the people upon more equal grounds, was fulfilled. The right honourable gentleman, had said, that his opposition to the various motions that had been made in the Irish House of Commons had been supported by great majorities. He said, that he wished these majorities had been less: it was the greatness of these majorities, and the manner, in which they were constituted, that had given offence and jealousy to the people of Ireland. They, no doubt, desired to see a free representation, declaring honestly their voice in the senate. To correct the abuses in influence and representation, would be the steady endeavours of his majesty's ministers. He concluded with moving for the order of the day; this he would not have done upon any other account, than that the motion was of such a sort, and came at such a time; but he hoped, that the right honourable gentleman would yet withdraw it.

Mr. Eden rose to explain what he meant by saying the opposition to government in Ireland was such, as no person need be fearful of; it was not to infer, that they were men of no respect or talents, but that they were men of such moderation, that no fear was to be apprehended from them. With respect to the volunteers taking up arms as amusement, they certainly did so at first, and at the same time with a laudable zeal to protect the country from the danger of an invasion, which was said to threaten it; but that amusement had grown into a formidable

body of men, who seemed determined to have a total repeal of the declaratory law, without properly weighing, whether it would not be in some measure detrimental to them. He mentioned again, that he should leave England to-morrow; and was fearful, that if the motion were not carried into execution, notwithstanding what the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had said of the intentions of government, it would be too late.

Lord Mahon said, he thought it extremely indecent for the right honourable gentleman, who spoke last, to bring in the motion, as he had refused giving his majesty's ministers the information respecting Ireland, that it was his duty to have done. His lordship read the preamble of the act 6th George I. which asserted, that the reason of its being made, was the abuse of power committed by the House of Peers of Ireland. The declaration of the right honourable secretary (Mr. Fox) had been such, he said, as ought to appear fully sufficient, that it was their intention to take up the business with all possible dispatch.

Colonel Luttrell said, he hoped that he stood free from any censure in the business; that the sole reason of his calling on the right honourable gentleman, was from a certainty, that, as he was just arrived from that kingdom, he could be able to give the house much information on the state of affairs; that he was himself at first much inclined to second the motion; but as the right honourable secretary (Mr. Fox), had so openly declared that councils had already been held, and that every consideration possible was meant to be given to the business, he thought it would be best for the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Eden), on his return to Ireland, to state fairly to the house, that the present ministry had fully declared their intentions of redressing the grievances complained of, and to desire they would postpone their decision for a short time, until they saw what ministers did do on the subject.

Lord Newhaven said, he by no means would wish to embarrass government; that he believed the right honourable secretary on the treasury bench was sincere in his declarations; yet he was fearful of an impression going over to Ireland, that we had rejected the offer of repealing the act complained of in the motion.

The Right Hon. General Conway owned himself surprised that any person, who was a servant of the public, (for as such he undoubtedly considered the Irish secretary), should dare to withhold information from his majesty's ministers, because they were not a set of men that were favourable to the wretched system that had occasioned the dispute of the present hour. Since the new ministers had come into place, no time had been lost

in thinking of the most speedy and effectual means of quieting the troubles that unfortunately raged in Ireland; no less than three or four cabinet councils had been held solely on that business; and the new appointed lord lieutenant would be empowered with such terms, as he trusted would establish a firm and happy union between the two countries, which were so inseparably connected together by every tie of interest. It was extremely indecent in the right honourable gentleman who moved the business, to bring the matter on in the manner he had, without ever hinting the least idea to any of his majesty's ministers of his intention, or knowing whether ministers did not intend themselves to move something similar to it.

Mr. Eden said, he found it absolutely necessary to declare the whole of his transactions since he came to England. He arrived in town on Thursday last, he said, with a letter of Lord Carlisle's resignation, and was surprised to find that a new lord-lieutenant had been appointed in his stead, two days previous to his arrival, by which it might possibly happen, that his Grace the Duke of Portland would be the messenger of his own appointment: that treatment he thought extremely indecent: it was not using Lord Carlisle well, to recal him without any notice, or alleging any fault against him; making no more ceremony in the removal of him, (although business of the kingdom might materially require his attendance,) than they would in the removal of a chancellor of the dutchy court of Lancaster, or any other sinecure place. He likewise found on his arrival, that the lord-lieutenancy of the East-Riding of Yorkshire, was also taken from his lordship: he looked on that as an additional insult offered to his lordship; and he had therefore determined to hold no conference with men, that had treated the noble earl in such an unprecedented manner. He had offered to wait on any of the ministry that wished to see him; but he had undoubtedly declined giving his opinion on any point whatever.

Mr. Secretary Fox said, with the right honourable gentleman's leave, he would read his own letter, which he did, stating his reason for not giving them any information on account of his thinking Lord Carlisle ill treated. It was extremely curious, he said, that the right honourable gentleman should think Lord Carlisle ill treated, by a successor being appointed, when he had written home a positive and unconditional letter of resignation. He had the honour, he said, to be well acquainted with Lord Carlisle, and was certain that he was possessed of too much sense to think himself ill treated in his resignation being accepted. With respect to the Marquis of Carmarthen being restored to the lord-lieutenancy of the East-Riding of Yorkshire, it was a measure so proper, that he should have thought himself no ways fit for the trust reposed in him, if he had ne-

glected one moment after he came into office, to reinstate that nobleman in a post of honour, which had been shamefully taken from him, on account of his giving a free and honest vote in the house of Peers. The Duke of Portland, who was to succeed Lord Carlisle, would, he trusted, have power to form a strong and permanent union, so essential to the interest of both kingdoms, and which would, in his opinion, be far better than a hasty, undigested motion, artfully introduced to seek a little popularity, although the honourable gentleman had disclaimed any such idea.

Mr. Martin, and Lord George Cavendish, jun. held nearly the same language.

Mr. T. Pitt could scarcely recover from his astonishment, that any man, a servant of the public, should dare to refuse giving every information in his power, when called upon by his majesty's ministers; nor was he able to express sufficiently his indignation at finding a member of that house introduce so slightly a motion of so much consequence, that upon it might depend the salvation of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Burke adverted to the arduous situation of the new ministers, when so many objects presented themselves to their consideration; the state of America, of Ireland, of our finances, &c. The motion before the house went, in some measure, to tear asunder the connection between England and Ireland, and yet the house was to be hurried into a decision in a moment upon a question of such magnitude: he would not give an opinion on the subject; he would not say whether the 6th of George I. ought, or ought not to be repealed; but he held that nothing could be more mad than to call upon parliament to proceed to such a measure in a moment, without giving time for any deliberation. He then mentioned the necessity of bringing in his own bill as soon as possible, for regulating his majesty's household.

General Conway once more called upon Mr. Eden to withdraw his motion; but not finding that gentleman willing to do it, he grew very warm, and said, that for having introduced such a question, he ought to have a motion passed upon himself..... Here there was a great cry of hear! hear! move! move!

Mr. Herbert said, he left Ireland about a twelvemonth since; that he was perfectly convinced the people of that country wanted nothing more than their rights; and as he was thoroughly convinced his majesty's ministers were sincere in their declarations, he thought the right honourable gentleman's motion quite unreasonable.

The Secretary at War (Mr. T. Townshend), begged the house would recollect, that in every business where Ireland was concerned, he had uniformly been an advocate for that country;

and if the late wicked ministry had listened to the prayers of the different petitions from that kingdom, the present alarming crisis had never happened. He had, he said, as high an opinion of the honour of Lord Carlisle as any man breathing, and stood up for his honour as much as his secretary had done ; his abilities were such as required but little help ; they would always shine forth and shew themselves. His lordship, he was confident, would not approve of the conduct of his secretary, in withholding his knowledge of the state of Ireland from the present ministry, on account of any little paltry personal grievance. His lordship, he was certain, did not resign on purpose to be pressed to stay ; he was a nobleman that would despise such conduct, and would not suffer himself to be made the cat's paw of his secretary, or any other man breathing.

The motion to-day, he said, so far from being meant as a conciliatory measure, was intended as a fire-brand, to kindle and stir up the flame between the two countries, by first proposing a thing, which it was impossible gentlemen could instantly decide on, and then threatening, that if it were not instantly complied with, he should be obliged to acquaint the House of Commons of Ireland, that it had been rejected. He advised the right honourable gentleman to withdraw his motion, and not trouble the house to divide.

Mr. Baker said, he wondered at the learned gentleman's declaration, that there was no difference between withdrawing a motion, or getting rid of it by reading the order of the day. That learned gentleman was capable of seeing and making proper distinctions if he chose it, he was therefore not a little surprised to hear him argue in so unaccountable and extraordinary a manner. He expressed his doubts whether Mr. Eden would make a fair representation of that day's debate in Ireland.

The Speaker called Mr. Baker to order, and said, no member could consistently with the rules of the house, argue in that manner of another member's fairness.

Mr. Baker said, he spoke of Mr. Eden as a minister, and not as a private man. In the latter capacity, from early habits of friendship and intimacy, he had a great respect and esteem for him ; but though he wished him personally no ill-will whatever, he thought a motion of censure necessary, if the motion were not withdrawn.

Mr. Courtney said, that no man in the house listened with more pleasure than he did, to the just and liberal sentiments of the right honourable gentleman on the floor, (Mr. Fox), as declaratory of the wise and generous system of policy meant to be pursued, by the present administration, in respect to Ireland. Yet he was extremely concerned and surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman assert, that the present motion (if come

into), would be equivalent to unconditional submission from his country, and a relinquishment of all her rights over Ireland.

He said, he little expected such a construction from the right honourable gentleman. Unconditional submission was a term often and justly stigmatized by the right honourable gentleman himself in respect to America, and which he never expected to have heard in a debate, in relation to Ireland. No man in that house hated the term more than he did. The people of Ireland were too generous, too spirited, and felt too much for the honour of this country, to expect or demand such a humiliation from Great Britain.

He declared, that from his present correspondence with gentlemen, with whom he had the honour of serving, and who now served in the volunteer corps, and who would be found ready at every hazard, with temper, but with firmness, to maintain their just right, he found the general opinion of the people to be, that nothing but a repeal of the exceptionable part of the 6th of George I. which was stated with so much accuracy, and pressed with so friendly a zeal to Ireland, could ever allay the jealousies of that country, and totally efface all apprehensions at the overbearing authority of Great Britain. This, he observed, was the well-weighed and settled opinion of men, to whose animated and generous exertion it was owing that Ireland was at this day a part of the British empire; that nothing was so dangerous as provoking men, who, by their uniform and loyal conduct for a series of years, had shewn themselves slow to anger; and who had connected a due execution of the laws, and maintenance of the internal civil police of the country, with those constitutional principles of liberty, which they were determined to support.

He added, that if it were not presumption to suppose, that the opinion of an individual could add weight to that of a whole nation, he should not scruple to assert, that what the honourable gentleman had declared to be the claims of Ireland, were perfectly reasonable and well founded; and as an evidence that these were his real sentiments, he pledged himself on all occasions, as well as the present, to second the same, or even a more comprehensive motion, to ascertain and establish clearly, and beyond all possibility of doubt, the just and constitutional rights of Ireland.

He said, he would not enter into a formal discussion of the right of judication in the House of Lords in England, that not being the direct object of the honourable gentleman's motion, though it had been incidentally introduced into the debate, further than to observe, that the assumed, jurisdiction of the English House of Lords over the courts of law in Ireland was

not in practice till long after the restoration, and then arose from necessity; for there was no parliament convened for many years, and consequently no House of Lords sitting: in order, therefore, that the subject might not be deprived of the right of appealing, it occasioned the necessity of allowing appeals to the House of Lords in England. So much, Mr. Courtenay said, he had remarked, in respect to that part of George I. which related to judicature: with regard to that part of it, which asserts the supremacy of the English over the Irish legislature, he should only observe, that clause was introduced unnecessarily, and was not called for by the preamble, the professed object of which was only to maintain that superintendant judicature of the House of Lords over the courts of justice in Ireland: but the act goes much beyond that point, when it maintains the supremacy of the legislature of this country over Ireland. In short, what the act professed to do is limited to the judicature; and what it enacts, is insidiously extended to the supremacy of one legislature over the other. Besides, he was surprised, that gentlemen seemed to consider their claim of exemption from the assumed control of that country, as a novelty, when, in fact, the Irish, whenever constitutional points were discussed, maintained their exemption from the British legislature, as their undoubted right; but having at that time only reason on their side, they submitted through necessity: at this auspicious period, however, when they not only had reason to support their claims, but volunteers to enforce them, they trusted, that by the united assistance of both, their loyal requisitions would be attended to, and their just rights established.

He declared he could not conclude without saying a word to the reprehension, which had been given to the honourable gentleman who had made the motion, as if it had arisen from personal pique and disappointment. He said, he was persuaded, the honourable gentleman had acted in England that day as he had acted in Ireland during the whole course of his administration, from a sincere anxiety to promote the happiness and welfare of both countries; and that it was from that conviction, and not from any concert or previous information he had taken the liberty of seconding the motion, of returning the honourable gentleman thanks for it; and of declaring, that whenever that motion should be made again, he would again do himself the honour to second it. He added, that so little was he acquainted with the intention of the honourable gentleman to move the present question, that he even apprehended the honourable gentleman had acted by the approbation, and in concert with the present administration. He was induced to believe this, by what the honourable gentleman had mentioned of the precipitate recal of Lord Carlisle, as he conceived, that

in order to give the noble lord credit and popularity on his recal, his secretary had been permitted to move for the repeal of acts, which would come as a general obliging condescension from this country, instead of superinducing a necessity in the Irish House of Commons to come to an explicit and strong resolution of what they and their constituents conceived to be their just, invariable, and constitutional rights.

He concluded with declaring, that in his earnest desire to second the motion, he had no other motive than zeal to promote a cordial conciliation between the two countries; and to remove for ever all cause of jealousy and dissatisfaction; and he sincerely trusted that this debate would tend to no other consequences.

Mr. Alderman Townshend spoke with indignation of the conduct of the right honourable gentleman who came over to this country: he withheld all information from government; forgot or neglected his duty as a servant of the public; and just, because he chose to fancy that the Earl of Carlisle had a feather plucked from his cap, he refused to serve his country in one of the most critical and alarming moments that we ever saw. He thought that this conduct was so truly improper and dangerous, that parliament could not, with any regard to its own dignity, overlook so flagrant a neglect of duty in one of the public servants. Was the right honourable gentleman to conceive, that he was the servant of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and not the servant of the public; or that he could thus mix personal considerations with official duty? It was certainly fit and candid, that his majesty's ministers should be allowed the necessary time to frame and bring forward their measures, and not on the first day of their appearance in the house be treated as they had been by the right honourable gentleman. The obligation which that gentleman was under, as one of the ministers of Ireland, to give every aid and assistance to government which he could do, and by which the interest of his country might be promoted, was of so serious a nature, that it ought not to be sported with; and he should not be surprised, if, when he went back to the country of which he is a minister, the House of Commons should impeach him for his neglect of duty. The right honourable gentleman declared, that he absolutely believed, that if the order of the day, or the previous question, should be put upon his motion, it would produce the most alarming consequences. If this then were his opinion, why did he force the house to this dangerous measure, by persisting in his motion? He would, and he ought to be responsible for all the consequences of his conduct.

Mr. Mansfield (late Solicitor General), defended Mr. Eden's conduct; but declared it appeared to him to be a matter perfectly

indifferent whether his honourable friend withdrew his motion, or whether it were got rid of by a previous question, or by reading the order of the day upon it. Mr. Mansfield said, he was somewhat amazed to hear his honourable friend treated with so much harshness, and his motion talked of, as if it were taking the house by surprise. There was not a gentleman present, he conceived, who must not be well aware, that Ireland was in a most alarming and critical state. The journals of the Irish parliament, and all our own newspapers, plainly evinced the fact. It therefore struck him as an idea perfectly absurd, to call his honourable friend's motion precipitate or rash. It was in his mind highly necessary; but if the house were of another opinion, it mattered not, in his idea, whether it were got rid of one way or the other.

Lord Newhaven hoped, that it was perfectly understood in that house, and that it would go forth to the world, that his majesty's ministers did not reject this motion from any dislike to the business, but that they would, with all possible speed, give every attention in their power to so important an object.

Mr. Eden rose, and wished to know if he gave up his motion, whether the right honourable secretary would pledge himself that a repeal of the act of the 6th of George I. should take place.

Mr. Sheridan said, he could not set still and see a question of this importance, which was then just going to be put from the chair, rejected or evaded in the manner which it was likely to be. He could not dismiss his hopes that the right honourable gentleman, who had moved it, might yet be induced to withdraw it: and he was convinced the greatest mischief would follow its being otherwise disposed of. The learned gentleman, who was the only person who had attempted to defend the extraordinary conduct of the secretary for Ireland, had taken great pains to prove, that it made no difference in what manner the motion was got rid of. He differed entirely from him on that head; and he had the authority of the honourable gentleman himself, who had made the motion on his side, for he had expressly declared, that if the motion were evaded by the previous question, or by moving the order of the day, he apprehended the most serious mischiefs to Ireland would follow. He called, therefore, upon that honourable gentleman, if he had any real feeling for the interests and peace of either country, not to persevere in bringing on the mischiefs which he acknowledged he foresaw. Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to state the whole of Mr. Eden's conduct which he attacked with great acrimony, as scandalously unfair to the new ministers, who, he was convinced, had the fairest intentions towards Ireland; yet if he declared himself so decided an enemy to the

principle of the declaratory law in question, which he had always regarded as a tyrannous usurpation in this country, that though he could not but reprobate the motives which influenced the present mover for its repeal, yet if the house divided on it he should vote with him. With regard to the fair representation of the intentions of the new ministers, which the honourable gentleman had been called on by the noble lord, who seconded the motion, to give to the Irish on his return, he could give but little credit to his intentions on that head ; it was his business, and his direct and explicit duty, to have given a fair representation, and full information of the state of Ireland to his majesty's present ministers here, for which purpose he had been sent to London. He had deserted that duty, and from motives of private pique and resentment, had withheld all information from them on the subject. It was but reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that the same principles would direct his conduct on his return to Ireland, and the same little motives of resentment would lead him to withhold from the parliament of that country the satisfactory information of the intentions of the new ministers, though it were equally his duty to report it.

He then animadverted on the assertion of the solicitor general, that every attention had been given by the late ministers to prevent these jealousies rising in Ireland, which he said was so far from being the case, that the whole of the present commotions there were chargeable to their scandalous neglect, in having suffered the name of Ireland to be inserted in no less than five British acts of parliament ; one of which had been published by the secretary himself in the Dublin Gazette, after they had given the Irish the most solemn assurances, that this claim should never be attempted to be exercised in a single instance. Mr. Grattan had produced these acts in the Irish House of Commons, and this apparent violation of faith with them it was, which had roused the present spirit of jealousy and resentment in their parliament, as well as among the volunteers. He concluded with repeating his call on Mr. Eden, to withdraw his motion, and not to mangle and disgrace a good and honourable cause, through the selfish motives of party, pique, and private disappointment.

The speaker was again proceeding to put the question, when Mr. Eden rose once more, and, after some hesitation and explanation, consented to withdraw his motion.

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DEBATE UPON IRISH AFFAIRS IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF
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MARQUIS of Rockingham rose, and entered into a long, computative, and arithmetical detail, shewing the comparative ability of Ireland to bear burdens, to what it had been at former periods, not far distant. His lordship's opening was chiefly directed to meet such objections as he imagined might be made against the proofs he meant to adduce, of the real distress of Ireland. His detail was accurate and important, as it presented two objects worthy the attention of the British administration; first, so far as the consequences might be supposed to affect them personally; secondly, as it might probably affect, and that in a most serious manner, the people of Great Britain. He first stated the revenues of Ireland, the outgoings and savings in the year 1775, during the administration of the late Marquis of Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, and proceeding regularly, through each successive administration, till he brought it down to the present viceroy, Lord Buckinghamshire. In 1755, and for some years after, the whole of the civil and military establishment amounted, for the two years, that being the mode of voting the parliamentary grants of that kingdom, to about 1,200,000*l*. on an average, 600,000*l*. per annum; whereas, of late years, the grants were little short of 2,000,000*l*. or 1,000,000*l*. per annum. At that period too, in the course of five years peace, the debts contracted during the preceding war had not only been paid off, but there was a surplus of 260,000*l*. in the national treasury, the greater part of which was applied to public uses, such as canals, churches, bridges, &c. in bounties for the encouragement, and promoting the extension of agriculture, arts and manufactures, land-carriage of corn, carrying it coastwise, to the Dublin Society, linen manufacture, and the fisheries. His lordship made a progressive statement of the grants and taxes, the civil and military establishments, and pension list, under each successive administration, that of the Duke of Bedford, Lord Halifax, Duke of Northumberland, and the Lords Weymouth, Bristol, Townshend, Harcourt, and the present viceroy, in the course of which he shewed, that the public expenditure imperceptibly increased in each respective branch. He stated, that a debt was necessarily incurred during the late war, as the outgoings exceeded the public income. But what

rendered the condition of Ireland a most extraordinary one indeed, and contrary to the usage of all other states under the sun, was, that after the peace of 1762, instead of paying off the debts incurred during the preceding war, they yearly continued to augment gradually and regularly, for the last fifteen years of peace; a circumstance not paralleled in any country he ever heard or read of; nay, more, that the debt increased in opposition to new taxes. Taxes, in the course of the last four sessions, were laid on; money was uniformly borrowed; and, at the end of the two years, when the national accounts came to be settled, fresh deficiencies appeared on each new loan, and fresh taxes were laid on, in consequence of them. In short, it was a mode of policy adopted, that of taxing and borrowing and pledging the public faith, till not a shilling more could be procured. A tontine scheme, or a plan of paying an high interest on annuities granted upon lives, with benefit of survivorship, was the first; this not answering the exigencies of government, stamp duties were then laid on; and lastly, a vote of credit; notwithstanding which, such was the exhausted, impoverished state of that country, that no money could be procured upon so precarious a security. Indeed, the security amounted to no more than a mere national engagement, that the public creditors would be paid some time or other: but that the funds offered as a specific security would prove equally deficient and unproductive, with those, which had caused the very necessity of the desired loan. The debt still continued to accumulate, and in the year 1777, the expenditure exceeded the receipts in the sum of 260,000*l*. So long as England continued in a prosperous situation, though Ireland were drained, she had recourse to this country; but such was the state of both countries, in the spring of 1778, although the revenues of Ireland were hawked about London streets, and offered to be mortgaged for the sum of 300,000*l*. a single shilling could not be procured or borrowed upon them. After dwelling on those circumstances for a considerable time, he opened another head of argument, that of the immediate distresses of Ireland, which, he said, must in the end materially affect the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain. His lordship stated the average of the exports to that kingdom, both from Scotland and England, for the last eleven years, ending 1777. From Scotland, upwards of three millions; from England, upwards of eighteen millions: or from Scotland, 300,000*l*. and a fraction; from England, 1,600,000*l*. and a fraction yearly; the whole making twenty-two millions, or upwards of two millions a year, British export. It might be said, does not Great Britain take the linen, provisions, &c. of Ireland in return? Certainly; but it was to be considered on which side the balance lay, whether in favour of this or that country. He then,

from authentic papers, shewed that the balance of trade in favour of Scotland was above a million and a half, and in favour of England above five millions, for these last eleven years. This led him to his grand conclusion, that of motives of interest; because, by the accounts, at last made up, it appeared, that the exports to Ireland for the last year had decreased one fourth: for in 1777 it was upwards of two millions, in 1778 under a million and a half. His lordship entered into several circumstances, which came within his own knowledge, particularly in the West Riding of the county of York: by the last returns of the number of broad woollens manufactured in that district, it appeared, that there had been twenty-one thousand pieces less than the average of several years before, and eight thousand narrows, or forest cloths; that he had made it his business to enquire the reason, and found it had been the failure of the trade of Ireland. He some time since conversed with a very considerable manufacturer in his neighbourhood in the country, relative to the state of the trade of Ireland, so far as it was connected with the woollen manufacture carried on in the West Riding of York, who constantly every year went over to Dublin to take orders, and who assured him by a letter received from his correspondent in that city, he was warned not to come or send; for he could not ensure safety to either his property or person. His lordship, besides the proof of the poverty of Ireland, by its daily incurring new debts, the insufficiency of the funds appropriated for the payment of interest and annuities, payable to the public creditors; the almost bankrupt state of the exchequer, and several other evidences of a similar nature, mentioned the circumstance of our being obliged to provide, in the committee of supply of the present year, 64,000*l.* for the pay of six regiments of foot, and one of dragoons, serving in America, or consent to have them disbanded. His lordship then proceeded to enumerate the several petitions sent by some of the counties of Ireland, the associations at the Tolsel in Dublin, and at several of the county meetings, particularly at Cork, Kilkenny, Wicklow, and Roscommon, some of them expressly resolving not to import, or use, or purchase, any of the manufactures of this country;... others, less violent, Cork in particular, not to purchase or use any goods, but such as were manufactured in that kingdom. His lordship earnestly, nay, very warmly, pressed the necessity there was for giving Ireland relief, upon every principle of gratitude, interest, and sound policy, and pointed out the danger of irritating the people, lest, by being driven to extremities, they might in an act of despair, be forced into resistance. He expatiated greatly on their loyalty to the government, and their reverence, zeal, and affection for the people of this country; it would therefore, he thought, as a mere matter of policy, be ex-

tremely imprudent to do any thing, which might tend to estrange Ireland from her respect and veneration for her elder sister. His lordship, as well by his details as in arguments, contended, that administration had neglected its duty towards Ireland; that all care and protection had been withdrawn; and that Ireland was precisely in that situation, which, if not speedily remedied, would, in the opinion of many, justify resistance. He said, the people of Ireland, by the most accurate computation, amounted to two millions three hundred thousand souls, whereof five hundred thousand were believed to be Protestants, in the proportion of three hundred thousand Dissenters to two hundred thousand of the established church. The Irish Catholics, it was true, had been favoured with some degree of religious toleration, and he was happy to say, so far as the example set by England could be supposed to operate upon the ruling powers in our sister kingdom, he took a share in the merit of that measure. On the other hand, so respectable and powerful a body as the Irish Dissenters were, ought not to be treated with contempt and unkindness, as they certainly had been in one instance; he meant the clause inserted in the bill for giving an indulgence for Roman Catholics, which clause was lost in the privy council of this kingdom. But he did not found his argument upon this or that distinction. People of all ranks, qualities, and religions there, were united as one man; they forgot all animosities and jealousies in the ruin, which threatened them; and the great point of union and national cement which kept them together was, not to import, purchase, or deal in any article of the produce or manufacture of this country. In this part of his argument he censured ministers highly, for their total neglect of the defence of that country; and pointed out the danger of permitting the people there to associate and embody in troops and companies contrary to law. When he said this, it was his opinion they had done very properly, in endeavouring to defend themselves when neglected by government. But ministers should have prevented the necessity of having recourse to such military associations; or if that were not practicable, in the present state of affairs, the people should have been legally commissioned and enabled to take arms. The matter now wore a very serious appearance; for though he were firmly persuaded, in case that country should be invaded by a foreign force, which was generally believed to be in contemplation, the Irish, with their usual loyalty and spirit, would defend themselves, and bravely repel the invaders; yet it was worth considering how far the same spirit might be exerted in resisting oppression and injustice from any other quarter. After recapitulating the many and very important advantages we derived from Ireland, through the

medium of our trade and commerce, the accession of strength she afforded in time of war, and the immense sums she remitted to her absentees, monies paid officers, pensioners, or spent on motives of pleasure or business, at the universities, inns of court, appeals in law and equity, &c. he observed, how unkindly she had been treated in every instance, how cruelly and oppressively in some. He reminded their lordships of the compact made between both kingdoms in King William's time, when the parliament of Ireland consented to prohibit the export of their own woollen manufacture, in order to give that of England a preference, by laying a duty equal to a full prohibition upon every species of woollens or even of the raw commodity; and of the solemn assurance given by both the houses of the British parliament, that they would give every possible encouragement, and abstain from every measure, which could prevent the linen manufacture to be rendered by the staple of Ireland. But how had England kept its word? by laying duties or granting bounties to the linens of British manufacture, equal to the prohibition of the Irish, and at the same time giving every kind of private and public encouragement to render Scotland a real rival to Ireland, in almost every species of her linen fabrics. After describing the private as well as public distresses of Ireland in the most feeling language, his lordship proceeded to contrast the deserts of the Irish nation, whose loyalty kept pace with the extent and magnitude of the calamities they felt. He instanced, in particular, their friendly and affectionate behaviour since the commencement of the American war; the zeal and fidelity of that kingdom in the time of the two last Scotch rebellions; the uncommon efforts she made during the late war, and her uniform loyalty and attachment to this country in every trying exigency when engaged in a foreign war. He said, he hoped, the importance of the object would strike every noble lord with the propriety, nay, the absolute necessity of his motion; that the house would treat it with that temper, coolness, and moderation, which it so apparently merited; and attend to it as a matter in which every man in the nation was most deeply interested. He trusted, that their lordships would not be led away by any partial ideas or narrow distinctions of local benefit or advantage, but meet it fairly as a question of state, in which both kingdoms had an equal interest. He would be extremely sorry, that this or that town or district, that Manchester or Glasgow, or any other place, would supersede or render of none effect the wisdom of their lordships' deliberations. He wished farther, that on the present occasion, all party or personal considerations would give way to the general good, and that as they meant all the same thing, the interest of both kingdoms, their lordships would not entertain a second opinion

on the subject. It was a great object, and should neither be lost, abandoned, or evaded. It had for some years been unfortunately too much neglected, but matters were at length arrived just at that critical state, which would render it not only unwise and impolitic to lose a moment, but would afford an instance of obstinacy and want of feeling, little short of political insanity. His lordship concluded a very long speech, in the course of which, he spoke to a great variety of matter of less importance with making the following motion: "That this house taking into consideration the distressed and impoverished state of the kingdom of Ireland, and being of opinion, that it is consonant to justice and true policy to remove the causes of discontent by a redress of grievances, and, in order to demonstrate the sense, which this house entertains of the merits of that loyal and well deserving nation, this house doth think it highly expedient that this important business should be no longer neglected, and that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take the matter into his most serious consideration, and direct his ministers to prepare and lay before parliament such particulars relative to the trade and manufactures of Ireland, as may enable the national wisdom to pursue effectual measures for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of his majesty's subjects in both kingdoms." Lord Viscount Weymouth rose in reply, and opposed the marquis's motion on two grounds; because the house had no paper whatever regularly before them, relative to the distressed state of Ireland, which was held out as the ground of the motion that amounted to a matter of fact; secondly, because if a relaxation or repeal of any of the restrictive laws relative to the trade of Ireland should be moved, that could properly originate only in the other house. His lordship, after expressing his best wishes for Ireland, said, the matter at a future period might be taken up, and the necessary measures for affording relief to Ireland be adopted; but at present, without proof sufficient to warrant the terms in which the address was couched and without the means of originating specific relief, he thought it his duty to move the previous question. Duke of Chandos, after giving his opinion, that that part of the address which conveyed a censure or a charge of neglect in ministers, did not meet his idea, both because he thought with the noble viscount, that the house were not in possession of any evidence of the fact of neglect therein charged; and, that he had a full confidence in the conduct of administration. He highly approved, in other respects, of the motion made by the noble marquis; and said, one principal cause of the distress felt by Ireland, was the continual drain from that country, in order to pay the great land owners resi-

dent here, many of whom, in their whole lives, never spent a shilling in the country from whence they drew their incomes. That, he said, was systematic grievance, which admitted of no remedy but a tax upon absentees. Though he possessed a considerable property in that country, he should cheerfully assist in any measure for giving the Irish that species of relief, for he was persuaded, that whatever else might be done to relieve them, if that cause of impoverishment should not be met in some way or other, the same principle would continue to produce similar effects, in a greater or less degree. His grace before he sat down expressed his approbation of the previous question, the propositions made by the noble marquis being such, as that he could neither give it a direct negative nor affirmative. Marquis of Rockingham rose, he said, to take notice of some expressions, which had fallen from the noble viscount high in office, and the noble duke who spoke last, affirming, that he had heard with much surprise the objections now started. He repeated, with some warmth, that Ireland had been cruelly and injuriously treated, and that it would present a mixture of folly and ingratitude, which nothing but the dullest obstinacy and ignorance could explain, if we refused to lighten those intolerable burthens, which the restriction of our trade laws laid upon that loyal, affectionate, and enduring people. As an additional argument, why it made it necessary and prudent in the king's servants to agree to his motion, he adverted to the formidable military associations now on foot in that kingdom; and desired to know if they had been informed of their nature and extent. This, he said, was a matter truly alarming, if the British government meant to adhere to their former system of oppression and injustice; and therefore it highly behoved ministers, if they were obstinately bent to throw every part of the empire into a flame, to seriously investigate the degree of resistance they were likely to meet. With regard to the particular sentiments of the noble viscount and the noble duke, he confessed, he was unable to repress his feelings, when they imputed to his motion that it was so framed as to contain a censure upon administration. Nothing on earth was more distant from his thoughts, as he endeavoured all in his power to draw it up in such a manner, as to prevent the possibility of any objection that might arise on the ground of personality. When a motion was made a short time since for the removal of a noble earl over the way (Sandwich) from his majesty's councils, he did not at all wonder at his brethren in office rising to oppose the motion; "no, let our noble friend's crimes be ever so great, we cannot abandon him. We do not care a farthing about that; he is a pleasant companion, and we do not chuse to part with him." There is, added the marquis, nothing

extraordinary in all this; but it appeared to him very unaccountable indeed, how ministers should object to the giving relief to Ireland, for certainly any opposition to it could admit of no other fair or rational construction. Lord Townshend rose, he said, to defend his own administration against the general charge of an increased establishment, which the noble marquis said, at the opening of his speech, had gone on in a progressive state of augmentation since the viceroyship of the Marquis of Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire. He compared the establishment during his lieutenancy with those of his predecessors and successors in office since the year 1763. In that year the civil establishment amounted to no more than 105,000*l*. In that of the noble earl over the way (Hertford) there was a small addition. In the administration of Lord Bristol 8000*l*. had been added. During his own administration, in the course of six years, from September 1767 to 1772, the civil expences were less by 8000*l*. but since that time the civil expences had risen to 137,000*l*. His lordship, in expressions of the warmest affection for the people of Ireland, pleaded their distresses and deserts in very forcible language; said, he should be wanting in the feelings which gratitude ought ever to inspire, if he did not take the present opportunity of testifying his regard for them, and his earnestness to procure them every degree of redress and indulgence, which their melancholy situation demanded, which justice dictated, and generosity and national gratitude rendered a positive duty on the part of a great nation. His lordship adverted, in confirmation of those favourable expressions of the noble marquis, to the many proofs Ireland had given in the course of almost a century to assist Great Britain in her wars; and contended, that all the public distresses she now felt were in consequence of her loyalty and affection, particularly her recent distress, which solely arose from the assistance she had given to this country in carrying on the war against our rebellious subjects in America. With regard to local or partial distinctions, he disclaimed them, as beneath a wise and great nation; they should never be permitted to mix in questions of such vast magnitude and extent as the present. He resided himself in a country full of manufacturers. His estate and property were within that county (Norfolk), and if the manufacturer was to be affected by granting any indulgence to Ireland, he must suffer his share of the loss; but though he wished them and himself every thing which could be derived from trade and manufactures carried on upon a liberal plan, God forbid he should, upon any motives of prejudice or self-interest, give countenance to measures formed upon a narrow or partial scale of politics. He should, in point of union and national strength, ever consider England and Ire-

land as one country, and the people of each bound and connected by the same objects, the prosperity of the whole. The noble marquis had dwelt upon one argument to induce their lordships to agree to the proposed redress, which, he confessed, did not strike him in the same light it did the noble lord; that was the possibility or probability of resistance, in case this country should not think it expedient to enter into a consideration of the subject matter at present. That was an argument ill founded, that should never operate upon his conduct, as a peer of parliament. He hoped that their lordships would be induced to act upon principles of justice and humanity, from motives of affection and sound policy, and not from threats of resistance or compulsion on our part. But he would speak to the fact from his own knowledge; he believed, as the truest test of their affection, the Irish were no less remarkable for their patience and endurance than for their loyalty. He knew them well in every possible light they could be viewed, either politically or individually; and he could affirm from his own actual knowledge, that no provocation (such as had been alleged by the noble marquis) could drive them to any act of violence, tending to a separation or resistance to this country: but if relief were not speedily given to Ireland, there was another motive more serious, and an event much more probable than resistance, which, he feared, would be the consequence of cold indifference and neglect on our part; and that was, the people of Ireland emigrating to America, which would inevitably be the consequence. He had often taken the liberty to press that consideration on the house; and he was extremely sorry to find, that his early information respecting Washington's army had proved so fatally true, and that we had been in part baffled in our attempts to subdue our rebellious colonies, by the great number of Irish emigrants, who, driven by poverty and oppression from their native country, were compelled to enlist in the rebel army. He concluded with saying, that he agreed entirely in principle with the noble marquis: but that as to the motion, so far as it related to the form in which it was drawn up, he should reserve his ultimate opinion till a farther progress should be made in the debate, and until he heard the opinions of others of his majesty's confidential servants. Marquis of Rockingham rose to explain some matters relative to the independent corps and companies then in arms in Ireland. He said, they amounted to upwards of ten thousand men, all acting under illegal powers, under a kind of supposition that all government was at an end. This was one unanswerable proof to shew the neglect of ministers in the performance of their duty. Why were not those men embodied in the king's name? Why was not there a constitutional militia raised to answer the same purpose? In fine,

why were not the gentlemen and yeomanry of Ireland put into some form, or under some regulation, which might subject them to a legal or constitutional control? He was no less satisfied than the noble viscount of the zeal, loyalty, and fidelity of the people of Ireland. He was ready to go as far as the noble lord in every degree of confidence which prudence and sound policy would warrant, but no farther. He remembered the American war commenced in addresses and petitions; that when those were turned a deaf ear to, they were followed with non-importation agreements. He remembered, that when bills of pains and penalties were enacting in that house, a syllable would not be heard which seemed to tend to measures of lenity. The bill was brought in a hurry, passed in a hurry, and we run in a hurry headlong to our ruin. To engage therefore for what Ireland might bear with patience, or draw the line exactly upon what particular occasion or period of oppression she might resist, was a language which fatal experience had warned them sufficiently, he believed, not to put too great a reliance upon. After speaking for some time in this strain, he called upon ministers to speak out, and recommended most warmly the necessity of giving Ireland speedy and effectual relief. We had lost the greatest part of America; we were fighting with a powerful enemy for all our distant possessions; Scotland was in a state little short of actual rebellion, and Ireland was united as one man against us, not to purchase a single shilling's worth of British property. Earl Gower proposed a kind of compromise. He moved, to omit that part of the recital of the noble marquis's motion, which stated the existing grievances Ireland labours under, and the neglect imputed to administration, in not taking measures for their removal. His lordship pressed very warmly the impropriety and danger of coming to too hasty or precipitate a vote upon a question of such importance. The very cure proposed would, in his opinion, rather serve to increase than remove the disorder, which had been so fully and ably described. It ought to be seriously considered, that holding out false hopes or creating ill-founded expectations, which could not be gratified, would in the end promote those evils, which it was the duty of parliament to prevent. He could never subscribe to the opinion that adopting to the extent contended for, or agreeing to the claims of Ireland, would be the means of preventing rebellion: on the contrary, he feared it might produce the very reverse; if not in Ireland, possibly nearer home. The kingdom was to be consulted. The great body of British manufacturers had rights and claims of their own, which they would not readily part with, and though the arguments used by noble lords might seem specious and plausible, he begged their lordships to consider, that perhaps the very measures which might promise to

prevent a rebellion in Ireland might prove the cause of an actual rebellion in England. He spoke very fully on the motion, said there was no proof of several of the matters contained in the motion, and if there were, it did not appear that the distresses which Ireland felt were owing to the government of Great Britain, or the restrictions laid upon the Irish trade. If that part of the motion which took the facts as proved, and the inferences flowing from them, as self-evident, were omitted, he was ready to meet the noble marquis, and adopt the other part of his lordship's proposition; for at present there was no evidence before the house, that the affairs of that country had been neglected, nor was the house in possession of any documents respecting the existence of grievances there, sufficient to induce them to come to the proposed vote. Earl of Bristol replied, that he believed there was not a noble lord present who entertained the shadow of a doubt, that those grievances stated by the noble marquis really existed. He delivered himself very favourably in behalf of Ireland, and said he looked upon them to be the most oppressed and injured people under the sun. Duke of Manchester declared himself of the same opinion; and said, he could never think of giving up the ground of the motion; for, what was it, if the people in Ireland were not labouring under the greatest national distress? And how could that be true, if ministers had not neglected their duty, by forbearing to grant them any species of relief? His grace urged the necessity of doing something effectual, and the doing it speedily, and that for the following important reasons. It was no secret, that France intended, in the course of the ensuing summer, to make an attempt on either or perhaps both kingdoms. He was well informed, that the first attempt would be made on Ireland. He had it, he said, from the best authority, that France would not appear as an enemy on the coasts of that kingdom, to commit hostilities, but to offer her alliance, friendship and protection, in assisting her to throw off the yoke laid upon the Irish nation by Great Britain: in short, she meant to hold out independency and a free trade. The mischievous policy of that ambitious people was no longer to appear as conquerors come to enslave, but as friends to succour and relieve; no longer as the foes, but the friends of human kind, come to vindicate the rights of injured and oppressed nations. This was her policy respecting America, and this he feared would be her policy respecting Ireland; and he had good reason already to believe, that overtures of that nature had been thrown out, and that several French emissaries had been in that kingdom, in order to sound the dispositions of the people. This was the invasion and conquest of Ireland, which he feared, and which it was their lordship's business to adopt the most speedy and effectual measures to pre-

vent. His grace therefore conjured and intreated ministers to interfere in time, and do every thing in their power to prevent France from acting so insidious a part, by removing those evils, the existence of which could only have given rise to so deep-laid a scheme of policy and ambition. He was as well as his noble friend (Grafton) glad to see ministers shew any disposition to relent. He was fully persuaded of the necessity of convincing Ireland, that we were candid, and meant at length to be serious; but he nevertheless was of opinion, that a subject of such transcendent importance, involving in it such a variety of interests and objects, ought not to be lightly taken up, nor hastily decided on. Earl Gower's motion being at length framed, it was suggested that the original motion should be first withdrawn. (A cry of withdraw, withdraw.) His lordship's motion was then read, after a few words from the Marquis of Rockingham, to shew the propriety of retaining that part of his motion respecting the distresses of Ireland, and was as follows: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty that he will be pleased to take into his gracious consideration, the distressed and impoverished state of the loyal and well-deserving people of Ireland, and to direct an account to be laid before parliament of such particulars relative to the trade and manufactures of Ireland, as may enable the national wisdom to pursue methods for promoting the common strength, wealth, and commerce of his majesty's subjects in both kingdoms." The Duke of Grafton said, though he liked the address as first moved better than as it stood amended, he would be ready to accept of it, sooner than run the risque of having a negative put upon it; for though it took no retrospective view, it looked forward to what he believed was the universal wish of every noble lord present; it pointed to redress, and for the sake of unanimity he was ready, for one, to adopt it. Marquis of Rockingham said, so far as the new motion pointed to future redress, he heartily coincided with the noble duke; but however willing he might be to submit to the prevailing sense of the house, so strongly manifested on the present occasion, he could see no reason against declaring, as an act of justice, and the best pledge of our being in earnest, that the affairs of Ireland had been neglected. Earl of Shelburne recommended great caution, and deliberation; and put in his claim thus early to be understood as not pledging himself to support any measure, which might in its consequences put the Irish upon a better footing than the British manufacturer. The Duke of Richmond, in a very able speech, endeavoured to shew, that all local distinctions were the creatures of prejudice and selfishness. He said, that Ireland and England were in fact the same nation and people;

that any distinction made in favour of the latter, was a species of injustice to the former. A great, a loyal, and a brave people, were not to be ruined, beggared or oppressed, because Manchester thought this, or this or that country were alarmed. All those petty motives must cease to operate, nor be permitted to influence our public councils, which ought never to lose sight of justice and sound policy. His noble friend (Duke of Grafton) had talked of an union. He was for an union, but not an union of legislature, but an union of hearts, hands, of affections, and interests, as had been well pointed by his other noble friend, who made the motion. This was his opinion, and he should ever prefer such a connection to any other which might give offence to the people, or be effected by means, however well intended, that would lie open to many objections.

A kind of conversation now succeeded, in which the Duke of Richmond said, he had no objection to the motion, provided it were fully understood on every side of the house, and candidly declared, that immediate measures of relief would be adopted; and that it was not merely thrown in the way to stop any effectual proceedings.

Earl Gower protested, so far as he could answer, he meant to act with candour. It was his wish, and it now became his particular duty; but it was impossible for him to speak with any degree of precision. It was a subject of great delicacy, called for great consideration, and he thought whatever might be done, it would not be prudent or politic to hold out to Ireland any promise, which might be received as restraining the wisdom and deliberation of parliament.

The amended motion was put and carried *nem. con.*

No. LXVI. a.

LETTER FROM MR. FRANCIS DOBBS TO LORD NORTH.

[PAGE 203.]

MY LORD,

FROM what has fallen from your lordship in regard to Ireland, I conceive you are greatly misinformed, as to the ideas of the people at large. It is of the utmost conse-

quence, in such a moment as this, that our sentiments should not be misunderstood. If they are, apparent satisfaction may conceal real jealousy and distrust; the bane of friendship in nations, as well as in men.

Your lordship dwells on the address of our parliament being a petition for indulgence, not a demand of rights. My lord, I conceive that address was to the King of Ireland, without whose approbation our laws cannot be altered or enlarged. If your lordship conceives that it was a supplication to the parliament of Great Britain, I apprehend you are mistaken. When the parliament of Ireland addressed their king, and told him that nothing but a free trade could save their country, they could not, I am persuaded they did not, forget why Ireland had not a free trade; they could not forget that Ireland was bound by British acts of parliament.

But, my lord, should it even be possible that our parliament could forget the great question of right, it cannot be forgot by the people; they know it, and will remember it. As one of that people, I deem it essential to freedom, and think myself justified as a man entitled to be free, to publicly argue for my own and my countrymen's rights. The investigation of truth cannot be improper. In this instance, I am convinced that the surest mode of promoting the welfare of both kingdoms, is to have our connection fully explained and perfectly understood.

As an Irishman, give me leave to express my obligations to your lordship, for the kind intentions which you have manifested to my country; I do not even believe my countrymen want more than it is your wish to give. But, my lord, they want it in a different mode; they want what they have a right to, separated from the bounty of England. It shall therefore be the object of this letter to point out my own, and what I apprehend to be their reasons, for wishing for such a distinction.

At first, my lord, your propositions, which have now in part become a law, gave pretty general satisfaction. Men hitherto restrained in almost every branch, naturally rejoiced at the first view of an extended commerce; but when reason had investigated the principles, on which that extension was given; when it was found to be a matter of expediency, not of right: when it was perceived that it rather established than relinquished the power of British legislation over Ireland,* our transports sunk into a very moderate degree of pleasure; and even that pleasure was lessened by the precariousness of enjoyment.

* The act of parliament lately made, only repeals part of the English acts binding Ireland.

My lord, we claim to be a kingdom, with every right belonging to a kingdom; governed by our own legislature, the king, lords and commons of Ireland. We complain of the British legislature making laws to bind Ireland. We allege it is without right, and we require that the legislature of Great Britain should relinquish a claim that we say they are not entitled to, and that they should obliterate the name of Ireland from their statutes.

This is a short creed, but like all creeds admits of much explanation; let us fairly discuss it; the examination will be no impeachment even to your lordship's abilities, though it should oblige you to correspond with a man so much your inferior in rank and understanding. If my ideas, if the ideas of my countrymen are unjust and unreasonable, we are surely entitled to an explanation why they are so. If they are just and reasonable, they should be complied with. If they are just and reasonable, and not complied with, we have a right to do ourselves justice, if ever we have the power.

Here, my lord, I shall beg leave to ask two questions: Is the kingdom of Ireland considered by the legislature of Great Britain as a conquered nation? If not, is Ireland considered as a free kingdom, united with England by long usage, similarity of manners, vicinage, and a common king?

If we are deemed a conquered nation, and as such to hold every thing we possess at the will of the English our conquerors; if we are in all things subject to their caprice; still, my lord, there is one right that I apprehend cannot be taken from us: It is a right I almost blush to mention; it is the right of the vanquished; the right of regaining our freedom, whenever we are able to throw off your yoke. If you say, as I trust you will, that we are a free people, you must allow us those rights which are indispensably necessary to the very existence of freedom; and if on enquiry it should be found that Ireland has not such rights, because Great Britain has exerted an arbitrary power to which she was not entitled, Great Britain must either relinquish such an evasion of our rights, or support it, as she made it...by power.

What, my lord, constitutes the freedom of a people? What is the boasted freedom of a subject of Great Britain? Is it not, that he is governed by laws to which he has assented either by himself or his representative? Is it not that he cannot be bound by laws that do not affect those who make them, as well as himself? What, my lord, is the definition of a slave? Is it not where a man is bound by laws, to which he never assented, and lies at the mercy of a power, over which he has no control? Weigh these two definitions, and tell me what is Ireland?

Great Britain's repealing part of those laws by which I apprehend she has unjustly bound Ireland, is no satisfaction, nor are

we less enslaved. In fact, your propositions, and the law founded upon them, establishes that power, which I, and I believe my countrymen deny. The word expedient conveys a thousand things repugnant to the rights of Ireland. It may hereafter be deemed expedient to revoke the very indulgences you now find it expedient to grant. It may be expedient to dissolve our parliament, and never call another; it may be expedient to tax Ireland by a British act of parliament, and enforce it by a British armament; where shall we set bounds to expediency, and how can its limits be ascertained? But, my lord, I will venture to assert, and I now call on your lordship to refute it if you can, that Ireland is not free, whilst England has the power of binding Ireland by British acts of parliament. I will venture to assert, we are not less slaves, though British legislation never found it expedient to exert the power it claims; the most absolute monarch on earth may make his subjects happy, but whilst he has the means of making them miserable, they are not, they cannot be free.

The Irish for a long time remained in ignorance as to their situation; those amongst them who perceived it, thought it would be cruel to shew them rights, without a possibility of their obtaining them. Particular circumstances have led them to particular enquiries. Enquiry has made them acquainted with their situation; and it is, my lord, the characteristic of my countrymen to be impatient under their wrongs, which they feel and understand.

I do not deceive you when I say, that this reasoning is very general amongst Irishmen. I do not deceive you when I say, we are attached to England, and seek a connection with her, in preference to the rest of mankind. But, my lord, our first attachment is to freedom, and every other is a secondary consideration. To be in possession of freedom, we must know what is our right. As to favours, we ought, and I am persuaded are willing to give an equivalent. But, my lord, we wish to have the line between rights and favours ascertained; the blending them together, if possible, we are determined to avoid.

My lord, we conceive that we are a free people, and as such entitled to a free trade. We admit your right to shut your ports against us, but we claim a similar power as to you. If we are as free as England this must be the case; if we are not, we are surely entitled to the reasons why we are not so. We surely have a right to know why we are excluded from the undoubted privileges of a free people. Can your lordship blame us if we deem it necessary to know how we stand in point of right, in regard to Great Britain? We cannot build on a sure foundation, or expect a lasting fabric, till this is ascertained.

Your lordship says the Irish parliament is to do certain things, in consequence of English resolutions. How, my lord, can this be? How can England treat with Ireland, until the English parliament relinquishes her claim of binding Ireland in all cases whatsoever? Is it not, my lord, absurd? Is it not a contradiction in terms, that an English parliament should enter into a treaty with an Irish, if an Irish parliament is to be subject to the will of an English: and if an English act can bind Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

I am aware it will be said, that this overture from an English to an Irish parliament, tacitly admits that an English parliament has not a right to bind Ireland. Why tacitly? If England means to give up this claim, why not openly? The doing so would give confidence here. If on the other hand it should be meant to deceive, to mislead by the natural idea that must arise from the one parliament treating with the other, I will not hesitate in proclaiming it a mean subterfuge....a low cunning....unworthy of a man....unworthy of a nation.

In consequence of your lordship's propositions, I will suppose wealth pouring into this kingdom from every quarter. Here, my lord, I will again ask a question: What security have we for wealth so acquired? If you have a right to bind us in all cases whatsoever, you must have a right to tax us. If you have a right to tax us one shilling, you have a right to twenty in the pound; and had we the wealth of the Indies, whilst you claim that power, and have force to execute it, we are but a treasury, filled for the use of Great Britain. In absolute governments, wealth and danger go hand in hand, and poverty is happiness. If individuals grow rich they dare not enjoy their wealth, and are careful to conceal it. Their lives are often forfeited for supposed offences, to give a colour to the seizing of their acquisitions. The same reasoning will hold in this instance. If, whilst poor, you claim absolute power over us, by what chain of reasoning are we to suppose you will relinquish it, should we become rich? It makes no difference that this power is vested in the legislature of Great Britain, and not in a single hand. Absolute power in one or in many is the same. Its effect is equally destructive to the happiness of a state or individual.

I have frequently observed, my lord, when the subject of Irish rights has been breached, that the distressed situation of England has been introduced; that England has been represented as a nation sunk in debt, and overwhelmed with difficulties. If it be so, I am, and I am persuaded my countrymen are sorry for it. But, my lord, as an Irishman, I cannot conceive that I am to be a slave, because England has been imprudent or unfortunate. I cannot conceive if England was sinking, that Ireland is bound in any way, to go to the bottom with England. We

are called sister kingdoms, but if we were married, there is but one country* that I have heard of, where the wife sacrifices herself on the funeral pile of the husband, and I trust Ireland is not inclined to follow so singular an example.

Be the situation of England what it may, what has Ireland to say to it? Have we ever exposed you to war? Have we increased your taxes? Have we been the cause of a single misfortune? If your fleets have protected us, who occasioned our wanting that protection? Have we not contributed both with our blood and treasure in support of your quarrels, without sharing in your conquests? Are we not indebted, from our connection with you, beyond our ability to pay?

My lord, I will go so far as to say, if the ruin of England was to follow justice to Ireland, yet still we are entitled to that justice. The question must still resort to first principles, and Irishmen cannot, ought not to have a confidence in Great Britain, till those principles are fully ascertained.

It is said, my lord, that we have long acquiesced under this claim. For argument sake I will grant it. England herself has been obliged in particular times to submit to the most severe exertions of arbitrary power, but it has been the most distinguished feature in the character of your countrymen, to watch for and seize the moment in which they had the prospect of regaining their freedom. Witness your barons compelling the infamous John to grant them Magna Charta. Witness the decapitation of the misinformed and unfortunate Charles. And witness the glorious revolution, by which the present king of England....of Ireland, is entitled to his crown. Will your lordship then, or your countrymen, be so unjust as to say, we ought to acquiesce in a claim, because we have not hitherto had power to oppose it? Will you assert if at first the claim was unjust, it has changed its nature from the inattention or impotence of Ireland?

Strange arguments, however, sometimes suggest themselves. I have heard it argued, my lord, that the king of Ireland, residing in Great Britain, gives a right to supremacy there. To this there is a short and conclusive question; one, my lord, that I borrow from the elegant and well-informed Guatimozin.... Had the king of Great Britain been in reality, what he is nominally, king of France; had he held his court at Paris; would Great Britain have allowed the king of Great Britain, in conjunction with the parliaments of France, to bind them in all cases whatsoever? Apply this, my lord, to the subject of this letter, and answer the question as you please.

* A country in Asia, where the bodies of the dead are burned, and the wife is placed on the funeral pile of the husband.

In all connections between free kingdoms advantages must be reciprocal. It must be the interest of both to preserve the connection ; or that kingdom who finds herself hurt by the alliance, will infallibly quit it the moment it is in her power. Interest is the grand spring of action even amongst men, though a few individuals may gloriously deviate from it ; but between nations it is, it must be the ruling principle.

My lord, it is my wish, and I hope and believe it is the wish of every good man in this kingdom, to form an alliance with Great Britain, which nothing can disturb. I conceive this can only be done by a fair and candid enquiry into the natural rights of each kingdom. If Great Britain treats with Ireland under the idea of giving as little as she can, and that little from necessity, Ireland can neither be thankful nor satisfied. You yourselves will say that Ireland, from particular situation, has got more than you intended for her ; and when that situation ceases, you will naturally endeavour to recal what you have so granted. On the other hand, Ireland looking for an establishment of rights, cannot conceive herself obliged by what is given from expediency. Whilst the great question of right remains uncertain, mutual jealousies and distrusts must affect the peace of both kingdoms. Irishmen cannot seriously wish the prosperity of a country which they conceive to be oppressing them ; and England cannot be cordially our well-wisher, whilst she considers us as a people she has wronged ; as a people she must suppose anxious for an opportunity of procuring justice.

It may be said, that finding fault is easy, but that it will be difficult to point out a mode of relief more satisfactory than the one your lordship has adopted ; I shall, therefore, in a few words, lay down what I believe would be satisfactory to my countrymen ; what I know would be satisfactory to my countrymen ; what I know would be satisfactory to myself.

Let England declare she has no right to bind Ireland by British acts of parliament, and entirely repeal all laws hitherto made for that purpose. It has been my endeavour to prove that England in doing this, would only do justice ; suppose it done, Ireland would have a right to trade with all the world, but all the world would also have a right of choosing upon what terms, and in what instances, they would enter into commercial alliances with Ireland ; Great Britain of course would have a right to say, you shall not trade with us, but on such conditions as we shall think proper to require. The colonies would have the same right ; and at this moment Ireland would have less than what your propositions, and the law founded, and to be founded on them, would give us ; but then, my lord, the matter of right would be adjusted ; whatever wealth we acquired would be the wealth of freemen, and could not be taken from us but by our

own legislature ; then that frightful spirit raised in the reign of George the First would be laid, and the fears and apprehensions of Irishmen, with the Ghost, would vanish.*

If, my lord, we are admitted to trade with Great Britain and her colonies, I, as an Irishman, think we should make a suitable return. If your fleets protect us, protect our trade. I think we ought in proportion to that protection, in proportion to that trade, contribute to their support. These, my lord, in my humble apprehension, ought to be the subjects of treaty between the two legislatures ; then rights and favours would be distinct ; a distinction which must give universal satisfaction here. If Great Britain really means to give us a permanent Free Trade, what can be her objection to being fully explicit ? My lord, the consequence would be, that industry would diffuse her blessings over this heretofore devoted land ; then, my lord, the merchant would plow the ocean, and the farmer his land with satisfaction and security ; then Ireland would become the cheerful and powerful supporter of Great Britain.

My lord, I cannot expect you will take either my word or opinion for the sentiments of my countrymen ; but, my lord, it is surely worth your lordship's attention to enquire how far I am right in my opinion ; if by that enquiry, you find that the people of Ireland, almost to a man, deny the right in a British parliament to bind them ; if you find that they acknowledge no power on earth but their king, lords, and commons ; and will not, if they can help it, pay obedience to the laws of any other ; I submit it to your lordship, whether it would be wise in the British legislature to voluntarily declare the statute of 6 George I. c. 5. no longer in force, so far as relates to Ireland, and that it was made on the mistaken idea, that England had a right to bind Ireland. This, my lord, would heal every dissension, would banish every jealous idea from our minds.

Many other things relative to Ireland crowd upon my imagination, but as they are in general things that ought to be looked to at home, and as I wish to confine myself to the one great question, I shall not longer intrude on your lordship.

In the course of this letter I have endeavoured to steer clear of the least offence to your lordship. I have endeavoured to argue without passion or prejudice, and I trust I have in some degree succeeded.

I feel the fullest conviction, that an explanation of the matter of right is essential to the welfare and prosperity of both king-

* The law declaring a right to bind Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

doms, and it is from that conviction I have thus ventured to address your lordship.

I am, with great respect,

Your Lordship's

Most humble servant,

FRANCIS DOBBS.

1st January, 1780.

No. LXVII. a.

ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS OF DIFFERENT CORPS OF
VOLUNTEERS....PAGE 276.

To the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in both Houses of
Parliament.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on....the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country, the voice of the country, the people, must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success.

These proceedings were generally approved of....the spirit of the Dunganon meeting was diffused throughout the kingdom, and its resolutions were seconded by almost every volunteer corps in Ireland.

On the 17th of February, the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers unanimously agreed to the following resolutions and preamble :

Natural justice and equity having established the universal rights of mankind upon an equal footing, the inhabitants of Ireland have a claim to a free trade with all nations in amity with Great Britain; yet their ports have been kept shut, their trade has been monopolized, and their industry has but served to aggrandize the proud traders of a neighbouring kingdom.

Necessity, which compels to ingenuity, has lately led up that trade, dignified with the spacious name of *free*: yet trade, which enriches industrious nations, serves but to impoverish the natives of this kingdom, because they have purchased at an high price, an illusion; defrauded thus of their birthright, there is nothing but æconomy as a counterpoise. This unsubstantial freedom of commerce, having originated from the united spirit of the people against the use of foreign manufactures, the same spirit which procured the fallacious grant, may yet, by a persevering unanimity, establish a real, permanent, and substantial trade.... Therefore resolved, that these our thoughts and opinions be laid before our countrymen, reminding them at the same time, that not only they, but their posterity are interested in the event; and that to do away effectually the yoke of monopoly, a non-consumption and non-importation agreement should be entered into without delay.

Resolved, That for the more effectually furthering this great national point, the several corps (as private citizens) of this city be requested to send each a delegate to the Royal Exchange, on Monday the 25th inst. at seven o'clock in the evening, and the foregoing resolutions be published.

The following Resolutions were passed a few Days afterwards at a full Meeting held by the Lawyers' Corps.

Resolved, That we do highly approve of the resolutions and address of the Ulster volunteers, represented at Dungannon on the 15th day of February instant.

That as citizens and volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions.

The Address published by the Committee of the Ulster Volunteers.

To the Electors of Members of Parliament, in the Province of Ulster.

GENTLEMEN,

DELEGATED by the volunteers assembled at Dungannon, we call on you to support the con-

stitutional and commercial rights of Ireland; to exert the important privileges of freemen at the ensuing election, and to proclaim to the world, that you at least deserve to be free.

Regard not the threats of landlords or their agents, when they require you to fail in your duty to God, to your country, to yourselves, to your posterity. The first privilege of a man is the right of judging for himself, and now is the time for you to exert that right. It is a time pregnant with circumstances, which revolving ages may not again so favourably combine. The spirit of liberty is gone abroad, it is embraced by the people at large, and every day brings with it an accession of strength. The timid have laid aside their fears, the virtuous sons of Ireland stand secure in their numbers. Undue influence is now as despised as it has ever been contemptible: and he who would dare to punish an elector for exerting the rights of a freeman, would meet what he would merit, public detestation and abhorrence.

Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is the aggregate of individuals, and the strength of the whole is composed of exertion of each part; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, because he has not more in his power, and will not exert his utmost efforts for the emancipation of his country, because they can, at best, be the efforts of but one man, stands accountable to his God and to his country, to himself and to his posterity, for confirming and entailing slavery on the land which gave him birth.

An upright House of Commons is all that is wanting, and it is in the power of the electors to obtain it. Vote only for men whose past conduct in parliament you and the nation approve, and for such others as will solemnly pledge themselves to support the measures, which you and the nation approve. Do your duty to your country, and let no consideration tempt you to sacrifice the public to a private tie, the greater duty to a less.

We entreat you, in the name of the great and respectable body we represent; we implore you, by every sociable and honourable tie; we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as Irishmen, to raise this long insulted kingdom, and restore to her her lost rights. One great and united effort will place us among the first nations of the earth, and those who shall have the glory of contributing to that event, will be for ever recorded as the saviours of their country.

It would be impossible and unnecessary, to state here the numerous resolutions agreed to by the several volunteer corps and other assemblies, where these subjects were taken into consideration: they were substantially the same, and differed but in words. We shall therefore only add the proceedings of a few other bodies, that were not under the military character, to shew that the same disposition and sentiments pervaded all ranks of people.

At a Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, convened by the High Sheriffs, at the Tholsel, on Tuesday the 19th of March, 1782, the following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart. and Travers Hartley, Esq.
Representatives in Parliament for the City of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

AS men justly entitled to, and firmly resolved to obtain a free constitution, we require you, our trustees, to exert yourselves in the most strenuous manner, to procure an unequivocal declaration, "That the king, lords, and commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this country." And we solemnly pledge ourselves to you and to our country, that we will support the representatives of the people at the risk of our lives and fortunes, in every constitutional measure, which may be pursued for the attainment of this great national object.

Be assured, gentlemen, that your zeal upon this occasion will insure you a continuance of our esteem and regard.

(Signed)	James Campbell	} Sheriffs.
	David Dick	

The Sheriffs, having waited on the Representatives, received the following Answer.

To the Sheriffs, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

IT has ever been my wish to receive with pleasure, and to obey the instructions of my constituents.

You may depend on my using every means in my power to procure an explicit and unequivocal declaration, "That the

“ king, lords, and commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this country ;” and I rely on your solemn engagement to support your representatives in every constitutional measure, which may be necessary for the attainment of this great national object. Permit me to assure you, that my zeal for the accomplishment of your wishes can be equalled only by my desire to convince you how sacred I esteem the trust you have reposed in me, and how much I value a continuance of the good opinion of my fellow citizens.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

SAMUEL BRADSTREET.

To the Sheriffs, Freemen, and Freeholders of the city of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

I SHOULD be very unworthy of that honourable and important trust, with which you have so recently invested me, did I not receive with the highest respect, the most perfect satisfaction, and cheerful conformity, your instructions on a subject in which the national honour and security are essentially engaged. To suppose that any power, except that of the “ king, lords, and commons of Ireland, is competent to “ make laws to bind this kingdom,” is utterly inconsistent with the idea of freedom ; it is equal liberty alone, which can secure that perfect harmony to the subjects of the same crown, so necessary to the prosperity both of Great Britain and Ireland.

You may rely, gentlemen, on every exertion I am capable of, to procure an unequivocal declaration of the sole rights of the legislature of this kingdom, to enact laws obligatory on the people of Ireland ; and I doubt not in this, and every constitutional measure, I shall be always secure of the support of my constituents. Your instructions on this occasion will give a dignity to the vote you have intrusted me with, which it must have wanted, if considered as merely proceeding from my own private judgment.

I have the honour, gentlemen, to be,

With the most perfect respect, and sense of obligation,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

TRAVERS HARTLEY.

At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin, on the 11th of April, 1782, the following Resolutions were agreed to.

Resolved, That no power on earth, but the king, lords, and commons of Ireland can in right make laws to bind the people of this land.

Resolved, That the members of the House of Commons are representatives of, and derive their power solely from, the people; and that a denial of this proposition by them would be to abdicate the representation.

The following Address was then read by the Chairman, and agreed to.

To the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, and Sir Edward Newenham, Knight.

GENTLEMEN,

WE, the high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Dublin, warmly coinciding with the determination respecting the constitutional rights of Ireland, with which the mind of every man in this nation is deeply impressed, think it our duty to express those feelings in the strongest terms.

As you have already evinced your intention to support the sole and undoubted authority of the legislature of Ireland, to make laws for its government, we confidently hope and expect, that you will persevere in pursuing the most decisive and immediate measures, that may effectually carry that great object into execution, by a solemn ratification of our rights.

Though this is, at the present crisis, the principal matter under the consideration of parliament, we have no doubt but that you must consider it your duty to act in all things that affect the freedom of our constitution, in such manner as may become the representatives of a great and independent county.

Resolved, That copies of the above resolutions and address, signed by the high sheriff and foreman, be presented to the Right Honourable Luke Gardiner and Sir Edward Newenham, knight, and that the same, together with their answers be published.

The following Answers were returned.

To the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

IT gives me very sincere satisfaction, that my past conduct, relative to the sole and undoubted authority of the legislature of Ireland, has merited your approbation. You may be assured, that I shall persevere in giving my warmest support to the great and important object, as I consider it so decisively founded in right, that no man who loves to be free, can hesitate to acknowledge and to assert it.

With respect to any other matter that may affect the freedom of our constitution, I am so conscious of my intentions to promote the perfect contentment of this country, that I have no doubt I shall, in every particular deserve that confidence, with which you have hitherto honoured me.

I am very glad that you have given me an opportunity of declaring my sentiments thus publicly at this crisis; as I think that the time is now come, which demands an explicit and a permanent settlement of the constitution of Ireland, as the certain means of establishing the tranquillity of this country, and of perpetuating the harmony, which ought to subsist between us and Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your very obliged and humble servant,

LUKE GARDINER.

Henrietta Street, April 13, 1782.

To the High Sheriff, Foreman, and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

I ALWAYS received your instructions with respect and pleasure, for it is equally my duty and inclination to obey them; if I did not, I should betray that delegated trust, with which you have honoured me.

In respect to those great objects in which you desire "I will persevere," I assure you, I will most faithfully pursue that line of conduct marked out by you, confident that his majesty cannot, in justice to this independent kingdom, refuse his royal assent to such acts, as may be deemed by the Irish parliament "a solemn ratification of our rights." I flatter myself that no Irish minister will be found to be so presumptuous, as to impede

the total annihilation of foreign usurpation; if such a minister should be found, the parliament of Ireland, supported by the general voice of the people, ought to do their duty. Though effectual impeachments have been too long neglected, and thereby our sister kingdom has nearly fallen a martyr to the corruption and wickedness of its ministry, the spirit of this nation is too high, to submit patiently to national insults.

You are also pleased to direct me "to act in all things, that affect the freedom of our constitution, as may become the representative of a great and independent county:" in order to accomplish that object, I have frequently introduced heads of a bill to secure the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of placemen, and totally excluding pensioners from sitting therein; a hostile band of parliamentary placemen and pensioners is the foundation of internal and external corruption.

Every measure tending to maintain the freedom, or promote the trade and manufactures of your great, respectable, and independent county, shall meet my warmest support in every station of life.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Your most obliged and faithful trustee,

EDWARD NEWENHAM.

At a full Meeting of the Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Galway, assembled pursuant to public Notice from the High Sheriff, at the County-Hall, in Galway, March 31, 1782, the following Resolutions were unanimously entered into:

RESOLVED, That a seat in parliament was never intended by our constitution as an instrument of emolument to individuals; and that the representative, who perverts it to such a purpose, particularly at so momentous a period as the present, is guilty of betraying the trust reposed in him by the people for their, not his benefit.

Resolved, That the people who could tamely behold their suffrages made the tool of private avarice or ambition, are still more criminal than the venal representatives, as they become the panders without even the wages of prostitution.

Resolved, That when we daily see the mandate of the minister supersede all conviction in debate; when placed and pensioned members of parliament notoriously support in public measures, which they condemn in private; when the hirelings of corruption avow, and government have exemplified in recent instances of distinguished characters, that to vote according to

conscience amounts to a disqualification to hold any office in the service of our country, it is time for the people to look to themselves, and in great national questions to assert their right to control these, who owe their political existence to their breath, and may be annihilated by their displeasure.

Resolved, That at an era when every thing which can be dear to a nation is at stake, we are called upon by our duty to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, to stand forth, and by the most unremitting exertions stem the returning torrent of corruption at home, and resist the usurpation from abroad, that all mankind may see we are determined to preserve the purity, while we vindicate the rights of our legislature.

Resolved, therefore, That we do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, by every tie of honour and religion, which can be binding to man, that, as the sacred duty which we owe to the community supersedes all ties and obligations to individuals, we will not suffer private friendship or private virtues, to warp our settled determination not to vote for any man, at a future election, either for county, town, or borough, who shall act in opposition to our instructions, and who will not subscribe a test to obey them previous to the election, or who shall absent himself when those questions, on which we instruct him, are agitated in parliament.

Resolved, That the king, lords, and commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will resist the execution of any other laws, with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved, That if force constitutes right, the people of this country have a right to use force against the man, who dares to maintain doctrines subversive of their constitution; but as the object is beneath the dignity of the national resentment, we shall only bid such a man beware how he hereafter trifles with the rights of his country, and provokes the vengeance of a people determined to be free.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the resolutions of the volunteer delegates, assembled at Dungannon and Ballinasloe.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county be returned to the minority in parliament, and particularly to our countrymen Anthony Daly, Sir Henry Lynch Blosse, and Robert Dillon, Esqrs.

Resolved, That the following address be presented to the Right Honourable Denis Daly, and W. P. Keating French, Esqrs. representatives in parliament for this county.

TO DENIS DALY, ESQ.

SIR,

THERE is a moment in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals, which if seized and happily improved, may lead to prosperity, if neglected, may terminate in the riveting of its oppressions. Such a moment is the present: the eyes of Europe are upon us, and posterity will read our conduct with applause or execration according to the use we make of the opportunities, which a providential combination of events has afforded us. When the rights of a nation become objects of public question or discussion, not to assert is to relinquish, to hesitate is to betray. The die is cast; if we advance with a manly and determined step, we ensure success; if we recede or divide, we sink for ever; in so awful an hour, who is the man that, however unwilling to provoke the question, will not at the day of trial be found in his post? Your private opinion, Sir, must give way to the national voice; the assemblage of qualities which formed and elevated your character, raised you to one of the most exalted situations a subject could arrive at. Your abilities remain, we have relied on your integrity; yet we cannot but lament, that at the moment we stood in need of all the influence of such a character, its brightness should have been shaded, and its weight lost to the nation by being placed in a station in which, however chaste, it may at least be suspected. But waving at present the consideration of this subject, we now call upon you, as one of our representatives, as you value our future approbation and support, to give your fullest assistance to the following measures, whenever they shall be proposed in parliament, viz. a declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the assumed power of the privy council to stop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; a bill rendering the judges independent of the crown; and a bill to reduce the expences of the nation to a level with its revenues, as we cannot conceive a conduct more insane, than for a people scarce emerging from ruin, like a profligate heir, to anticipate its funds, and ground certain extravagance on uncertain prosperity.

TO W. P. KEATING FRENCH, ESQ.

SIR,

THE present period calls upon every man in this country to take an active and decided part in the common cause. The nation is not now to be trifled with. Upon our conduct at this eventful hour depends the establishment of our constitution,

and the liberties of unborn generations. We shall not, Sir, suffer our attention to be drawn from the great objects in which we are engaged, by a retrospect into your past parliamentary conduct, however dissonant in many points from our opinions; but we call upon you, if you value our future approbation, to give your fullest support to the following measures, whenever they shall be agitated in parliament, viz. a declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the power of the privy council to stop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; a bill to render the judges independent of the crown; and a bill to reduce the national expences to a level with its revenues.

At a Meeting of the Electors of the University, on the 3d of April, the following Address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented to their Representatives.

To the Right Honourable Walter Burgh and John Fitzgibbon, Esq. Representatives in Parliament for the University of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN the murmurs of a people, struggling for their rights, have been heard even in the quiet retreat of science, we should deem it a breach of duty to our countrymen and ourselves, did we neglect to second their virtuous exertions: we are never forward in political contests: we shall always be decided and steady; although we have not been the first to complain of, yet, we have not been the last to feel, the repeated injuries this country has suffered, not only from those who may have separate duties and separate interests, but from men who are bound by the strongest duty, and the dearest interest, to vindicate its rights, and cherish its prosperity.

The power of binding Ireland by acts of a foreign legislature, is what nothing but a spirit of arrogance or oppression would insist upon, nothing but the most abject servility submit to; for we cannot suppose, that the appearance of a claim, which irritates the whole body of the people, would be retained, unless there was an intention of enforcing this claim hereafter; we are therefore convinced, that an express declaration of rights, is the only measure upon which this country can build its legislative independence, and that a reluctance to assert the constitution of the land, may furnish Great Britain with a pretence for denying the justice of our requisition.

We do not think the present situation of Great Britain to be any objection against such a declaration, as we can never suppose that she could derive strength from our weakness, or any security to her liberties from the oppression of ours; and that time is undoubtedly to be preferred for the assertion of our right, when the object is likely to be obtained with the least struggle.

The insecure attachment of Ireland to the crown of England at a former period, furnished a pretext for divesting the houses of parliament of their right to originate bills, unless previously certified into England under the great seal of this kingdom; now, as the loyalty of this country for several centuries, so often tried, and so often acknowledged, has removed every cause of distrust; we conceive that this injurious and humiliating restriction should also cease.

The dependance of the judges of Ireland on the will of the sovereign, may, in the hands of an aspiring monarch, prove a powerful instrument of oppression; now, holding ourselves entitled to every constitutional security which our sister kingdom possesses, we consider it necessary that the judges of this kingdom should be made equally independent with those of Great Britain.

But since every advantage, which could result from these reformatations must be precarious, as long as a perpetual mutiny bill exists, by which force may be made to supersede right, and the soldiery of Ireland are subject to trial and punishment by any future articles of war, which the king and privy council of Great Britain may think proper to adopt; we are persuaded, that every concession must be imperfect, unless accompanied by the repeal of so dangerous a law.

We therefore expect you will exert your most strenuous efforts, to obtain a declaration of the rights of Ireland: a repeal or satisfactory explanation of the law of Poynings; an act for making the tenure of the judges independent of the crown; and a repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill.

We declare, that these are our fixed and unalterable sentiments, and we are convinced, that nothing short of the requisitions herein contained, can be, in any degree, satisfactory to the people of Ireland.

It is our wish to render the connection between this country and Great Britain, as close and permanent as possible, and we are persuaded, that this is only to be accomplished by abolishing all usurped authority of the one over the other, and removing every invidious distinction between the constitutions of two countries equally entitled to be free.

To this Address the following Answers were returned.

To the Electors of the University.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I reflect on my past parliamentary conduct, it affords me the highest satisfaction, to find that it entirely corresponds with the tenor of your instructions. Whenever the objects that you recommend have come into discussion, I have given them my uniform and decided support. My conduct has been founded upon principles, which no motives of interest or ambition have been able to shake, and in which I shall persevere unto the last hour of my life.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful humble servant,

WALTER BURGH.

To the Electors of Trinity College.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM just now honoured with your instructions, which have been forwarded to me by post. Be assured, that I shall always feel the utmost satisfaction in receiving the instructions of that very great and respectable body, which I have the honour to represent, and that you shall ever find me ready, to the best of my ability, to vindicate your rights.

I have always been of opinion, that the claim of the British parliament to make laws for this country, is a daring usurpation on the rights of a free people, and have uniformly asserted this opinion both in public and in private. When a declaration of the legislative right was moved in the House of Commons, I did oppose it, upon a decided conviction, that it was a measure of a dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. However, I do, without hesitation, yield my own opinion upon this subject to yours, and will, whenever such a declaration shall be moved, give it my support.

With respect to an explanation of the law of Poynings, I confess, the more I consider the subject, the more difficult it appears to me. Allow me to remind you, that the University did, upon a very recent occasion, experience that this law, in its present form, may operate beneficially. A total repeal of

it, will I hope, on consideration, appear to you to be not, by any means, a desirable object. You may rest assured, that the best attention which I can give to the subject shall be exerted; and I trust and doubt not, that upon a communication with you upon this topic, I shall be able to give you full satisfaction.

I agree with you most warmly, that any advantage, which we may derive from reformation, must be precarious, so long as the articles of war shall continue to be a permanent and established branch of municipal law, which they certainly are under the present act for regulating the king's army in Ireland. I have not a doubt, in my mind, that a perpetual mutiny law lays the foundation of a military government in this country; upon this principle I did oppose it as strenuously as I could, from the first moment it was introduced into the House of Commons, and upon this principle I will, whilst I live, make every effort within my power to procure a repeal of it. The administration of justice in this country is certainly an object of the first importance, and therefore I will, at all times, concur in any measure, which can be proposed to make the judges of the land independent and respectable.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

With great respect,

Mount Shannon,

April 11th, 1782.

Your most obedient, and

very humble servant,

JOHN FITZGIBBON.

No. LXVIII. a.

FROM THE DEBATES IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

[PAGE 294.]

THE Right Honourable T. Townshend spoke fully upon the privileges of the House of Commons. He maintained, that the only true substantial meaning or idea those privileges conveyed was that they were the indubitable right of all the Commons of England, who had one general interest in them. That to be sure in a more confined sense, they were particularly applied first to that house, as a deliberative body, and one of the

branches of the legislature. Secondly to the individual members who compose that body. He did not intend to make them, however, the subject of this day's business; they were but of secondary, nay indeed of very inferior consequence, when opposed to that great privilege, the power of granting money, of keeping the purse of their constituents safe from the hands of violence, art or fraud. This was a trust of the first magnitude; in fact, it included every other; for so long as that was preserved inviolate, the crown would remain under the constitutional control of parliament; so soon as that was wrested by open force, defeated by indirect means, or done away by fraud, the liberties and the privileges of the people would be for ever annihilated. He expatiated on the commendable, wise, and well-founded jealousy of that house whenever the least attempt had been made in that way even by the other house; but when any endeavours were made by the crown, or its ministerial agents, the commons at all times caught the alarm; they had at all times uniformly united, as if they were actuated by one soul, to resist any attempt of the crown to encroach upon their power of granting or refusing the money to be raised on themselves or their constituents. He then opened the cause which induced him to make these observations, and read the following papers.

“ Message to the Irish House of Commons,

Jovis, Nov. 23d, 1774.

HARCOURT.

I have his majesty's command to acquaint you, that the situation of affairs, in part of his American dominions, is such, as makes it necessary, for the honour and safety of the British empire, and for the support of his majesty's just rights, to desire the concurrence of his faithful parliament of Ireland, in sending out of this kingdom a force not exceeding four thousand men, part of the number of troops upon this establishment, appointed to remain in this kingdom, for its defence, and to declare to you, his majesty's most gracious intentions, that such part of his army as shall be spared out of this kingdom, to answer the present exigency of affairs, is not to continue a charge upon this establishment so long as they shall remain out of the kingdom. I am further commanded to inform you, that as his majesty has nothing more at heart than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, it is his intention, if it be the desire of the parliament, to replace such forces, as may be sent out of this kingdom, by an equal number of foreign Protestant

troops, as soon as his majesty shall be enabled so to do. The charge of such troops to be defrayed without any expence to this kingdom.

Extract from the Address of Knights, &c. to Lord Harcourt.

That your excellency will be pleased to return his majesty our most gracious thanks for his gracious declaration, that his majesty has nothing more at heart than the security and protection of his people of Ireland, of which his majesty has given a signal proof, by his offer, if it shall be the desire of parliament, to replace such forces as may be sent out of this kingdom, by an equal number of Foreign Protestant troops, the charge thereof to be defrayed, without any expence to this kingdom.

Extract from the Votes of the House of Commons of Ireland.

AN amendment was proposed to be made to the resolution, by inserting after the word resolved, the following words, viz. "that having, in consequence of his majesty's gracious recommendations, and of our mature consideration of the state of this country, repeatedly declared our opinion, that twelve thousand men are necessary for the defence of this kingdom; being sensible that it would be a violation of the trust reposed in us, should we have subjected our constituents to a very heavy expence, in times of perfect tranquillity, for the purpose of providing a force, which we are to part with in times of danger; and being convinced, that since the time at which we first declared twelve thousand men to be necessary, the probability of a war has increased, and not diminished."

Right Honourable Mr. Speaker's Speech to his Excellency Simon Earl of Harcourt.

Lunæ 25 die Decembris, 1775.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THE conduct of the commons, in the course of this session, has marked more strongly, if possible, than in any former period, their loyalty, duty, and affection to his majesty, and their zeal for the interest and honour of Great Britain. At the hazard of their own safety they have consented to part with one-third of the forces deemed necessary to be maintained at all times within this kingdom for its defence in

a season when powerful reasons existed for retaining them, without putting Great Britain to the expence of replacing them, though generously offered; and they have cheerfully granted to his majesty a very considerable supply, in addition to all former duties, though the liberality of the last session served only to expose the weakness of their resources. This disposition of the commons they doubt not your excellency will improve to their advantage, and they trust that through your excellency's favourable representation, it will serve to unite Great Britain and Ireland in still closer bonds of mutual affection, so necessary to the security and prosperity of both. They acknowledge with gratitude your excellency's generous efforts to open to them new sources of commerce, and to remove some restraints upon the old; they see with joy a beam of light break through that dark cloud which has so long overshadowed this nation; and they are animated with the hope that the honour is reserved for your excellency's administration, of establishing this important truth, that nothing will more contribute to augment the strength and wealth of Great Britain, than the increase of both in this kingdom.

Having read these papers, Mr. Townshend said, the message contained two propositions, by both which the parliament of Great Britain was pledged to that of Ireland, if it should accept the conditions held forth by this message, to pay for the troops to be sent to America, and to replace them with 4000 foreign Protestants; and further to induce the Irish nation to accept this insidious bargain, she was to have 12,000 within the kingdom, and at the same time to be relieved of a burthen of 80,000*l.* per annum. Such a proposition could only have originated in the worst designs, or must have been the effect of the most consummate folly. For what was the whole measure taken together? The minister on this or the other side of the water, no matter which, makes the king engage his royal word, that the expence shall be borne by the parliament of Great Britain; but adding folly to temerity, makes him promise, that Great Britain shall pay for 8,000 men, though if the bargain was accepted, she would actually have but 4000 men in her service. After thus stating, in his opinion, the meaning of the words, he proceeded to shew, that they were received in this sense by the Irish parliament, though neither of the offers were received in the terms proposed, and quoted the speaker's speech, delivered at the bar of the House of Lords, on the 25th of December, 1775, in which he offers, in the name of the commons, to send the 4000 natives out of the kingdom, without putting Great Britain to the expence of replacing them, though generously offered. He then stated the complaint in the following words: "that the Earl of Harcourt, lord lieutenant general, and general

“governor of Ireland, did, on the 23d day of November last, “in breach of the privilege, and in derogation of the honour and “authority of this house, send a written message to the House “of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, signed with his own “hand, to the following effect.” (Here he recited the message in page 96.) He moved, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the matter of the said complaint, and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the house.

Sir George Yonge seconded the motion.

Lord Clare said, the right honourable gentleman who made the motion, had been lavish of his encomiums on Ireland, but did not offer a syllable in behalf of poor Britain. Ireland retained a proper sense of freedom; she would not admit foreigners, even with the consent of parliament; her principles were sound, her manners were pure: her counsels were uncontaminated; while poor degenerated Britain was fallen from her former greatness, and was sunk into the lowest extreme of corruption, folly, and want of spirit; yet while he was proud to hear his country so highly extolled, he could not help lamenting that fallen Britain had not one friend to stand forth in her defence. His lordship having continued upon the two propositions. The offer of sending foreigners and of defraying the expence signified nothing: no such offer or promise was intended; it was all the idle reveries of a gentleman, whom, for the familiarity of expression, he would call by the name of Mr. Edmund Sexton Perry. He knew Mr. Edmund Sexton Perry very well, and he knew him to be a good sort of a considerate, honest, sensible man, but however sensible Mr. Perry might be, the house was not bound by his interpretations. The honourable mover says, that Mr. Perry went to the bar of the House of Lords, and delivered a certain speech, and that the lord lieutenant acquiesced in that interpretation of the message, because he did not contradict it. Would he have Lord Harcourt rise and come to Mr. Perry to the bar, and contradict him, by telling him he never meant any such thing? I dare say he would hardly be so unreasonable. I have indeed heard it asserted by some of my countrymen, that they spoke better English than the people of his country. It may be so, but it is the first time I ever heard it asserted, that they understood it better. I presume that Mr. Perry thought he understood the message; but I will not allow that either Lord Harcourt, or this house, are bound to abide by his interpretation; neither can I be persuaded that the House of Commons of Ireland are any more bound than we are by his conceptions. For what does the whole amount to? Mr. Perry, in his individual capacity, says so and so. What is that to the House of Commons? He is speaker it is true, but what he does

out of the house, when he is not instructed, is no more the act of that house, than if it had been done by any other person.

Mr. Conolly replied to his lordship, that he was an Irishman as well as the noble lord, and as Ireland was to be the subject of that day, in the cocking phrase, he was ready to pit himself against him. He then observed, that he was not surprised that the noble lord was in such extreme good humour with ministers on both sides of the water, as his lordship, and the three others, who enjoyed sinecure employments, had a present made them in one day of 14,000*l*. (meaning the arrangement of the vice-treasurers and the clerk of the pells) and lest a possibility should arise of any defalcation of their salaries, parliament was so good-humoured, while they increased the salary, to take upon themselves to provide payment out of the public purse for deputies, who were to do the duty. It was therefore no wonder that his lordship and his colleagues should be merry, while Ireland continued to be sad; to see the salaries of sinecure places raised, while she was mortgaging her funds, laying on new duties, and providing for deficiencies of grants. He gave a picture of Ireland: an exhausted treasury, ruined trade, starving manufacturers, accumulating pensions, new created places, state oppressions, daily executions, a ruined, mouldering army, encreasing debts, castle jobs, bands of lawless ruffians in defiance of law, and beyond the power of punishment; in short, every public evil and private mischief, that ever was on earth to curse and debase mankind. He did not rise to the question simply stated, whether the message were really a breach of the privilege of the Commons of England, but principally, he said, to give an account of what passed in the Irish House of Commons, when Sir John Blaquiére brought the message from the lord lieutenant. That house refused the offer, he said, upon two principles, first, because they thought the introduction of foreign troops an unconstitutional and dangerous measure; and secondly, because it was thought that the ministry had no mind that they should have them, for Sir John himself voted against them. He said, Ireland was quite defenceless, that the 12,000 nominal men were only 10,800, out of which 4000 were to be sent away; that the White Boys were governors of all the South of Ireland, where four-fifths of the people were Catholics; that no private gentleman could be sure of his life, sitting there in his own house, for one half-hour, that more troops were really wanting, instead of taking those away they had already; that men had their ears sawn off, and others were buried alive, to the disgrace of government, that could not or would not protect the people; that the peasantry were in such a state of poverty, that no revolution or change of situation could possibly be to them for the worse.

Right honourable Welbore Ellis said the meaning of the message had been mistaken, that taking the expression in any light, no breach of privilege could be deduced from it. He recalled to the remembrance of the house, that in 1769, when the Irish establishment was raised from 12,000 to 15,000 men, his majesty passed his royal personal promise to the Irish parliament, that there should never be less than 12,000 men in Ireland, except in cases of actual invasion or rebellion in Great Britain. Now, the Earl of Harcourt's message, he contended, had reference to this promise; as the present want of troops was not within those exceptions, it certainly was his majesty's first business to be absolved from that promise, by the parties to whom it was made: but if he had applied first to the Commons of Great Britain, it must have been for the approbation of a measure in direct breach of his promise to Ireland. He compared it to the king's proposing military establishments to the house; the king does the whole by his prerogative, and leaves nothing to the House of Commons but to vote the money. Is not this engaging for the consent of parliament? Yet all the world knows that the house may object to them, and consequently they cannot be effected without their consent.

Mr. Gordon thought the first part of the message was agreeable to the sense now put upon it by the honourable gentleman who spoke last: but the other part seemed a little obscure at first sight; yet it might be concluded, that as a measure of government, it could never be in the idea of the minister to make such an attempt, in express contradiction to the disbanding act of King William. It was in his opinion, a fair inference to say, that the expression "enabled so to do" meant the previous consent of the British parliament. If he thought administration had any other intention in view, no man would be more ready to join a vote of disapprobation and censure. He condemned the conduct of ministers, respecting the indemnity bill, and disapproved of introducing foreigners into the dominions of Great Britain, without the consent of parliament.

Mr. Powys had little doubt, that the message under consideration meant more than it expressed, and was intended as an experiment to try if the Irish parliament would consent to receive foreign troops, in order to establish a precedent which might be afterwards employed to other purposes.

Lord Middleton said, he had fortune in both kingdoms, but had no predilection for either in a political light, because he looked upon their interest to be mutual; but whatever other gentlemen might think of the message, of the true import of which it was impossible there could be a second opinion, he had not a doubt but it aimed at one fixed object, that was, to habituate both countries to a submission, which must in the end re-

duce the parliament of each to be the mere instrumental agents of the crown, without the least degree of will or independence whatever. It was a scheme, however deep, formed nevertheless, on very simple principles, and went directly to vest in the crown the virtual power of taxing, as the opportunity might serve, both in Great Britain and Ireland. In Ireland the minister was taught to ask some favour; then England was to be pledged. In England again, when circumstances recurred, or were impracticable, Ireland was to be taxed, in order to maintain the supremacy of the British legislature.

Mr. Dunning divided the message into two parts. On the first he observed, that it contained no condition implied or expressed. It was his majesty's intention as immediately from his own mind, declared in the most positive terms the English language is capable of conveying. It was a complete undertaking on his part to pay for the 4000 men, if the Irish House of Commons should chuse to consent or accept of the terms. It was impossible in the nature of things, that any man possessed of any thing he could properly call his own, or binding himself to the execution of any act within his power, could promise in terms more clear, positive, or unequivocal, than those in which this part of the message was conceived. To get clear of this, he said, two modes had been adopted, both with equal bad success. One of those was a naked contradiction to the obvious sense of the words; but such an unsupported denial was abandoned in the very instant it was urged; for the noble Lord (Lord Clare) and the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ellis) who asserted at random, being conscious that it was but a random assertion, endeavoured to explain it, by saying that the affair was conducted precisely in the manner of a subsidiary treaty. This he said was still worse, for no argument was better than a bad one. It was well known, that the king, when treating with foreigners, represented the state, which could never be the case, when treating with one part of his subjects, and engaging for another; besides, the consequence, had the offer been accepted by the Irish parliament, would have clearly shewn the difference, and established the distinction beyond all question. The troops, if the season of the year had permitted, might be now in America; the foreigners might be landed in Ireland. Great Britain was pledged; the cause in which the troops were to be employed, and the necessary arrangements by which the measure was to be brought about, was a favourite one; so that the whole business might be effected by his majesty's bare intention, as completely without, as with the consent of the British parliament. The second part of the message, he insisted, was clear and explicit. The offer was to replace the 4000 troops, by an equal number of foreign Protestants, "if it be

“the desire of parliament.” Here again was clear intention, and offer expressed, with the condition annexed, that was, “if it be the desire,” &c. By every rule of legal construction or common sense, if there be an undertaking accompanied by a condition, if the condition be accepted by the party to whom it is proposed, the bargain is from that instant complete, and mutually binding on both parties. If then the proposition were a positive one, and it had been accepted, it only remained to discover whether or not it were the commons of Great Britain, whose word was thus pledged without being consulted. This, he presumed, would require very little proof. No man would say that Hanover was to bear the burden: he could less think that any of his majesty’s new allies were to do so, however zealous they might be for chastising his rebellious subjects in America. The civil list, he suspected, was still less equal to afford so heavy a disbursement. Where then could the necessary means of paying so large a body of men be obtained but from the British parliament? By what had fallen in debate, as well as general declarations made at the time this business was first mentioned, he understood this famous message had been disavowed by the minister, and his friends on this side of the water. He presumed the minister on the other side did not venture to do it entirely on his own judgment. This excited his curiosity to know where it originated. It would be a sufficient answer, if the minister either here, or in Ireland, owned it. If neither did, but the advice came from another quarter, he should be glad to know, because in such an event more particularly, it would be the duty, as it ought to be the wish, of the house, to sift the matter to the bottom, in order to come at the real author or authors.

Lord North gave a long narrative of the increase of the establishments which took place in Ireland in 1769, and of his majesty’s promise to his Irish parliament, that 12,000 men should always remain within that kingdom, except in the event of a rebellion in this. He said, the royal promise, though binding on his majesty, was not law, therefore sending the troops out of this kingdom, to the amount of any number, was perfectly legal. His lordship said, he would not answer the general question put to him by the last honourable gentleman, not chusing to gratify mere curiosity, at the expence of betraying the secrets of the cabinet. He avowed the having co-operated with the rest of the king’s servants, in giving general instructions, but would not charge his memory with having any immediate hand in drawing up the particular letter or paper, on which the present measure was supposed to be taken. He said, he thought it was perfectly justifiable, and was willing to share in the consequences. Yet he could not see how it was fair in argu-

ment to charge administration here with specific measures taken in Ireland; nor could he conceive, either positively or by implication, that he or his colleagues in office, were bound in any manner by what passed in another kingdom. To some allusions made by Mr. Dunning and Mr. Gordon, relative to the Hanoverians being sent to Gibraltar and Minorca, and the fate of the indemnity bill, he replied, he thought the measure perfectly legal, and was ready to meet his adversaries on that ground whenever they thought fit. He gave a history of the indemnity bill, and in a humorous way proved it was thrown out by a noble marquis in the other house. If introducing foreign troops were an improper measure, the minister in Ireland acted perfectly right, for he declined to support it; he finished with observations on the German resources, and the poverty of the civil list.

Lord John Cavendish rose to give his attestation of the personal worth of Lord Harcourt. He observed, that his lordship had been little acquainted with public business till his late appointment; therefore, if it were his own measure, he was much the more excusable; but he believed it was not. However, if it were not, as the Irish nation had been too wise and too spirited to accept of one part of the proposal; and as ministers, whatever they might affect to the contrary, had not dared to send a single man out of Ireland on such an authority, the matter hardly deserved the time and attention some gentlemen seemed willing to bestow on it. The people of Ireland had already done half the business, by refusing the offer; the minister had in fact done the other half from his own fear; so that on the whole, he did not desire to send the matter to a committee, but wished to come to some decisive resolution, which would condemn the whole transaction, without any particular reference or application to those, who might be supposed to have first planned, or endeavoured to carry it into execution.

Lord George Germaine contended that whatever might have been the sense of the message, his majesty's servants could not be supposed to be strictly answerable for its contents. He said, Lord Harcourt might have mistaken, or exceeded his instructions. He did not know he had. Or he might have conveyed his meaning in the clearest terms; whether he did, or did not, the first part of the message only proposed a matter to the consideration of the Irish parliament, clearly and legally within the constitutional exercise of the regal power. If his majesty had not given his royal promise to keep 12,000 men within the kingdom, he might have ordered the whole, or any part of the troops on that establishment, to any part of the British dominions he pleased, without applying to the parliament of either kingdom. He said, he had heard a great deal of what had passed in debate

in the House of Commons of Ireland, but he could not perceive what direct relation it bore to what now was under consideration. The efficient minister, as he was called, was likewise much spoken of; Sir John Blacquiere said this, and Sir John Blacquiere said that; but for his part, what Sir John Blacquiere said one way or the other, was of no great consequence. He knew a Sir John Blacquiere, and had been in conversation with him; but in what way what he said could be made a ground of censure on a British minister, was more than he could reconcile to the relation they really stood in to each other, if they stood in any. He confessed, the measure of paying for 8000 men, when we were to have the service but of 4000, was extremely unæconomical, and he thought very improper: yet if 4000 men could be had upon no better terms, and that it was supposed it might be more proper to send natives than foreigners to America, the measure on that account, and that alone, might be defended.

Lord Irnham. As I am just returned from Ireland, where I have attended closely to the proceedings of that parliament, it may be expected from me to say something on the present question. I shall therefore endeavour to shew the house, whether the honourable gentleman now in my eye, (Mr. Conolly), and a member of that parliament, as well as of this, has given you a true account of the conduct of government there relative to the matter now before you; or whether the representation of it by the gentlemen who oppose the right honourable member's motion, ought most to be relied on. The doubt to be cleared up is, what was really the meaning of government there in the message sent to both houses of parliament? The words of the message have been already read to you, and it has been very ingeniously, though somewhat variously explained by the gentlemen of the treasury bench: but the lord lieutenant's secretary, (who as a noble lord on that bench, and other gentlemen who heard him, and as well as his lordship, have held that office, well know, is always considered as the minister in the Irish House of Commons), clearly expressed and interpreted the meaning of it; which was, that the Irish parliament should consent to the introducing into the country 4000 foreign Protestants, in consideration of which, they should assure his majesty of their readiness to spare 4000 men of the troops on the Irish establishment for the service of America, to be likewise paid by Great Britain; and it was expatiated upon by him, and all those who spoke on the side of government, how advantageous such an offer must be, which provided equally for the safety of Ireland, as if their own troops had remained in it, and would moreover bring 80,000*l.* of English money into the

kingdom. The speech was answered by addresses from both houses....that of the lords immediately to the king; that of the commons to the lord lieutenant; in substance the same as returning thanks for the offer, but refusing the introduction of the foreign troops, proving that they chose to defend their country, even in its present precarious situation, by the exertion of their own efforts, rather than to adopt so unconstitutional and dangerous a measure; which sentiment of theirs certainly did them honour: but at the same time they consented by address, to send to America the 4000 additional troops requested of them, both houses understanding, however, (as it is well known) that an act should be passed to legalize the terms of the said address, as the crown had precluded itself by act of parliament from the right of sending more than about 3000 men out of that kingdom, which number it had already exceeded. A bill was accordingly brought in, wherein were inserted two clauses calculated to effect that purpose; but to the astonishment of the public, those clauses were thrown out in England: and an act was again passed, barring the crown from the power of sending any more troops abroad than would leave 12,000 men on the establishment for the defence of Ireland, and consequently the effect of the addresses of both houses was thereby destroyed, whilst at that very time government declared its resolution to send those 4000 men to America, in conformity to the addresses of both houses, and signified, that they did not consider the crown as bound by the act, to which the royal assent has just been given, to keep 12,000 men in that kingdom, under pretence of its not being in the enacting part, though in the preamble of the act; but whoever reads it, will find that compact not only in the preamble, but also so strictly tied to that part of the act which grants the subsidy, (being about 450,000*l.*) that if the crown be not bound thereby, above two-thirds of the concessions from the crown to the subject by act of parliament since Magna Charta, will fall to the ground, and the crown has forfeited its right to those subsidies. I remember upon this being hinted at by some members of the Irish parliament, too sanguine for government, the law servants of the crown (men of great abilities), avoided the question on that ground. As to the present lord lieutenant of Ireland, of whom many handsome things have been said by gentlemen on both sides of the house, those qualities mentioned, are, I apprehend, relative only to his private character, which merely as such, has, I think, good ingredients in it: but we don't sit here to discuss private characters; his ministerial and public one is what we are to consider, and I will speak out....the talents and abilities of that minister of the crown are by no means equal to his station. Two millions and a half of people is a trust of too great weight for him to sustain;

and he has sufficiently avowed his incapacity to govern them, by delegating all his power to his secretary. To conclude, the measures pursuing there being illegal, must displease the best and soundest part of his majesty's subjects; and though for certain purposes the ministry have this day spoken very advantageously of Ireland, if they go on in acting as they do, they will meet with the united efforts of that country in opposition to their attempts: and then, instead of panegyric, they will call out to this house for restraining and incapacitating bills, to punish that kingdom, as they have done America. Let me therefore recommend to the noble lord now at the helm, to attend whilst it is time, to that alarmed part of his majesty's most affectionate subjects, and to forgive me if I heartily intreat him to apply his utmost care to rectify the errors of government in that kingdom. In the present case now before us, the conduct of administration, relative to the message from Lord Harcourt to the Irish parliament, has been unconstitutional and highly blameable. I am therefore to thank the right honourable gentleman for the motion, and to express my hearty concurrence in it.

Mr. Fox observed, that as the administration of both kingdoms were totally unconnected, so was every individual who composed them. No two of the confidential servants of the crown who spoke agreed in a single sentiment. Some allowed the message to import what was stated in the complaint; others acceded to a part of it, it manifestly intended: but in this diversity of opinion, there was one thing too curious to pass unnoticed, that was the language used by two or three members of administration, which was describing the minister of the House of Commons in Ireland, and the speaker, under the undefined terms of one Edmond Sexton Perry, and one Sir John Blacquiere.

Mr. Attorney General said, the motion was a party squib, not worth attending to; and that the preamble to an Irish act of parliament did not bind the parliament of Great Britain.

Governor Johnson said, the ministers here throw all the blame upon the ministers in Ireland.

Lord North gave a great encomium of the administration of Ireland since the appointment of the present lord lieutenant; observing, that no better proof could be given of it, than that it was attended with uncommon success.

Mr. Conolly observed, it was no wonder the government of that kingdom should be attended with success, when 265,000*l.* had been raised on a ruined impoverished country. (Here he was proceeding to shew how unable the Irish were to bear such a burthen; and to give a detail of the pensions that had been lately granted, the places that had been newly created, and the

various means that had been employed to influence and corrupt the representatives of the people, when he was interrupted by Lord North, as applying to matters not at all relating to the subject of the debate.)

Mr. Fox insisted, that the matter stated by his honourable relation was perfectly within order; that it grew directly out of the subject of debate; and that if his lordship appealed to the success of administration in Ireland, as a proof of the wisdom or mildness of the government there, it was no less fair in argument, than consonant to order, to shew the true causes of that boasted success. (Here the altercation was put an end to, by the question being called for.) The question was put on Mr. Townshend's motion for a committee. The house divided; for the motion 106, against it 224.

No. LXIX. *a*.

“ AN ADDRESS FROM THE BELFAST FIRST VOLUNTEER COM-
 “ PANY, TO THE OFFICERS AND PRIVATES OF THE SEVE-
 “ RAL COMPANIES TO BE REVIEWED AT BELFAST, 31ST
 “ OF JULY, 1782....PAGE 333.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ FROM a conviction that the present is
 “ a critical moment for Ireland, inasmuch as we conceive that
 “ the question whether we shall be free or an enslaved people
 “ depends on it; we humbly presume that an address, in-
 “ duced by the purest motives, will not be held presumptuous,
 “ and that every reasonable allowance will be made for us by the
 “ liberality of our fellow subjects and soldiers, the volunteers of
 “ Ulster.

“ The struggles which this loyal nation has lately made to-
 “ ward casting off the usurpation of a country which cannot
 “ justly claim a single right to which Ireland is not by charter,
 “ justice, and nature, equally entitled, have excited the admi-
 “ ration of every state in Europe. But at this period of Irish
 “ virtue, were we contentedly to sit down with any thing
 “ short of complete freedom, we should render ourselves odious
 “ to millions yet unborn, who would tax us with having meanly

“ sold an opportunity of rescuing the land from the yoke of
 “ slavery at such an æra as the revolution of centuries may not
 “ again produce.

“ The designs of ambitious men may for a time mislead, but
 “ cannot long delude a people of that sound plain understanding
 “ by which even the inferior classes of the men of Ulster have
 “ ever been distinguished. With such men, simple ungarnished
 “ truths, level to every capacity, must have their weight, and
 “ will, it is presumed, rouse them to a sense of the dignity and
 “ independence of their nation.

“ The intention of this address is with all humility to impress
 “ the following great and serious truths :.... That the rights of
 “ this kingdom are not yet secured, nor even acknowledged by
 “ Britain, partly owing to the delusions of many sincere friends,
 “ to the perfidy of pretended ones, and to an error committed
 “ through precipitancy by our representatives in the senate. That
 “ unless a spark of that sacred flame, which but a few days ago
 “ glowed in every breast in Ulster, be again excited ; the glo-
 “ rious attempt of this country to procure its emancipation, in-
 “ stead of producing any real permanent good, will too probably
 “ be the means of depriving us of our rights for ever.

“ Let us then trace the growth and progress of our late spirit,
 “ and let the claims asserted at Dungannon, on the 15th of Fe-
 “ bruary, be the ground-work of our enquiry.

“ The spirit of that great day’s proceedings, which was re-
 “ echoed from every quarter, may easily be collected from the
 “ following quotations :.... Your representatives there assembled,
 “ declared, ‘ That a claim of any body of men other than the
 “ king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this
 “ kingdom, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

‘ That the ports of this kingdom are by right open to all fo-
 “ reign countries not at war with the king ; and that any burden
 “ thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament
 “ of Ireland is unconstitutional and a grievance.’

“ A moment’s reflection will shew, that the first of these two
 “ resolves clearly applies to a denial of the pretended right of
 “ Britain to internal legislation for this country ; and the latter
 “ resolve as decidedly determines with respect to external le-
 “ gislation, as our right to a freedom of commerce is its very
 “ soul and basis.

“ If it appear that these demands of Ireland, which arose
 “ from your own act, and from which you cannot recede with-
 “ out drawing down eternal dishonour on your posterity, have
 “ completely and without equivocation been acceded to, then
 “ the present discontents and jealousies are groundless and
 “ should cease ; but if a candid disquisition evinces the contra-
 “ ry, the voice of Ireland should again be raised, and rather

“ than the pride of a sister (in an honourable connection with
 “ whom we will ever glory) should trample on the dearest rights
 “ of our nature, we should meet our danger like men deserving
 “ to be free, and by acting with the boldness of conscious virtue
 “ and true dignity, we would probably secure for ages the inter-
 “ rest, peace, and affections of the two kingdoms.

“ Our Houses of Lords and Commons, forced into the tem-
 “ porary practice of virtue by the demands of an armed people,
 “ complained of the British Declaratory Law of 6th of George
 “ I. and of the powers, as the lords said, and of the claims of it,
 “ according to the commons.

“ Every one must recollect in what manner demands, on the
 “ accuracy of which the settlement of the rights of three millions
 “ depend, was precipitated. Imperfect, however, as they were,
 “ their general tenor went to demand an eternal renouncement
 “ of all power of legislation for this country, however marked
 “ by the futile, groundless, and insidious distinction of external
 “ and internal.

“ In the address of our commons to the king, we find the
 “ following animated expressions to this point:

“ There is no body of men competent to make laws to bind
 “ this kingdom except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland ;
 “ nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power
 “ of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the parlia-
 “ ment of Ireland. To assure his majesty, that we humbly
 “ conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties ex-
 “ ists ; a right which we, on the part of the people of Ireland,
 “ do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but
 “ with our lives.”

“ Let us examine how this claim, so solemnly advanced by
 “ the representatives of a nation, was received, and what effects
 “ it produced on our repenting sister.

“ Mr. Fox, a man of the first abilities in Europe, who was
 “ the ostensible minister of that day, moved for a repeal of the
 “ 6th of George the First in the British House of Commons, a
 “ repeal which has since drawn such floods of gratitude and ill-
 “ timed applause from the open, sincere, unsuspecting hearts of
 “ Irishmen. In a speech in which his great abilities were fully
 “ employed, introductory of the Irish business to the parliament
 “ and people of Great Britain, a business of which he was the
 “ avowed patron, in the very same breath, with which he urged
 “ the justice of our demands, asserted, ‘ that he always made a
 “ distinction between internal and external legislation, and though
 “ it would be tyranny to attempt to enforce the former in coun-
 “ tries not represented in the British parliament, yet he was
 “ clear that the latter was in reason and policy annexed to the
 “ British legislature.’ A little after he presents a just though

“dreadful view of that very species of usurpation which he dignified by giving it the air of a right, though he little intends that it should be seen in so clear a light as it has been by every thinking man in this country :....His words are ‘but fatally for this country this power of external legislation had been employed against Ireland as an instrument of oppression to establish an impolitic monopoly in trade, to enrich one country at the expence of the other.’ Could a more striking illustration of the abominable state of subjection to which we were according to his assertion reduced, and still are subject, be given? This picture drawn in a British House of Commons, exhibits a nation deprived of even the shadow of constitution, and consequently its dearest interests lying at the mercy or rather caprice of a neighbouring nation ; of a nation whose policy it had ever been to check and destroy in the bud, every prospect of gain and commercial advantage, which did not directly tend to her own opulence or did not gratify her own lust for power.

“We might defy the most descriptive pen to delineate the features of the most abject slavery with more truth and accuracy.

“We do not mean to tax the then premier with any misconduct as a British minister, as we cannot but suppose he fairly represented the sentiment of the cabinet ; the sentiment of an administration uncommonly popular, and of the bulk of the British nation ; for we are well aware that a man situated as he was, durst not, as premier, utter a sentiment not according with that of his colleagues ; also that his chance for remaining long in office depended on his acting up to, and holding such language as, considering the circumstances of the times, would be most pleasing to the country to which he belonged. Mr. T. Pitt, who seconded the motion of Mr. Fox, further advanced, ‘that he knew no difference between internal and external legislation, and that he would not, to his last breath, think otherwise.’ Lord Beauchamp was the only man who contended against the claim of externally legislating for us, and who foresaw that any thing short of a relinquishment of that claim as well as the other, could not be satisfactory to this country. A few days after the minister said, that the first men of Ireland were content with a repeal alone. In that shape the law passed, and we were persuaded in the second address to admit the idea, not indeed of a simple repeal but a repeal without stipulation or condition, and which might have been full and sufficient if properly worded.

“We have, from these circumstances, every presumptive evidence, that it never was the intention of Britain or of British ministers to relinquish the right, and that their favour extend-

“ ed no farther than to a suspension of its exercise, which in her
 “ then debilitated state she could not enforce.

“ We have here avoided mentioning the very cogent reasons
 “ advanced by the Right Honourable H. Flood, and the great
 “ view he has opened of the question to the kingdom at large :
 “ we must, however, pay him that tribute of praise, that no man
 “ yet has been hardy enough (save Mr. Dobbs) to meet him on
 “ that subject, either in parliament or in the public prints. As
 “ to that gentleman’s impregnable ‘ fortress, founded on a rock,’
 “ we presume it could be taken without much difficulty : but as
 “ it is purposely erected to withstand the abilities of the greatest
 “ man, and perhaps the most profound constitutional historian in
 “ the British empire, we shall not here presume to attack it.

“ It is very foreign from our intention to attempt to open new
 “ grounds of controversy with England ; but we ardently wish, and
 “ will never cease to hope, that the people of this kingdom will, by
 “ perseverance and an exertion of spirit, bounded by loyalty to
 “ our prince and a love of the British constitution, according to
 “ its purest principles, very speedily obtain the wishes expressed
 “ by its inhabitants in every capacity, and by the addresses of its
 “ own parliament to its sovereign. As to volunteers, it is evi-
 “ dent that their honour is bound by the determination of their
 “ first and only glorious meetings in their different provinces,
 “ and that they cannot retract without ignominy and contempt.
 “ Let a reflection on the miraculous effects your own spirit, dis-
 “ played at one of your Dungannon meetings, produced on all
 “ descriptions of men, as well the courtier as the timid friend,
 “ teach you that even unanimity among ourselves, as well as a
 “ lasting and happy connection between the two contending
 “ parties, can only be obtained by again speaking out with that
 “ spirit, which characterised Irishmen on the 15th of February,
 “ 1782, and which rendered it a day that will make an eminent
 “ figure in the annals of the empire.

“ Recollect that Ulster led the way, that the other provinces
 “ followed the great example with redoubled vigour, and that we
 “ cannot doubt they will do so again ; that discontents against
 “ men and measures are gone forth, and are hourly encreasing ;
 “ that the first meeting of Ulster is equally the pride of every
 “ man in Ireland ; and the last one pretty generally reprobated
 “ as premature, ill-judged, and not conveying the sense of the
 “ constituent body. Such reflections will convince every im-
 “ partial man, that a speedy meeting on the hill of Dungannon,
 “ (the delegates being previously instructed by the people, in
 “ whom only true spirit exists, and taught only to echo their
 “ sentiment) can alone, in the present mutilated state of our af-
 “ fairs, so lately promising every blessing, give us the chance of
 “ a free constitution. Do not forget that Connaught has, in her

“ address to his majesty, laid down, in the most pointed terms
 “ that language could convey, the very principle which we here
 “ endeavour to establish and maintain; where she informs his
 “ majesty, that a revival of the claims, either of external or in-
 “ ternal legislation, would for ever sever the two countries.

“ If you follow her steps in that point, what can possibly be
 “ dreaded? You will at that instant, with her, compose a
 “ large majority of the armed force of Ireland: and no man
 “ who has not sinister, dishonest views, can pretend to allege
 “ that perfect unanimity would not prevail over the whole king-
 “ dom, as it did when there was much less chance or expecta-
 “ tion of it.

“ The British legislature in claiming a right to external
 “ legislation for this country, assumes an absolute control over
 “ our commerce and foreign trade: and consequently can, if
 “ we admit her claim, prevent us from forming any commercial
 “ connection with any nation on the globe however well
 “ calculated our produce or manufactures may be to serve
 “ such nation. When such a preposterous claim is made,
 “ will any man, in his right reason, say that this is enjoying
 “ equal liberty; or that we have, under such base restraint,
 “ received what Britain was pleased to term a free trade, when
 “ the moment of her depriving us of a commerce, even with
 “ foreign nations, depends merely on her own caprice, or her
 “ own interest?

“ Slavery cannot be of a deeper complexion!

“ It may be alleged, that this is the price we pay for the pro-
 “ tection of the British flag. But let us not deceive ourselves.
 “ Ireland is, and ever was, one of the best pillars of the empire
 “ and contributes more to the aggrandizement of Britain than
 “ any other country she is connected with. But independently
 “ of this circumstance, will any man, not enamoured with the
 “ horrors of bondage, dare to assert that the loss of civil liberty
 “ should be the price of any protection whatever!

“ We take the liberty of submitting three resolutions to your
 “ deliberation, which we will move through our delegate the day
 “ after the Belfast review, when addresses to the reviewing
 “ general will be moved for.

“ Previous to that day, we hope, you will instruct your dele-
 “ gate, which will attend the meeting, whether you chuse that
 “ he should give your assent or dissent to them.

“ *1st Resolve*, That a Dungannon meeting be held on the....
 “ day of....for the purpose of considering whether any, and which
 “ of the demands of the province of Ulster of the 15th of
 “ February, 1782, have not yet been complied with. If any are
 “ found not yet complied with, prudent measures may be adopted

“ for obtaining them, as also for obtaining an Irish statute,
 “ declaring that the sole right of both external and internal
 “ legislation is vested in our own parliament, and in no other,
 “ as its receiving the assent of a prince, in whom the two crowns
 “ are united would be held a strong security, and would administer general satisfaction.

“ *2d Resolve*, That it is not the sense of this meeting that
 “ a simple repeal of the 6th of George I. can be accepted
 “ as a sufficient renunciation of the claim of external and internal
 “ legislation formerly exercised over this country.

“ *3d Resolve*, In order to guard against an undue use of
 “ delegated power, that it be held a general principle, that no
 “ resolutions or addresses, which may be adopted at any future
 “ assemblies of delegates, can be considered as being the resolutions and addresses of such volunteer companies, until the
 “ chairman shall have transmitted copies of their proceedings
 “ to all the companies for whom delegates appeared, each of
 “ which corps shall deliberate collectively upon such proceedings, and return to the chairman on or before a limited day,
 “ their several approbations or disapprobations of each resolution and of each address. That as soon as it has been ascertained, which resolutions and which addresses are agreeable
 “ to the majority, then, and not before, such resolutions shall be
 “ held binding to the constituent body, and the addresses shall
 “ then be presented or transmitted. That such chairman shall,
 “ in the public prints of the province, publish such assents or
 “ dissents of corps to each resolution and each address.

“ We have the honour to be,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your fellow subjects and soldiers.

“ (Signed by order of the Company) WADDELL CUNNINGHAM.

“ *Belfast, July 13, 1782.*

AN ADDRESS FROM FRANCIS DOBES, ESQ. TO THE OFFICERS
 AND PRIVATES OF THE SEVERAL COMPANIES TO BE REVIEWED AT BELFAST, THE 31ST OF JULY, 1782....P. 333.

GENTLEMEN,

FROM the fullest conviction, that this is
 a critical moment for Ireland, and that your conduct, at the

ensuing review, will lead to the peace, honour and prosperity, or to the devastation, ignominy and destruction of Ireland, I now address you.

You are addressed from the Belfast first company, and, if they are right, the emancipation of your country is not obtained. If they are right, you are betrayed by every man, whom you have long looked up to, as well as by those, who were but lately in your confidence. If the first Belfast be right, a Charlemont, who has devoted his life to your rights....a Grattan, whom you almost adored....a Brownlow....a Stewart....an Ogle....a Yelverton....a Burgh....a Bagnell....in short, every member of the senate, who has distinguished himself in your cause, the cause of liberty, have sold you; and six gentlemen, which was the number that divided against the resolution in the House of Commons, on Friday the 19th inst. ("that the exclusive right of legislation, as well external as internal in the parliament of Ireland, was acknowledged unequivocally by Great Britain") are the only friends of their country.

Two resolutions, namely, "That a claim of any body of men, other than king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"That the ports of this kingdom are, by right, open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king, and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, is unconstitutional, and a grievance"....were among the resolutions at Dungannon. I admit with the first Belfast, that these resolutions exclude England from either making laws internally or externally, for Ireland. I would shed the blood of that heart, which has uniformly beat high in your cause, rather than submit to either; but I contend for it, and I will give you my reasons, that as far as it is possible to be secured, you are secure, and that all that has been set up, after the faith of the nation was pledged, if obtained, would not add an atom to your security.

Dungannon resolutions spread through the kingdom, and the unanimity that marked them, declared their justice. England felt it, and the lord lieutenant was instantly changed. The new lord lieutenant asked for your demands....every thing demanded at Dungannon was demanded by parliament....Every thing demanded by parliament was complied with....And parliament expressed its full and ample satisfaction....Then, and not till then....then, when the honour, faith, and every thing dear to the character of a nation were pledged, it was suggested, that a repeal was not satisfactory, and that a declaration from England, renouncing all right to bind us, must be obtained. The language of better security was held out....the language of legal security

was held out....let us try whether this be any thing but words. If there is meaning, if there is security, if there is honour, if there is justice, if there is magnanimity in it, let us contend for it. But if there is no security, no honour, no justice, no magnanimity in it, let us treat it with contempt.

Let us first examine this act, which is just repealed. The 6th of Geo. I. amongst other things, says, "That England had, hath, and of right ought to have, a power to make laws to bind Ireland." What does the repeal then say? Does it not say, that they have given up what the act contains? Does it not say, that they had not, have not, nor of right ought to have, a power to make laws to bind Ireland? What does Lord Abingdon's speech say, that is so much taken notice of, for the bill contained in that speech was not seconded, does not lie on the table, is not mentioned in the minutes of the day....I ask, what does that speech say? For it is no more than a speech. It says, "That England now has no right to make laws for Ireland, externally or internally, because the 6th of George I. is repealed," and therefore, he moves for leave to bring in his bill, which was treated with such contempt, that it was not even seconded. If such a bill was to pass, then, indeed, your indignation would be called for....then, indeed, I would be among the first to rouse you to arms.

Let us now examine a declaration, on the part of England, renouncing all right. In the first place, we deny, that England ever had a right, and I submit to you whether the calling for renunciation is not saying, England has a right. What has she to renounce? Is it nothing she has to renounce? If you call on her to renounce a right, do you not admit that right? Do you not furnish her, at a future day, with an argument against yourselves? But grant, that renunciation, or declaration from England would not admit her right, where is its security? Can she not, the next hour, if she thinks proper, make a declaration, or a law directly opposite? If then she can, it is a security, that, for my part, I would not give a farthing for.

But it is said, it would be a better security. I deny it, where there can be no security, but honour and faith, there can be no degrees of security; it being fully understood what is the intention of the parties in matters of honour and faith, is all that is necessary. Now, does any man doubt, that it is fully understood between England and Ireland, that we are satisfied, because we hold that England is bound by every tie of honour and faith never to attempt to make laws, externally or internally, to bind us. As I said before, no declaration or law she could make, if she had a mind to be perfidious, can prevent her again repealing or again enacting. The mistake is here. You talk of nations as you talk of men....but there is no tribunal, to which nations can appeal, to prove their better security, but Heaven.

Now, let me suppose, that men have no other tribunal....A man owed me money, and he gave me his note, that he would pay me, and I, afterwards, demanded his bond, though there was no tribunal on earth, that could enforce the payment of either. Would the bond, however high sounding, be a better security than the note, when there was no tribunal that could enforce either? The same observation will hold with respect to a repeal, declaration, and renunciation. There is no earthly tribunal that can decide. We have the honour and faith of England. We can have no more. I again, and again, repeat it, if England is perfidious, our appeal must be to Heaven, and our arguments must be our arms.

But we ought to have a legal security. What is a legal security? Is it not a security, that an acknowledged legal court can try, and give judgment upon? Now how can there be a legal security between nation and nation? Where is the court you can go before to plead and enforce your security? If, then, there is no court on earth, to which you can go, there can be no legal security. The words are sounds and not sense, and I trust will not mislead your honest judgments.

What is now the fact? No one law made in England, that is not recognized by our parliament, is binding here. No one law affecting your external commerce made by England, and not recognized by your parliament, is binding on our trade. The exertion of the whole claim is laid aside, and you are now, as free as any nation under Heaven.

Conversations, in the House of Commons of England, are talked of....I do not care, if fifty tyrants there wished to enslave us, whilst the legislature, as a legislature, repeals the law, which says, she has a right to bind us. Do we mind, in houses of parliament, the absurdities of a few individuals? Do we take the rash, the foolish, the mad expressions of individuals, as the determination of the senate? The argument may mislead, but it must appear insignificant, in my apprehension, to every man of common understanding.

A bill declaratory of our rights was moved for lately, and rejected; because totally unnecessary, and because it would be involving a new question, after the lords and commons had publicly pledged themselves to be satisfied, and the people had assented. I will admit, that that bill could have done no harm, and I would have voted for it, had I had the honour of a seat in parliament, had it been introduced before the nation had expressed its contentment. But I think it a matter of perfect insignificance as to real security; and I now should think the introducing it, would be the first breach of faith, on the part of Ireland. You have expressed, that you are satisfied....You have expressed, that you are satisfied, because England has for ever

relinquished all claim, or right to bind you in any shape whatsoever. What then would your conduct now be, if, after this, you required more? It would be inconsistent, (with your pardon for the expression) it would be absurd.

Every thing is to be urged to re-commit the nation....I am the only man, it is said, that has been bold enough, to meet Mr. Flood in argument either in or out of parliament; it is well they dated their paper the 18th of July, for I heard Mr. Grattan, in the House of Commons, on the 19th, answer Mr. Flood....I saw almost every man, that I have been taught by you to look up to, as your friends, and as the friends of Ireland, with GrattanI saw Mr. Flood and five others against the resolution of that day....I believe Mr. Grattan will publish what he recollects of his speech, and let it say for itself and its cause, what my abilities do not enable me to do.

The resolutions of Connaught are mentioned, and it is said they inform his majesty, that a revival of the claims, either of external or internal legislature would for ever sever the two countries....Who denies it? I spoke it lately to the first ministers of England, and I have evidence, that I did, if you choose to call for it....Has not Ulster done, in fact, the same thing when these words were introduced into our address presented to the Irish king, in the presence of his English courtiers, surrounded by his British subjects, and their parliament then sitting?

“The address of the Irish parliament having disclaimed any power, or authority of any sort whatever, in the parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unqualified, and unconditional repeal of the statute 6th George I. by the British parliament, in pursuance of the said addresses a complete renunciation of a principle, hostile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the said statute, and as such we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory.”

What has Connaught done that we have not done? I love and honour Connaught, and I trust that we shall never deviate from their proceedings.

I now submit to you two lines of conduct. By dissenting from the unanimous vote of your House of Lords, which says, that a repeal of the 6th George I. is a complete dereliction of all claim, to make laws, internally or externally, for this country; by dissenting from your House of Commons, where six members only were found to object to a resolution, that England had completely renounced all right, internally, or externally, for legislating for us; by dissenting from the unanimous voice of Dungannon, from the voice of Leinster, from the voice of Connaught, and probably from the voice of Munster; you open all anew, you undo all that has been done, you risk every hazard of

a bloody civil war, and if you succeed, you get that, which is not, cannot, nor will be a real security. You render the name of Ireland, and particularly of Ulster, contemptible. You make yourselves insignificant, for who, after this changeability, will confide in you? Who will rely upon the opinion of this day being the opinion of to-morrow? Remember, I call upon you to remember, that our honour and dignity as a nation, are at stake.

There is another line of conduct in your power, think well of it, and then decide.

By agreeing with your lords and commons, by agreeing with the unanimous voice of the delegates at Dungannon, by agreeing with Connaught, with Leinster, and with the probable voice of Munster, by being unanimous in the construction of the conduct of England, and that she has for ever relinquished all rights, internally or externally, to make laws to bind this country; you bind yourselves together, you bind England, as far as honour and faith can bind her (and you can bind her no farther), never to infringe upon your rights. By this conduct, Ireland, to a man, will unite at the first infringement, and by uniting stop it. Public propriety and consistency will gain you every honour, and give you real and true stability. Whilst we have force, we are safe, when we have not, we are at the mercy of those who have; this being the case, I shall submit to you the following resolutions. Weigh them fairly with the other resolutions, and see which establishes the honour and rights, consistency, faith and prosperity of your country.

Resolved, That as our parliament has demanded all that the resolutions of the 15th of February, 1782, at Dungannon, required, and in that demand expressed, "That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, except the king, lords and commons of Ireland, nor any other parliament, which hath any authority, or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland." To assure his majesty, that we humbly conceive, that, in this right the very essence of our liberties exists, a right, which we, on the part of the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, which we cannot yield but with our lives. And then required the repeal of the 6th George I. and have since declared that repeal to be a full and unequivocal renunciation on the part of Great Britain, to make laws to bind Ireland either externally or internally. We therefore conceive Great Britain so bound for ever to us and our posterity, as that we shall consider the slightest attempt on the part of England to make laws externally or internally, to bind Ireland, as the signal for irrevocable separation, therefore we do not deem any meeting at Dungannon necessary at present.

Resolved, That we will not suppose it possible, that Great Britain should ever break through the faith and honour, which

she has now pledged to us ; but as power is the only true and real security to a nation, we will continue in the exercise of arms, and recommend it to our latest posterity, to imitate our example, remembering that freedom can only be preserved by arms of freemen.

I have only to add, that as to all insinuations of the motives of my conduct, I despise them....I have uniformly acted with those men, that I thought the best men in this kingdom, with those men whom your opinions had sanctioned....If I fall before popular indignation....I fall with almost every man in this kingdom, whose public conduct has met your approbation....and I fall with what is more to me than all....with the consciousness of having exerted every nerve and every power of mine, to lead you to glory, honour and prosperity, and when you had obtained that glory, honour and prosperity, I exerted myself, successfully, as I thought, to prevent your doing that I deemed would lead you to destruction.

Whatever you may think of me,

I know that I am,

And ever have been,

Your faithful, your devoted,

And most grateful servant,

FRANCIS DOBBS.

END OF APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

.....
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 and Bartholomew Graves, Philadelphia.

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